

Sisulu drops a bombshell

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that the top leadership is not sufficiently representative of South Africa's population, was accused in 1991 of having intervened to ensure the election of Dr Allan Boesak to the western Cape regional chairmanship.

In terms of the ANC's structure, the national chairmanship is the third rung on the ladder, following the presidency and deputy presidency.

Now Mbeki's promotion means the national chairmanship — a position held by his father Govan before the banning of the ANC — changes from a purely ceremonial to a powerful, non-ceremonial post.

Many observers believe it now outranks the deputy presidency in practical terms, making Mbeki number two to Mandela.

There is no certainty as to when Sisulu will retire, and who would be in line for his post when he does.

It is understood that Ramaphosa would make himself available for the position — but many insiders see the deputy presidency as Mbeki's next logical step as Mandela's heir-apparent.

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Giving with one hand ...

The ANC has failed itself, and South Africa, by not having the courage to act against the human rights abusers in its ranks.

THE ANC, on the brink of assuming a key role in government, has chosen a disingenuous option which raises deep concerns about political accountability in the future South Africa.

At Nelson Mandela's own insistence, the ANC set up the Skweyiya Commission to investigate human rights abuses ("atrocities" is an accurate description in many cases). This report frankly conceded that horrors had occurred in the camps, but failed to name those guilty of perpetrating them. The ANC then promised that the Motsuenyane inquiry would dig further, and apportion blame. This it did with great application, albeit imperfectly.

Now the ANC has given its formal response to Motsuenyane's findings. The leadership has apologised to the victims, and accepted collective responsibility. Yet it balks at taking the next, essential step: acting against the guilty, and compensating the victims. This failure of courage devalues, at a stroke, all the earlier efforts.

The proposal for a "truth commission" is nothing more than a smokescreen to buy yet more time; it diffuses the bright spotlight shining on the guilty ones. South Africa may or may not at some stage need such a commission, but that is a separate issue. The ANC knows now which of its members grossly violated its stated principles, and could remove them from office immediately.

In plain language, the ANC has fudged the issue for reasons of political expediency. In doing so, it has fallen back on the kind of shameless obfuscation that brought infamy on successive Nationalist governments. We therefore face the prospect of moving into the new society with the moral reputations of both major players seriously sullied — the one much more than the other, of course.

The ANC should read Motsuenyane's findings again, and apply the notion of "accountability" in its true sense, not that perverted version perfected by Nationalist ministers. Those ANC members who bear responsibility, whether they are in the leadership or the rank and file, should be removed from the organisation's books forthwith.

Mandela 'wanted non-Xhosa for top job'

Sisulu's bombshell

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Walter Sisulu stunned delegates at a crucial ANC executive meeting by proposing that Professor Kader Asmal replace the late Oliver Tambo as ANC national chairman.

The proposal by Sisulu, ANC deputy president, was defeated as the majority of the national executive committee (NEC) rallied around foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki, whose elevation to the national chairmanship was announced on Monday.

Impeccable sources within the ANC's leadership told The Star that Sisulu stunned the NEC at its meeting on Sunday outside Kempton Park when he moved that Asmal — an NEC member and University of the Western Cape academic — should succeed Tambo as national chairman.

According to the sources, Sisulu had apparently been asked by ANC president Nelson Mandela — who did not enter the debate himself — to broach the subject of Asmal's candidacy.

The sources believe the "top five" at the apex of the organisation's hierarchy — Mandela, Sisulu, treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and his deputy Jacob Zuma — had discussed the issue in advance and wanted a non-Xhosa, and preferably someone other than a black African, for the position.

It was hoped this would counter perceptions that the ANC was a black-dominated, Xhosa-dominated body, according to the sources.

Constitutional lawyer Asmal fitted the bill, they believed; but ANC Youth League presi-

THE ANC executive stepped in to thwart a move to have an academic appointed national chairman

dent Peter Mokaba had put paid to the plan.

Opposing the proposal, Mokaba said the national chairmanship was an important position for which an election should be held by secret ballot in the NEC.

Mokaba's argument in favour of an election — instead of a unanimous, unopposed appointment — was backed by most NEC members. Mbeki was then elected by an overwhelming majority, defeating Asmal, the only other candidate. Sources said Asmal performed "very badly".

Some delegates expressed surprise that Asmal had been proposed for the position. "I don't know why they thought of Asmal," said one. "Not even his region would have supported him."

Another added: "In terms of addressing racial imbalances in the organisation, I have no problem with whites, coloureds and Indians rising to senior positions. But they, like Africans, must also go through the ranks and prove themselves."

The Mbeki-Asmal debate is believed to reflect the serious concern at the very top of the ANC that the organisation's leadership should become more racially representative before the election campaign begins in earnest.

Mandela, who has often expressed his concern publicly

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Legislation agreement

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
and CHRIS WHITFIELD

South Africa yesterday moved a step closer to the April 27 elections when the Negotiating Council agreed on important parts of a package of draft legislation.

After months of debate at the World Trade Centre, the council by general consensus accepted drafts of legislation

for an independent electoral commission and an independent media commission.

The drafts, to be submitted to Parliament, consist of proposed legislation to ensure that free and fair elections will take place, and that all parties will have equitable access to State-controlled media.

And in Bloemfontein at the

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Vital draft legislation approved

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National Party's Free State Congress, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday said legislation making provision for a transitional executive council (TEC) — effectively the first step towards joint rule — could be finalised early next week at the World Trade Centre.

But Meyer said it was impossible to judge precisely how far negotiators had to go until completing the Interim Constitution.

There has been strong resistance from the Inkatha Freedom Party and other Concerned South Africans Group members to the TEC. However, if they do approve the Interim Constitution it is

likely that they will come on board on the TEC — a possibility that Meyer appeared to have in mind yesterday.

He said the legislation making provision for the TEC and other interim structures being shaped in the Negotiating Council would be put before Parliament as soon as possible — possibly at the scheduled September 13 sitting.

However, he said, it would be pointless to go ahead with the other structures before agreement was reached on the Interim Constitution.

Today, negotiators at the World Trade Centre are scheduled to finalise drafts of two other vital pieces of proposed legislation — for an independent broadcasting authority and the TEC.

Lebowa loses financial control

■ BY MCKEED KOTLOLO
and NORMAN CHANDLER

In an unprecedented step, South Africa today takes over financial control of Lebowa because the local Legislative Assembly failed to pass a budget for the 1993-94 financial year.

This was announced yesterday in Pretoria by Local Government Minister Andre Fourie. He said "no authorisation exists (for Lebowa) to incur any expenditure or to make any payments."

This means cheques issued to homeland officials, contractors and others with a claim on Lebowa will not be met until the situation has been satisfactorily resolved.

"Lebowa government ministers whom I met in Pretoria yesterday appeared to be surprised at our decision but later, after discussions, they accepted the taking over of the financial situation as being in the interests of all," Fourie said.

The homeland's budget was R3,6 billion and additional funds requested in April amounted to R360 million, later doubling to R722 million before Lebowa, after a fur-

THE South African Government takes unprecedented steps against a homeland that has failed to pass a budget

ther meeting in May, reduced it to R306 million.

The decision means that in order to ensure the "efficient continuation of services", the Minister, with the approval of the Cabinet and in accordance with the authority vested in him by Section 25 of the Constitution of the Self Governing Territories, was compelled to exercise control over Lebowa's financial administration.

The South Africa Government said it appeared that the financial management of the Lebowa government had deteriorated to such an extent that intervention had become inevitable.

Fourie said the first indication that Lebowa was in financial trouble came in April when a request for additional funds was received.

The department would act in close co-operation with the Lebowa government and its officials.

An investigation would be launched into irregularities "which evidently have been assuming alarming proportions over the past few months", he said.

Fourie — who said the decision was not vindictive — disclosed that a "financial task force" was being sent to Lebowa to assist in the investigation.

The Government has appealed to the Lebowa government and its officials as well as civilians, political groupings and others to remain calm and provide co-operation.

It warned however that officials, existing recipients of welfare allowances and suppliers who would have received payment yesterday may encounter problems in cashing their Lebowa government cheques.

The South African Government has undertaken to make all legitimate payments as soon as possible.

Other homeland states, whom Fourie did not name, had submitted their budgets in time.

Country expected to come to standstill for five minutes

Peace fever grips nation

■ BY HELEN GRANGE

The Peace Day campaign tomorrow has grasped the imagination of people and it is expected that the day will be marked by a wide variety of activities, according to the National Peace Campaign (NPC).

The NPC's offices in Braamfontein and Rosebank have been inundated with calls from companies and members of the public wanting details of planned events and suggesting further activities.

Ribbons

Everyone has been asked to wear a blue ribbon to symbolise their commitment to peace.

Johannesburg mayor Les Dishi decided weeks ago that the city council staff should wear yellow ribbons, but he has now requested staff also to

TOMORROW is Peace Day — and South Africans are expected to mark the occasion by taking part in a wide range of activities

wear blue ribbons for the sake of conformity.

The nation will come to a standstill for five minutes starting at noon, and it is expected that long human chains will form in Johannesburg's central business district.

The first minute will be one of silence to focus people's minds on those who have died in the violence which has racked the country for months.

Motorists have been asked to pull over for the five-minute



standstill and to hoot their horns or flash their headlights.

Peace songs will be played on TV and radio stations.

National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys will address an SABC peace function in Johannesburg where a human chain will be formed and the peace flag hoisted.

CCV-TV and TV1 will observe a minute's silence at noon before broadcasting the peace song. TV1 will then resume its cricket commentary from Sri

Lanka. CCV will continue its peace programme, broadcasting interviews with community leaders and choir music with a peace theme from 11.30 am to 1 pm.

Companies and institutions have made their own arrangements to mark the day as a commitment to peace.

Pamphlets are being distributed and a number of employers will be holding meetings with unions.

Schoolteachers have also planned a variety of activities for pupils throughout the day.

President de Klerk has ordered all national flags to be flown half-mast at government buildings in South Africa and abroad as a mark of respect for those who have died in political violence.

He called on all South Africans to join the campaign.

Miss South Africa Jacqui Mofokeng will have a bird's-eye view of the spectacle — she will be circling Johannesburg in a helicopter organised by Eskom.

The NPC yesterday stressed that tomorrow was just the beginning of a peace campaign that is expected to continue this month and in October.

Disadvantaged

To this end, Eskom and Telkom have embarked on a campaign to electrify and provide phone services to as many homes as possible in disadvantaged communities.

■ If you're short of a blue ribbon, head down to The Star's building in Sauer Street. Ribbons will be handed out to members of the public by promotions department staffers. The Star's switchboard will not operate from noon to 12.05 pm.

De Klerk plans new bid to bring IFP back to talks

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Bloemfontein — President de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will sit down soon for a day of talks in an eleventh-hour effort to bridge their negotiations impasse.

De Klerk announced at a public meeting last night: "Chief Minister Buthelezi and I have agreed to have extended talks with each other soon."

The president also launched his most bitter attack yet on "barbaric" right-wing elements and dismissed the ANC's reaction to the Motsuenyane report as "weak" and "unconvincing".

De Klerk was addressing about 800 people — with a fairly substantial black presence — at the opening of the National Party's OFS congress in the Bloemfontein City Hall.

De Klerk strongly criticised elements of the right wing, say-

ing he was "ashamed by what is done in the name of Afrikaans by some Afrikaners". He referred to "barbarism" in the AWB-led attack on the World Trade Centre.

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on the Afrikaner Volksfront's map for a white volkstaat, saying it was "so transparently artificial that it would be hilarious if it were not so tragic".

► Let culprits go, says Koble — Page 7

THE TALKS AND YOU



At the World Trade Centre

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TODAY: The council is expected to finalise the draft IBA and Transitional Executive Council Bills. It is also scheduled to adopt the four Bills by tonight.

ESTHER WAUGH

Ex-activist pair killed in UK crash

Durban — Anti-apartheid campaigners Dr Anthony Barker and his wife Dr Maggie Barker were killed when a truck hit their tandem bicycle in a horror crash near London at the weekend.

The couple, who worked in remote parts of KwaZulu for 30 years and refused to take any pay, were eventually forced to leave South Africa in 1974, and settled in Wimbledon, where they worked in a government hospital.

studying affirmative action

SADF, MK join in US study tour

POLITICAL STAFF

Laying the groundwork for the reconciliation of all armed formations, a combined SADF-Umkhonto we Sizwe study tour to the United States is under way with other and more representative programmes coming in the months ahead.

Diplomatic sources have described the joint visit to the US now by four MK staff officers and two brigadiers and two colonels from the SADF as "exciting" and constructive because the eight men work with their American hosts.

The officers are not undergoing any military training, the focus of their visit being to study affirmative action programmes in the US military.

Dr Jakkie Cilliers of the Institute for Defence Policy, who played a role in facilitating the mission going back to February this year, described it as the first in a series of confidence-building exercises.

The idea for the trip gelled at a social occasion in Pretoria recently at which both senior members of MK and the SADF reportedly realised that their debate about the future of the

THE US armed forces are the most integrated institution in American society, and we can learn much from them

armed forces needed experience outside their own immediate frame of reference.

Dr Cilliers said the trip to the US followed on the work done during a visit to South Africa a month ago by two US military experts, Professor Charles Moskos and Major-General Chuck Bussey.

The latter, now retired, was also a black American who, in the course of discussions with MK, SADF and the Transkei Defence Force (TDF), gave a personal account of his experience of affirmative action in the military.

Dr Cilliers said the eight soldiers in the US now would be examining the sociological experience of what he described as the most integrated institution in American society.

They would also be studying

the US experience of moving from a conscript to a volunteer defence force.

MK chief of staff Siphiwe Nyanda confirmed participation of four of his staff officers and said they had gone to "see what they can learn".

The only shadow over this groundbreaking mission was the last-minute withdrawal of a colonel from the KwaZulu Police who had been invited to accompany the group.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi was angered that a member of his statutory police force had been placed on a par with MK "terrorists" and ordered the officer to withdraw.

Observers have commented that at this stage in South Africa's transition, there was not the time to be squeamish about statutory and non-statutory bodies. It was a non-statutory body at the World Trade Centre, the multiparty Negotiation Council, which was presently drawing up the shape of the new SA.

It is hoped though that the next joint study tour abroad by South Africa's many armed groups will be fully representative and will include delegates from all four TBVC states.

They're playing with words in Interim

Constitutional lawyers, when they tire of constitution-making, sometimes relax by playing a word game. The game is to find one word to capture the value given primacy by a constitution or its Bill of Rights.

Some players, for instance, say that the value primary in the American Constitution is liberty, in the German dignity, and in the Canadian multiculturalism. South Africans now have a document with which they, too, can play.

It is the Chapter on Fundamental Rights in the Interim Constitution now being drafted by a technical committee at the World Trade Centre — the Bill of Rights which will govern the transition, and furnish an influential model for the final Bill of Rights.

On the surface, a most promising candidate for the value commanding first place in this Bill is equality. The Bill guarantees not just equality before the law, but equal protection of the law; and not just against the State, but, potentially, against private individuals.

The Bill puts an arguably looser rein on affirmative action programmes than even the ANC's draft Bill of Rights. And it gives one who complains of unfair discrimination (in certain kinds of proceedings) an unusual advantage by requiring the party defending the charge to

carry a special burden of proof.

The Bill, moreover, permits the rights it gives to be limited by legislation if the limitation is reasonable, and justifiable in a free, open and democratic society "based on the principle of equality".

It also directs that it is to be interpreted to promote the values which underlie a free, open and democratic society based, again, "on the principle of equality".

But any democratic society is "based on the principle of equality", in some sense or another of those capacious words. The useful question is, which particular sense? The Bill does not try to answer.

Merely to invoke the general idea of equality here adds very little to the meaning.

The content of "equality" has been debated so fully that the word is used these days to identify a section of a library, not to determine specific choices. Its presence in these clauses is largely futile and somewhat gratuitous.

This propensity to adorn clauses with unhelpful invocations of equality strengthens the impression that the document is uncommonly preoccupied with that value.

All of which might lead one to expect that on the great questions of principle, this Bill would consistently choose the egalitarian path. Curiously, however, on

THE draft Bill of Rights for the transition appeals to the idea of equality, but overlooks the concept of equal rights, argues Etienne Murelnik (right)

two of the oldest questions of equal rights — equality of religious freedom and equality of freedom of speech — the Bill comes down on the side of discrimination.

The religion clause says that "religious observances may be conducted at State or State-aided institutions ... provided that such observances are conducted on an equitable basis, and attendance thereat is free and voluntary".

It is far from clear what it means to conduct a religious observance, but since the most famous contemporary controversies in this area are about officially organised prayer in government schools, the Bill presumably means to endorse that practice.

It is not inconceivable that the clause will be taken as authority also for religious education in State schools, and for any number of as yet unenumerable practices committing the State to a particular religious perspec-



tive.

Nor is it clear whether the clause permits the State to discriminate between religions. That depends on the force to be given to the enigmatic condition "on an equitable basis".

It is plain from the contrast between "equitable" and the "equality" which punctuates the rest of the Bill that something less than equal treatment of the religions is intended. How much less, few can say.

But what is clear is that the State may discriminate between the religious and the irreligious; otherwise, the clause would have no point.

The point of the clause is to permit the State to endorse religious practices.

The effect of that is to signal greater State approval of believers than of non-believers; and the effect of that is to empower believers and weaken non-believers.

The classical example is school prayer. When the government endorses prayer, as it does when it authorises a State-employed teacher to lead a service, it announces its support for the religious.

To that it is no answer to make participation voluntary, as the clause does. For one thing, State endorsement itself operates in subtly coercive ways.

For another, State endorsement of school prayer divides the student body into insiders — those who participate — and outsiders, those who do not. In important ways, that discriminates on the ground of religion.

Religious equality requires the State to favour neither Christian over Muslim nor devout over faithless.

This clause arguably fails to guard against the first kind of favouritism, and it certainly fails to guard against the second.

Indeed, going to the other extreme, it pre-empted the debates in constitutional courts elsewhere that have proved so illuminating, and entrenches religious discrimination.

By doing that, it betrays the Bill's apparent devotion to equality.

Much the same is true of freedom of speech. The greatest threat to free speech is, and always has been, that government comes to dominate the means of communication, so that its message is heard considerably better than those of its rivals.

The most obvious way for government to do that is to censor, and the free speech clause in the Bill will guard against censorship (provided that its enforcement is given to trustworthy judges).

But censorship is not the only way for government to dominate the means of communication. Another is to use its control of some of the media to favour itself. The dismal history of the SABC makes that obvious.

To meet that danger, it was suggested to the Technical Committee that it include in the free speech clause a provision requiring the State, in the exercise of any control it may have over the public media, to ensure diversity of expression and opinion.

The object was to protect against radically unequal access

to the State-controlled media, and so to protect against what our history shows to be possibly the greatest threat to freedom of speech. To this, the committee nonchalantly replied that such a clause would be "inappropriate in a chapter on fundamental rights".

The nebulous negative "inappropriate" is, of course, a common refuge for those who cannot articulate a reason.

If the government's voice is heard much louder than everyone else's, speech is not free, and democracy is an illusion.

Far from being "inappropriate", this is a matter which lies at the core of the responsibility of those entrusted with constitutional protection of fundamental rights.

Freedom of speech, which they are charged with entrench-

ing, requires some measure of equality in access to the means of communication. Here, too, the Bill has missed a question of equality basic to the protection of fundamental rights.

It must be understood that the Technical Committee drafts under political direction, and that responsibility for the deficiencies of the Bill is unclear.

But whoever is responsible, the document reflects a process which has been so busy decorating the Bill with empty appeals to the idea of equality that it has overlooked concrete questions of equal rights central to true democracy.

It is surely time now for attention to move from ornamental equality to real equality.

■ *Etienne Muremik is a professor of law at the University of the Witwatersrand.*

Sisulu move stuns NEC

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Walter Sisulu stunned delegates at a crucial ANC executive meeting on Sunday by proposing that Professor Kader Asmal replace the late Oliver Tambo as ANC national chairman.

The proposal by Sisulu, ANC deputy president, was defeated as the majority of the national executive committee (NEC) rallied around foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki, whose elevation to the national chairmanship was announced on Monday.

Impeccable sources within the ANC's leadership told The Star that Sisulu stunned the NEC at its meeting outside Kempton Park when he moved that Asmal — an NEC member and University of the Western Cape academic — should succeed Tambo as national chairman.

According to the sources, Sisulu had apparently been asked by ANC president Nelson Mandela — who did not enter the debate himself — to broach the subject of Asmal's candidacy.

The sources believe the "top five" at the apex of the organisation's hierarchy — Mandela, Sisulu, treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and his deputy Jacob Zuma — had discussed the issue in advance and wanted a non-Xhosa, and preferably someone other than a black African, for the position.

It was hoped this would counter perceptions that the ANC was a black-dominated, Xhosa-dominated body, according to the sources.

Constitutional lawyer Asmal fitted the bill, they believed, but ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba put paid to the plan.

'Very badly'

Mokaba's argument in favour of an election — instead of a unanimous, unopposed appointment — was backed by most NEC members. Mbeki was then elected by an overwhelming majority, defeating Asmal, the only other candidate. Sources said Asmal scored "very badly".

A delegate said: "I have no problem with whites, coloureds and Indians rising to senior positions. But they, like Africans, must also go through the ranks and prove themselves."

The Mbeki-Asmal debate is believed to reflect the serious concern at the very top of the ANC that the leadership should become more racially representative.

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Mbeki's promotion means the national chairmanship changes from a purely ceremonial post. Many observers believe it now outranks the deputy presidency in practical terms, making Mbeki number two to Mandela.

There is no certainty as to when Sisulu will retire but it is understood that Ramaphosa would make himself available for the position.

Four killed in violence on Reef trains

■ BY BRONWYN WILKINSON

Police shot a man dead and wounded three others when they were attacked on a train at Grosvenor Station in Johannesburg today.

On the East Rand, the bodies of three men were found in a railway coach travelling between Kwesini and Germiston.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Colonel Dave

Bruce said commuters reported hearing shots fired in the carriage near Wadeville Station.

In the Grosvenor Station attack, plainclothes policemen were attacked by a gang of men. One of the policemen tried to fire at one of the attackers, but his gun jammed and the attacker grabbed it.

Several shots were exchanged and the attackers ran through the train.

Three people, including the man who took the gun, were arrested.

Star employee Ierlaan Livingstone, who lives near the station, said he heard 13 shots at about 5.40 am. He saw several people jumping out of the train in panic as it pulled into the station.

Residents of flats across the road from the station said they heard the shots but did not see what happened.

Police sealed off the third and fourth compartments of the train, keeping passengers inside while the train stood at the platform. Police would not allow the passengers to speak to the press.

In the second carriage lay the body of the man shot by police. Police removed the body and put it in a waiting room on the platform, covered with a white sheet.

At the door of the third car-

riage, which was sealed off, was a pool of blood, with a trail of blood leading on to the platform.

There was a smaller pool of blood on the floor of the empty fifth compartment.

The train was held at Grosvenor Station until 7.15 am, when it — and the witnesses in the two carriages — were taken on to Johannesburg Station.

De Klerk plans new bid to bring IFP back to talks

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

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Vital draft Bills approved

Breakthrough by negotiators

BY ESTHER WAUGH
and CHRIS WHITFIELD

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At the National Party's Free State Congress in Bloemfontein yesterday,

THE Negotiating Council is making progress with draft legislation leading up to elections in 1994

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Union seeks wage hearings

■ BY PAUL BELL
LABOUR CORRESPONDENT

The SA Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (Saccawu) is seeking conciliation board hearings in its wage disputes with the Metcash and Dion groups, and plans to ballot its members at CNA-Gallo on strike action.

In the CNA-Gallo dispute, now several months old, Saccawu rejected an offer of R165 across the board, or 12 percent, and demanded R230. Its 5 000 members will begin a strike ballot next week.

From the Metcash group the union wants R230 across the board, or 20 percent, instead of management's 5 and 11 percent.

The dispute involves about 6 000 workers at 180 outlets, who have already begun industrial action including go-slows and the jamming of tills. A conciliation board hearing is set for September 17.

At Dion, Saccawu's 1 000 members want R220 while the company is offering R138.

Meanwhile, Saccawu has welcomed the establishment of a sister union in Bophuthatswana whose members work mostly for Sun International.

Saccawu initially condemned it as a surrogate of the Bop government. But this was because anti-Cosatu remarks in a Bop government statement were wrongly attributed to a union official.

Modise, Zuma 'were not linked to torture'

High-ranking ANC officials Jacob Zuma and Joe Modise — who were listed among "culprits" in the ANC-appointed Motsuenyane Commission into human rights violations in the organisation's camps in exile — were not personally linked to any form of torture or ill-treatment, says the ANC.

Calls on the ANC leadership to take punitive action against people implicated in human rights abuses have focused particularly on deputy secretary-general Zuma and defence sec-

retary Modise.

To a lesser extent, people still serving in the ANC's security and intelligence department — including ANC president Nelson Mandela's bodyguard Basil Mavuso — were also the focus of the shrill calls.

According to the ANC, neither Zuma nor Modise was implicated by the Motsuenyane Commission "in any way concerning the gross violations ... nor was there anything in the report to indicate in any way that they were linked directly or indirectly

with any form of torture or ill-treatment".

Both Zuma and Modise have remained tight-lipped throughout this controversy, and attempts to reach them yesterday failed. Zuma was said to be out of town until today and Modise did not return numerous messages left for him.

The commission found Modise, who was then an Umkhonto we Sizwe commander, to have violated the rights of Dumisani Oupa Khosa — who was detained between 1981 and 1984 —

by arresting him without cause.

Zuma, then security and intelligence chief, was found to have "failed to adequately supervise" an investigation into the activities of David Mbatha and "to assure its prompt resolution". Mbatha was detained for two months in 1988 on suspicion of being "an enemy agent".

Those who still serve in the ANC's security and intelligence department despite allegations against them are Mavuso, Griffiths Seboni and Golden Rahupe.

— Political Correspondent

ANC urged to punish those guilty of abusing detainees

'Punish camps culprits'

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The ANC has come under heavy fire from various political and human rights organisations for its decision not to punish those in its ranks implicated in human rights abuses.

Although some yesterday welcomed the ANC's call for the establishment of a national "commission of truth" to investigate human rights abuses across the political spectrum, they have nevertheless expressed disappointment at the ANC's failure to punish the "culprits".

Democratic Party Houghton MP and justice spokesman Tony Leon said: "It seems that the ANC's quest for power and the primacy of the looming election campaign override any other consideration of decency and responsibility."

Problems

National Party spokesman Marthinus van Schalkwyk slammed the ANC's "incapability or unwillingness to deal with the Motsuenyane report".

He said the ANC's proposal for a "commission of truth" was an attempt to avoid dealing with its internal problems before the election.

In its response to the com-

mission's report, the ANC apologised publicly for human rights abuses in its camps in exile, but insisted no immediate action would be taken against individuals implicated in the documented abuses.

Instead, the ANC called for the establishment of a national "commission of truth" to conduct an across-the-board investigation into all human rights violations and make recommendations on compensation and possible punitive measures.

Van Schalkwyk said the NP was opposed to a "commission of truth" which, despite the ANC's denials, would amount to Nuremberg-type trials.

He said enough instruments — such as commissions of inquiry, legal inquests and criminal investigations — existed to deal with alleged malpractices.

Leon said it was now clear the ANC had no intention of applying any sanction or expression of disapproval to those of its members whom its own commission had found guilty of atrocities.

Like his leader Dr Zach de Beer, Leon welcomed the call for the establishment of a "commission of truth", saying it was a good idea for achieving a full disclosure on rights abuses by all sides.

Leon was concerned, however, that the ANC appeared to be



Tony Leon ... quest for power overrides decency.

using the idea "as an escape hatch from its own responsibility to discipline its own officials".

Addressing the NP Free State congress in Bloemfontein yesterday, Justice and Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee said the Motsuenyane Commission's findings showed the ANC needed full indemnity.

Coetsee said the commission's report should be sent to the governments in whose countries the violations had occurred. If their

courts found reason to prosecute, they would have to apply for extradition.

"Considering the recent history, if I am required to consider extradition applications, my attitude is that the time has come to finally clear the slate and close the book on the past.

"Let us close all the books on a time of our history that we must write off," Coetsee said.

Lawyers for Human Rights national director Brian Currin said that while it was commendable that the ANC leadership had accepted collective responsibility for the atrocities, the ANC had to be reminded that it could not accept collective accountability too.

Currin, who also supported the idea of a "commission of truth", said the individuals who had carried out the atrocities had to be acted against.

Farce

The German-based International Society for Human Rights (ISHR) said yesterday the ANC's response to the Motsuenyane Commission rendered the probe a farce, adding that those involved in the investigations had been misused.

The ISHR said it would seek European Community support for rehabilitating and compensating abuse victims.

SAP 'monitored most in world'

■ STAFF REPORTER

The SAP, which is subjected to a mass of independent scrutiny, is the most monitored police force in the world, a police officer said yesterday.

Brigadier Steve van Rooyen, commander of the SAP's newly established Bilateral and Multilateral Agreements Unit, told a briefing of editors that there were more than 20 forms of observation focused on the SAP.

The SAP was bound by the terms of the National Peace Accord and this implied a certain degree of monitoring to ensure that SAP members complied with their code of conduct.

Regional and local peace committees established in terms of the National Peace Accord also provided close monitoring at grassroots level.

International monitors from the United Nations, the European Community and the Organisation of African Unity were in South Africa with the specific goal of providing a "framework and basis for putting an end to violence in the country". Their tasks included close scrutiny of the SAP.

Senior policemen from other countries had also been called in to monitor specific SAP investigations, Van Rooyen said.

The International Committee of the Red Cross had been given unlimited access to police stations and police cells.

Internally, the Police Board made recommendations on aspects of policing in order to reconcile the interests of the community and the SAP. This was, in effect, a form of internal monitoring, Van Rooyen said.

Police reporting officers had been appointed to deal specifically with complaints of alleged police misconduct. Complaints could also be reported directly to the SAP Commissioner, General Johan van der Merwe.

Other organisations that kept a close watch on the SAP included the media, attorneys-general, peace committees and local peace monitors.

"The SAP is presently the most monitored police force in the international community," Van Rooyen said. Those who made continuous allegations of police involvement in violence should take note of this and lodge their complaints through these channels.

Intervention a hope of 'speedy return to normal'

ANC backs Wits students

■ BY PHIL MOLEFE
EDUCATION REPORTER

The ANC-led alliance yesterday threw its weight behind students' demands at Wits University and urged the institution's management to agree to the establishment of a "credible transformation forum".

ANC PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale, speaking on behalf of a wide range of community and education organisations aligned to the liberation movement, said the alliance had been spurred on in its activity by the desire for a speedy return to a "normal situation".

After a late night meeting yesterday, a Wits University spokesman said a response to an ANC request for a meeting could be expected today.

THE ANC has urged the establishment of a 'transformation forum' and wants to meet the university authorities as soon as possible

The council meanwhile rejected demands for its resignation and reaffirmed its "legitimacy as the highest decision-making body in the university".

The council expressed its confidence in all its senior administrators and added that it supported action taken by them.

It urged them to seek ways of setting up a consultative structure to consider concerns of the university community.

The National Education,

Health and Allied Workers' Union, which represents the majority of blue-collar workers on campus, resolved yesterday to go on strike in solidarity with the students' demands.

The South African Students' Congress is demanding, among other things, the withdrawal of a court interdict prohibiting the organisation from damaging property or interfering with lectures during demonstrations.

Peace monitors helped avert confrontation between students after clashes erupted when white students tried to clean the littered grounds yesterday.

Sexwale said that, while supporting the students' demands, the ANC alliance dissociated itself from all acts of violence, the destruction of property and assaults on individuals.

The ANC-led education alliance is to lead a march to Wits today to highlight the students' demands and put pressure on the administration to reopen negotiations.

The National Party Youth Action yesterday demanded that the ANC keep out of the Wits crisis and give students and administrators time to resolve their problems during the week-long holiday starting on Friday.

Meanwhile, the protests have been extended. Yesterday, the Mamelodi campus of Vista University was closed indefinitely after students broke doors and windows and littered the administration block.

The Western Cape region of Sasco said yesterday that it would be announcing an programme of action soon.

Scepticism over ANC rebuttal

It is with much scepticism that I read of Peter Mokaba's rebuttal by the ANC of a speech he had made earlier in Tembisa (The Star, August 17 and 18).

I have no doubt that what revolutionaries like Mokaba say they ardently believe, and a rebuke by the ANC is merely the proverbial water off the duck's back. It is also ominous that the SACP have maintained a significant silence whenever Mokaba sallies forth, for he claims membership of that organisation too.

John Schaffner

Pretoria

DP part of 'demonisation' campaign

The African National Congress Youth League notes the statement by the Democratic Party Youth about their intentions to stage a "hit-back campaign" against us.

Their complaints arise from the disruption of their meetings in Orange Farm and at the University of the Western Cape.

The ANC Youth League and the ANC are on record condemning the disruption of meetings of any organisation.

The ANC Youth League condemns the concept of no-go areas for certain organisations.

It has accepted a request by the leadership of the DP Youth for a meeting to discuss the problems of intolerance in particular areas. As far as we know, it is the DP Youth that is delaying this meeting by insisting on a neutral chairperson and a neutral venue.

We insist that it is paramount that we meet so that a solution to the problem can be found.

We, however, wish to warn the DP Youth to refrain from two things:

■ To initiate campaigns that are designed in such a way that they may result in violence being used against our structures and communities. This has mainly been the province of the National Party regime and its allies. The DP can only join these forces at its own peril.

■ To base its political and election campaign on attacking the integrity of the ANC Youth League and the ANC. We warn against this because the DP has been part of the demonisation campaign of ANC leaders, some of whom have been assassinated or missed death by a few inches.

A remarkable example is the late general secretary of the SACP, Comrade Chris Hani, whom some DP leaders referred to as the Saddam Hussein of South Africa.

We, however, wish to state that the DP Youth have every right to criticise our policies and practices. In criticising our policies, they have the right to go deep into the oppressed communities which we as a liberation movement are still involved in a struggle to liberate. This is despite the fact that the DP and its predecessors have been integrated in the ruling bloc which held our people in bondage for decades.

We reiterate our willingness to meet with the DP Youth at the earliest opportunity.

P K Mankahlane
Information Secretary, ANC

Johannesburg

□ □ □

Yes we chased the DP out of Orange Farm. We make no apologies. We warned them before. The DP must understand that there is no place in the townships for their policies.

We have not struggled for years against the regime to allow them to implement racial-capitalist policies. We want a socialist transformation. We want the complete transfer of wealth from whites to the oppressed. We want to follow the shining path to freedom.

Justice Sithole

Joubert Park,
Johannesburg

□ □ □

Another Democratic Party meeting broken up and DP supporters manhandled and doused in petrol!

The perpetrators — young savages openly claiming to support the ANC and PAC.

The perpetrators — young savages openly claiming to support the ANC and PAC.

We should perhaps thank these young savages because many decent folk out there are asking: Do we want to be associated with such barbarism?

The same decent folk are steadily swelling the ranks of the DP because they have come to realise that here we have a political set-up that is, has and always will practise democracy in its truest sense and not just pay lip service to the concept.

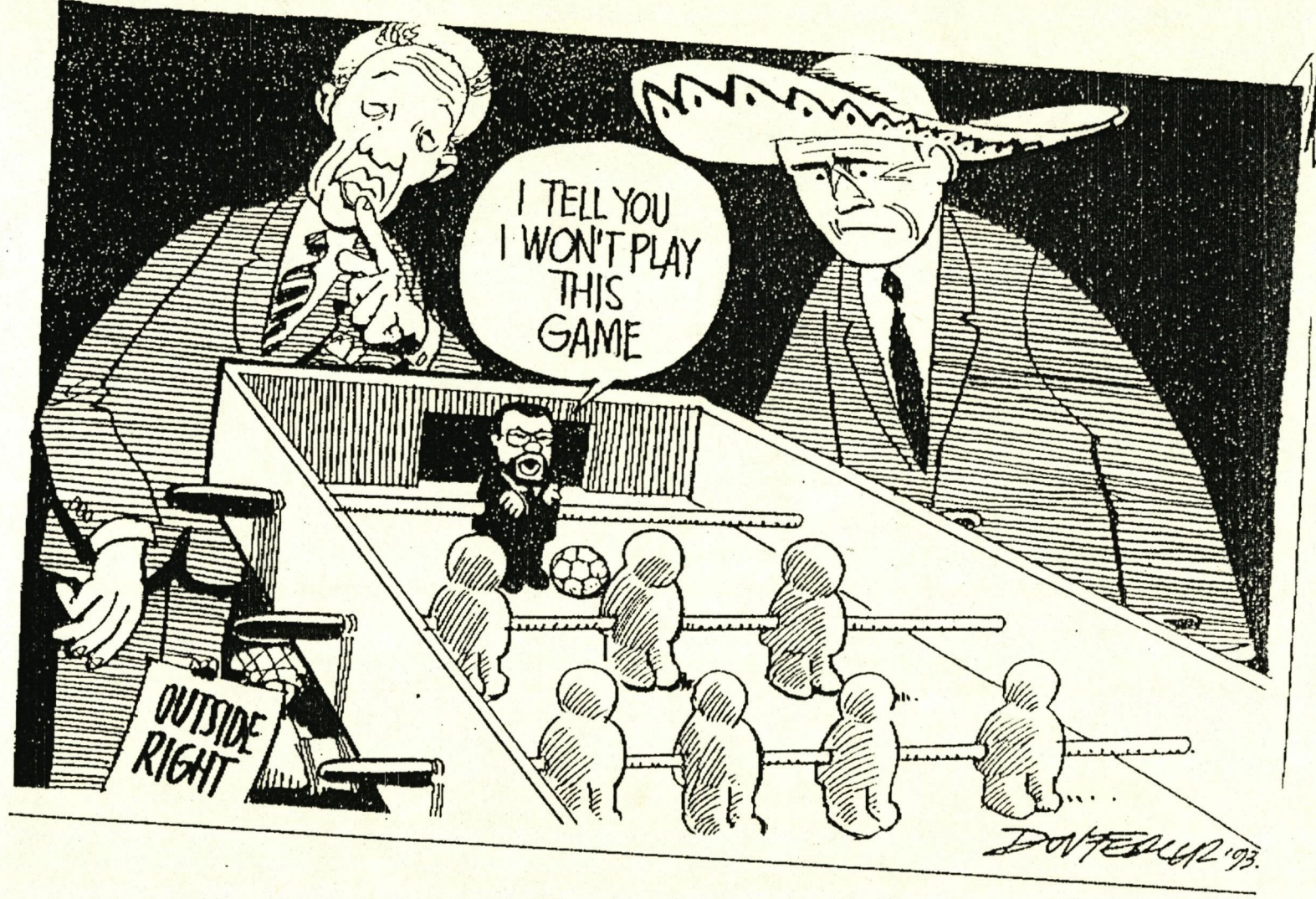
These young savages so eagerly egged on by Peter Mokaba and the like are doing a great job.

D Opperman

Johannesburg



Demonised, then assassinated ... the late Chris Hani was referred to as the "Saddam Hussein of South Africa" by certain leaders of the Democratic Party, claims the ANC Youth League (left).



The National Party has got its strategy for next year's general election worked out: hammer the ANC repeatedly on its policies — or lack thereof — and convince the electorate that only a NP government can guarantee economic growth and win acceptance in many western capitals.

This is a message South Africa will hear over and over again in the run-up to the election, and Foreign Affairs Minister and Transvaal NP leader Pik Botha has made no secret of that.

The NP's election machine is well oiled and ready to switch to a higher gear, and the party is in a combative mood. As President de Klerk said in his capacity as NP leader in Durban recently, for the NP the ANC is the primary opponent in the April 27 "mother of all elections".

And all indications are that things are going to be ugly, and accusations and counter-accusations will fly. Despite massive intimidation in the townships, the NP will go all out to woo black voters, and Botha will play no small part in this.

Now the longest serving Foreign Affairs Minister in the world, and De Klerk's most senior Cabinet colleague, Botha has as his advantage the fact that he has always been known to be one of the *verligte* Ministers who have at times spoken out against the policy of apartheid.

Probably South Africa's most adept politician when it comes to dealing with the media, Botha, who as Foreign Minister had to parry questions from a hostile foreign press in the heydays of apartheid, has now appropriated some African idioms and the vocabulary of anti-apartheid activists.

He describes apartheid as "the biggest mistake" the Nats have made since coming to power in 1948, and apologises unreservedly for it.

He calls De Klerk "a strong chief" who will put up a brave fight for traditional leaders' rights, and he calls the governments of KaNgwane and Lebowa, which have close ties with the ANC and have been critical of Pretoria, "nothing but puppets which were creatures of apartheid".

He does not spare the ANC, either. He accuses it of a lack of vision and policies, and says it has lived off apartheid.

Botha says that while the NP has turned its back on apartheid, the ANC remains in an alliance with the South African Communist Party which still adheres to "failed economic policies".

And he puts his experience as Foreign Minister to good use, warning that representatives of many industrialised nations he has spoken to want the NP to be part of a new government.

"The ANC cannot supply this country with a policy, because it never had one (as) it

lived on apartheid. The animal apartheid was shot, and now the ticks are leaving," Botha said recently.

The ANC, of course, will hit back and point at the levels of corruption which have been uncovered in the public service. It will remind blacks of the suffering and humiliation visited upon them by apartheid over the years, to which the NP will say it is now a new party.

Unveiling his party's strategy for the election in the Transvaal, Botha said there would be national policy statements enunciated by De Klerk and various members of his Cabinet, and then the regions would diversify their campaigns to suit local conditions.

Significantly, heading these campaigns will be local people, such as David Chuenyane in Soweto.

And here lies the problem. With NP and Democratic Party leaders declared *personae non grata* in the townships, recruiting in these areas will be a major headache for the two parties. But the NP knows that if it is to have a respectable showing in the election, it will have to make major inroads into the black constituency.

That is why the Natal NP congress — and Botha in Johannesburg a few days later — said the question of intimidation will have to be taken up at the multiparty negotiations at the World Trade Centre.

Again, the blame for the widescale intimidation is laid at the ANC's door.

The DP, whose meetings have been disrupted by people claiming to be members of the liberation movements, has called on the ANC to guarantee that its members will not be intimidated.

But the southern Transvaal region of the South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), which want the townships to be NP- and DP-free, have made it plain they have no such intentions.

Sanco southern Transvaal president Kgabisi Mosunkutu has stoutly defended the recent disruption of a DP meeting at Orange Farm, south of Johannesburg, saying the party was repeatedly warned "to stay out of the townships" as its "interference will be regarded as an invasion".

And so the road ahead for the NP is strewn with all kinds of thorns, but the NP — and Botha in particular — is not about to "curl up and die".

With some of its traditional supporters leaving it in droves for the right, the NP is aware its salvation might lie with yesterday's political lepers: blacks.

And that explains why Botha in particular happily welcomes the "greying" of the NP.

He told about 700 youths attending a NP Transvaal youth congress at Naboomspruit at the weekend that the day the majority of NP members were black would be "my day of greatest joy".

THE multiparty negotiations seem more likely to succeed than Codesa. Are you hopeful that this process will reach a conclusion without another breakdown?

The parties have come through an important learning process. There is a greater degree of realism and less posturing. But the most important development is the ANC's shift on a government of national unity. That fundamentally affected the style of negotiations, opening the way towards clearing out certain priorities.

One of them is the crisis of transitional stability. I cannot see how the ANC and government can negotiate constitutional rules of transition if they haven't clarified their common position on violence and the instruments of violence.

We still have a large number of defence forces, police forces and private militia with different chains of command, who believe they are going to solve the problem of transition on behalf of their constituents. This is an untenable situation.

Is that the major obstacle to an agreement — the external question of stability?

There are others, such as regional government. The Inkatha Freedom Party and ANC differ fundamentally on this issue. The IFP wants a bottom-up solution: let regions decide which powers they want to hold, and then give the rest to central government. It makes sense in the case of Natal, but it is untenable in the rest of the country, because it begs the question as to what the other regions are. You can't give the same regional status to Qwaqwa or Bophuthatswana that you can give to Natal.

But the obstacles lie to a large extent on the level of violence. Violence becomes a symbol of a host of unresolved issues. For example, violence cannot be divorced from the state of the economy, ... from the battle for political turf. The agreement between the parties on how to deal with violence on a formal basis is the beginning of the process of getting rid of practical obstacles all along the way. I would say violence is the major obstacle to negotiations. You seem to be talking about a re-ordering of the negotiating process.

Our dilemma is that we have to

A united stand on achieving stability must come first

Van Zyl Slabbert argues that SA's transition to democracy will probably not succeed unless the issues of violence and stability are placed at the top of the negotiating agenda. RIAAN DE VILLIERS spoke to him.

deal concurrently with four problems of transition which are all critical to its success: the problems of stability, legitimacy, growth and redistribution. You will not be allowed the luxury of ignoring any of them, or focusing exclusively on one.

We have created an enduring crisis of legitimacy, and part and parcel of it is the problem of stability. That is why we cannot develop, because development is still linked to political mobilisation.

When President F.W. de Klerk announced intensified security measures, he said he had consulted other parties. Is that adequate?

This is an issue that both the ANC and government have ignored from the outset; to find consensus on the role of the security forces in transition, as a priority in negotiation. You cannot go into a new constitutional space where the issue of security is disputed, because then you will tear that space apart.

Three of the four problems I have mentioned — security, growth and redistribution — were ignored right up to Codesa II. The national peace accord was instituted, but the politicians never took it seriously. In fact, the whole issue of violence became the subject of political posturing. The longer Codesa sat, the more the violence escalated. In that sense it

was a good thing that Codesa II broke up, because it put all the negotiating eggs into one basket.

The debate also focused almost exclusively on the constitutional crisis. Since the break-up of Codesa II a National Economic Forum and National Housing Forum have been established, other forums are emerging. In other words, there has been a proliferation of sites of bargaining and negotiation, pulling in a much wider range of expertise, to focus on specific issues. But there still is no forum to negotiate stability.

You're going to have fringe parties; you're going to have militant fringes. But can you have a coalescing centre that will agree on security, and how to deal with fringe radicalism? That is the critical question.

Would the multiparty talks be the correct locus for negotiating this kind of consensus?

The multiparty forum will talk about security; it all depends on who they pull into these discussions. The talks must not consist only of politicians. You must have the high command of Apla, MK, even Aquila. And you must have the generals. You also have to clear up the status of the

armies and police forces of the homelands and TBVC states.

You may agree on all the rules of the game. But if you don't maintain stability, if you don't have some force to reinforce what you've agreed, then forget it.

You seem to hold out very little hope for the transitional process as it has been sketched out until now.

Every time I look at the agenda, I start asking, is that time frame realistic in terms of what is happening at the moment? What would have to happen outside of that agenda to make it feasible? Elections are being planned for April. I'm not saying it's impossible — I'm just saying, if it has to become possible, or probable, other things have to happen.

And the major one is settling the issue of stability.

Yes. You can distinguish analytically between the areas I have mentioned — stability, legitimacy, growth, redistribution. But you cannot redistribute if there is no growth; you cannot have growth if there is no legitimacy; you cannot have legitimacy if there is no stability. What do you believe should be done regarding stability?

(Nelson) Mandela, (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi, De Klerk and whoever else is politically relevant should lock themselves up in a boseraad

with the generals of all the militia. Those who exclude themselves must face the consequences of whatever consensus is reached.

The army and the police have to be owned by all the major political players, they cannot be owned by one because then stability becomes a politically partisan issue.

How could one change the orientation of the SADF, for example?

By saying to them, what's past is past. You can become the greatest peacekeeping force in Africa. But you have to tell them that they have a role. P.W. Botha made it so blindingly clear to them that they had an absolutely critical role — the total strategy. Now, the politicians are negotiating with the very people who were responsible for the "total onslaught". I mean, it's the greatest form of goal displacement you can think of. One moment, they were going to get promoted by shooting Afri members on sight; now, they've got to protect them when they march to the Union Buildings. They have no clear picture of their role.

This kind of approach seems to depart from the Westminster-type model where the military and police are part of civil service and therefore supposedly politically neutral.

No, in fact, you're re-establishing that role. You can't simply say the defence force must remain loyal to the regime of the day, because the regime of the day is in a process of transformation. The ANC is correct — you have to negotiate civilian control over the security forces, so the forces can say: that multiparty focus, that's what I now give my allegiance to, because it's in the process of transition to something else.

This is where the concept of "sufficient consensus" is going to be honed. Because, let's say the government, ANC and Inkatha agree to rationalise all the security forces and all private militia into the SADF, and to clamp down on all the other private militia that do not want to re-operate. But in the name of what do you do this? It must be in the name of the transitional legitimacy that you have created through bargaining.

I think is an edited extract of an article in the latest edition of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy's journal *Towards Democracy*.

Since the announcement of next year's April 27 election, political parties' election machines have swung into action. Political Correspondent Kaizer Nyatsumba looks at the NP's strategy

The chiefs, puppets and the black vote



Pik Botha . . . acquired African idioms to woo blacks to the NP.



David Chuenyane . . . will head NP campaign in Soweto.

ANC takes flak for inaction on abuse

WASHINGTON — The US attorney who served on the Motsuenyane commission yesterday criticised the ANC's handling of the commission's findings — as did SA human rights groups.

And Sapa reports President FW de Klerk called the ANC's reaction weak and unconvincing.

Attorney Margaret Burnham said she was disappointed by the ANC's response to the recommendation that disciplinary action be taken against human rights violators named in the report, which found that murder and torture had been perpetrated in the organisation's camps.

Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) and the Human Rights Commission (HRC) both criticised the ANC's call for a truth commission in place of disciplinary action. The HRC said the ANC "appears to be exonerating itself through a comparison with the appalling human rights record of the present SA government".

Although Burnham stopped short of criticising the ANC, she said the ANC's response "was not how we felt the thing should be resolved".

She said she could understand the ANC's call for a truth commission.

"The matter has to be contextualised ... all have to feel that their grievances are being attended to."

However, she hoped there would not be too long a delay in granting redress to those who had suffered in the camps, and that if the ANC could not afford financial compensation, other means be found.

These might include providing "educational opportunities" for victims and "opening arms to those who still want to belong to the organisation but who have been labelled enemies."

"A lot of the people who came before us were interested in having their names cleared."

As for what penalties might be assessed against those identified as having committed abuses, that had been beyond the commission's brief.

SIMON BARBER and
PATRICK BULGER

Nonetheless, she and her fellow commissioners felt that while there was a need for the ANC to take "collective responsibility" for the abuses, "if human rights are to be rigorously enforced, individual responsibility is also required".

De Klerk told the NP Free State congress the ANC was always quick to accuse the NP and government, but there was no doubt that it knew about the atrocities committed at its camps, and yet it tried to say it did not know.

When the NP became aware of incidents that had to be investigated, it took steps against each and every individual against whom such evidence came to the fore, said De Klerk.

NP spokesman Marthinus van Schalkwyk said the NP derived no pleasure from the ANC's inability or unwillingness to deal with the Motsuenyane report. He said the ANC was engaged in an exercise to avoid its responsibilities.

DP Justice spokesman Tony Leon said the ANC was using the idea of a truth commission as an escape hatch.

"Its substitution of pious words for decisive action is cynical in the extreme," he said.

Lawyers for Human Rights national director Brian Currin said yesterday: "The LHR believes the ANC is shirking its responsibility and calls upon the organisation to take action against those members found to have been responsible for human rights abuses and provide assurance that these individuals will not be considered eligible for party or public office in the future."

Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Ed Tillet said the ANC decision was "a breathtaking slap in the face for the numerous victims who suffered cruel treatment and often death at the hands of their ANC captors".

The German-based International Society for Human Rights said the decision not to act on the report rendered the probe a farce.

FW, Buthelezi to meet 'soon'

BLOEMFONTEIN — President F W de Klerk announced yesterday that he and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosutho Buthelezi would meet for extended discussions soon in a last-ditch effort to patch up their differences.

De Klerk told about 800 NP supporters he knew there was concern about the relationship between the NP and Inkatha, saying the NP would continue to adopt a constructive approach. "We would like to co-operate on matters on which we agree and wish to continue talking about those on which we differ. The NP recognises Inkatha as an important role player that has to be party to agreements," he said.

He and Buthelezi had agreed both sides would be assisted by teams of senior advisers and negotiators.

The date of the meeting was still to be determined.

Part of De Klerk's speech was translated into Setswana, including a passage in which he said the NP had "cleansed itself from within of that which was morally indefensible".

De Klerk said the NP was the only party able to "counter the reality of the ANC effectively". He repeated previous statements that the ANC was "dangerous and unreliable".

There was an enormous gulf be-

TIM COHEN

tween the sometimes fine utterances of ANC leaders and the actions of its members on the ground.

"Talk of peace and justice covers up acts of violence and intimidation."

He also took swipes at the CP, which he said was "tottering". The party's leader, Ferdi Hartzenberg, did not "inspire confidence" and was fast losing support within the CP. The Afrikaner Volksfront map was so transparently artificial that it would be hilarious if it were not so tragic.

He lauded his own party, saying there were grounds for praising the NP's economic management under difficult circumstances.

Inflation had declined from 16% to 10%, tax rates had been reduced, interest rates had declined from more than 20% to 16%, import surcharges had been lowered, JSE share indices had risen by one third and foreign debt had declined from \$20bn to \$16bn.

There had been considerable progress in the promotion of small and informal business and the deregulation of the financial sector.

Government had commercialised most of its business enterprises in a step towards privatisation and reduced consumption spending, he said.

Homeland bid to recover cash

WASHINGTON — Senior members of the Bophuthatswana cabinet are on the board of a closely held US company set up to retrieve millions of dollars the homeland claims were fraudulently misappropriated by a Washington lobbyist and a law firm.

The company, Achievers Investments, was established after the State Department said Bophuthatswana could not file a suit because, in the official US view, it does not legally exist.

On August 18, Superior Court Judge Evelyn Queen ruled that since Bophuthatswana had "assigned all rights and title to its claim" to the new firm, it could sue in its stead.

If successful, the company stands to receive more than \$6m in compensation.

There is no guarantee the money will revert to the Bophuthatswana treasury or whatever authority assumes its place under a new SA constitution.

The company's board includes Foreign Minister Thomas Setiloane, Foreign Affairs Secretary Israel Menong, and Economic Affairs Minister Ephraim Keikeleme, acting in their private capacities, according to incorporation documents.

Edward Weidenfeld, whose law firm Weidenfeld and Rooney is representing the company, declined to identify its share-

SIMON BARBER

holders but said they would be meeting soon to elect a new board.

He acknowledged there could be questions about who would receive the proceeds of a judgment, but promised it would benefit the homeland's people.

The principal defendants in the case, Washington lawyers Steven Karelekas and John McCahill, intend to appeal against Queen's ruling, their attorney Robert Hesselbacher said.

The suit alleges lobbyist James Denson, and the attorneys advised the homeland to purchase an "embassy" in Washington. Since the State Department would not allow Bophuthatswana to own property, they suggested forming an "educational" trust. In 1989, Bophuthatswana sent the trust \$525 000 to purchase a house and \$2m for improvements.

Since Bophuthatswana could never take title to the building, it had unwittingly made a gift of the property to the trust, as it discovered when it sought to clarify ownership.

According to the suit, the trust mortgaged the building while at the same time leasing it back to Denson, who charged the \$6 000 monthly rent to Mmabatho.

Agreed legislation could be delayed — Meyer

BLOEMFONTEIN — Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday certain legislation agreed at the World Trade Centre would not necessarily come into effect until agreement was reached on the transitional constitution.

Meyer, addressing the congress, adopted a more guarded stance than in the past on the planned legislation on the independent electoral and media commissions, which was agreed at Kempton Park yesterday.

Agreement could be reached on the

TIM COHEN

interim broadcasting authority this week, and it was possible legislation could also be presented on the proposed transitional executive committee (TEC) during the short session of Parliament this month.

Meyer said implementation of the proposed legislation could be postponed until agreement was reached on the constitution.

He told about 200 NP delegates government would not leave the

World Trade Centre negotiating council until agreement was reached on the new constitution, and it would not make sense for the proposed legislation to come into effect until the constitution was agreed.

Afterwards Meyer clarified his statement by saying the ultimate decision on when the legislation would come into effect would be taken by the negotiating council, although government would be arguing that implementation of some of the legislation should not be immediate.

Changes to the Police Act likely

STEPHANE BOTHMA

THE Police Act was likely to be amended during the September parliamentary session to allow policemen to become members of trade unions, Police Commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe said yesterday.

However, while consideration would be given to the principle of free association, union membership would be properly regulated, Van der Merwe said.

He warned that policemen who were guilty of misconduct in the past during union marches and demonstrations would still face the consequences.

"Those guilty of misconduct must not entertain the hope that political influences will prevent us from acting against them in accordance with the law," he said.

It was accepted that members of a police service could not be dealt with in the same manner as members of other organisations and that the right to strike was excluded.

Referring to recent protest action by policemen participating in a Police and Prison Civil Rights Union (Popcru) march, Van der Merwe said the SAP had been investigating steps to improve the position of police assistants.

Most policemen who held membership of Popcru were police assistants, he added.

A process was in operation whereby assistants who were suitable for service as fully fledged members were selected with a view to retraining and permanent employment, Van der Merwe said.

Investigations into instances where policemen had already taken part in marches and demonstrations had almost reached finality and departmental trials and inquiries would follow soon.

Van der Merwe said the law would take its course in cases where members were found to have contravened departmental policy.

ANC 'plays big role in foreign affairs'

PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC was deeply involved in SA's foreign affairs on both a political and economic level, ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki said yesterday.

Speaking at an African-American Institute breakfast in Johannesburg, Mbeki said he was not sure how successful the ANC had been in informing South Africans of its efforts in the foreign affairs field.

The ANC's initiatives included:

- An attempt to negotiate an end to the Angolan and Mozambican conflicts;
- Negotiations with banks in Switzerland about the handling of SA's foreign debt;
- Discussions with the Russian government about SA's and that country's near-monopoly of precious raw materials;
- Continuing discussions with the major economic powers such as the US, Germany and Japan about SA's role in the world economy; and
- Cultivating ties with countries and movements traditionally hostile to SA, such as the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, Libya and Cuba.

Mbeki said about 60% of his foreign negotiations concerned economics, with only 40% being about politics. It was important that SA took advantage of the special place it had come to occupy in the minds of international political and business leaders.

"We are trying to define SA's place in the world. We don't want a situation to arise where we lose that special place in people's minds," he said.

Finance Minister Derek Keys was discussing with the ANC his attempts to re-negotiate SA's foreign debt and had handed over to the ANC documentation relating to these negotiations.

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Mbeki

"I am talking to Swiss bankers about this debt. When they ask me: 'On whose behalf are you talking?' I reply: 'On behalf of the SA government and the ANC'," Mbeki said.

The ANC could make a much greater impact on US investors than SA's foreign service, which needed a complete revamp. The establishment of a transitional executive council with its foreign affairs sub-council would accelerate the process of involving the ANC in foreign affairs.

The ANC expected that SA's government

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would need to make a more substantial contribution to peacekeeping in Africa. However, it could not retain its present military capacity as this would push other southern African countries into retaining military forces beyond their means.

SA would have diplomatic ties with the China and lower-level ties with Taiwan, in keeping with international practice, Mbeki said.

● Picture: Page 3

Unanimous agreement on draft Bills

BILLY PADDOCK

IN THE first tangible results of three years of negotiations, draft legislation was unanimously approved by all 23 parties at the World Trade Centre yesterday.

It is understood that the Inkatha Freedom Party gave its approval to the draft legislation in talks with government on Saturday. However, Inkatha negotiators Walter Felgate and Ben Ngubane were not available to comment last night.

ANC negotiator Penuel Maduna said: "We are pleased and excited by this because it is the first time the PAC, the ANC and the NP have agreed on something which is to go to Parliament."

With almost no discussion, the negotiators passed draft legislation to monitor and control broadcasting in the run-up to elections, and to establish the powerful independent electoral commission. This will be the final arbiter of whether elections are free and fair.

Maduna said all parties had had to compromise, and the process had sent out "a signal to our people that we are on the road to a democratic election."

DP negotiator Ken Andrew, who chaired the ad hoc committee on the independent electoral commission to facilitate political compromises, said acceptance of the Bill was the official start of the transition.

Government negotiator and Home Affairs Minister Dami Schutte said the committee had done a "great piece of work".

The Bills on the electoral commission and the media commission will be submitted to this month's special sitting of Parliament, to be enacted and promulgated by President F W de Klerk.

The electoral commission will promote conditions conducive to free and fair elections; determine and certify the results; conduct voter education; and make and enforce regulations to achieve these ends.

All objections to rulings by the transitional executive council, TEC, or other

□ To Page 2

Draft Bills

□ From Page 1

transitional bodies, will be determined finally by the commission.

The commission will function without political or other bias or interference and will be independent from the TEC, any party, any government and its administration, or any other functionary body, "whether directly or indirectly representing the interests of any such entity", the Bill reads.

On the TEC's advice, the President will set up an international advisory committee to advise the commission on any matter regarding the performance of its functions. This committee will determine the procedures it will follow to assist the commission in ensuring that the election results are internationally accepted.

The Independent Media Commission Bill will ensure that the broadcasting services treat all political parties equitably during the national and regional elections. It will also ensure that state-financed publications and information services do not advance the interests of any political party.

Radio 702, Capital Radio and Radio Trinity are also covered by the Bill.

The commission will monitor all broadcasting services and enforce compliance with the Bill in terms of party broadcasts and advertising.

No party broadcast will be permitted during the last 48 hours before the election.

The commission can force broadcasters to give all parties equal opportunity to respond to political advertisements, as well as opponents' claims.

All publications will have to give the commission copies within 48 hours of printing, and no advertisement or "other material which is intended or calculated to support or advance the interests of any political party" will be allowed.

Contravention of the Act, or non-compliance with a commission order, can be punished with a fine of up to R100 000.

In exceptional cases the commission can suspend a broadcaster's licence.

DP broadcasting negotiator Peter Soal said it was a "most significant Bill as the population can now feel assured that state-controlled media would be monitored and checked carefully to eliminate all bias".

'Time ripe' for military govt

PRETORIA — The time was ripe for an interim military government to take charge in SA to restore law and order, Transvaal Agricultural Union president Dries Bruwer said last night.

He told the TAU annual congress that violence would continue until a winner emerged.

"I am asking, do we not have to stop interfering in ethnic clashes?"

Bruwer said the defence forces were divided and all kinds of plans were being made to restore law and order.

However SA was caught up in a revolutionary war and, in certain townships, full-scale ethnic war was being waged.

The SA scene was dominated by a power struggle which had an adverse effect on the country's well-being.

In future the struggle would centre around the possession of land. Guarantees about property rights from the current government would mean nothing under a future government and it was senseless for farmers to continue fooling themselves.

DIRK VAN EEDEN

"I want to warn that a bloody struggle could be started in the Transvaal, and SA, if the land issue is not handled with the utmost care."

Wars had been fought over such issues in the past, he said.

Bruwer said agriculture was bleeding to death, but economic recovery was not possible with the current level of violence.

On labour legislation, he said the congress would have to come to a firm decision.

"Everything is being deregulated, but labour is regulated."

He repeated his earlier call for labour camps where vagrants could be sent to learn skills. Labour camps should also be established for volunteers in a bid to stem the current rate of unemployment.

This was one of the requirements for halting the violence that threatened farmers.

Gqozo won't resign

BRIG Oupa Gqozo would not consider resigning as Ciskei's leader following an inquest finding that he and his security staff were responsible for the death of the homeland's former military chief, Maj-Gen Charles Sebe.

Officials accused of graft

SA govt takes over chaotic Lebowa fiscus

PRETORIA — A government task force was dispatched to Lebowa today to take immediate control of the homeland's deteriorating financial situation.

Regional and Land Affairs Minister Andre Fourie said yesterday the "unprecedented" intervention, including the freezing of all Lebowa government cheques, had become necessary in the interests of SA taxpayers.

Lebowa had overspent its 1992/93 budget of R3.6bn by about R722m, he said.

An investigation into financial irregularities would also be launched following indications that graft and self-enrichment by officials had reached "alarming proportions". Evidence that officials had been upgrading their posts and authorising salary back payments had been confirmed by the auditor-general's office, Fourie said.

The Lebowa Legislative Assembly's failure to pass its 1993/94 budget within the prescribed time gave SA the statutory right to intervene under the Constitution of the Self-Governing Territories Act of 1971.

But Lebowa's recent request for R560m in additional funds, a structural adjustment programme report on the territory's finances, and a letter of concern from the auditor-general to the Land and Regional Affairs Department had indicated that Lebowa's financial situation was far from sound, Fourie said. SA intervention had become inevitable.

ADRIAN MADLAND

Officials, recipients of welfare allowances and suppliers, who would have received payments yesterday, would not be able to cash cheques, as all Lebowa government expenditure would be unauthorised from today.

The SA government, which would draw cash from Lebowa's expenditure account to meet the territory's immediate obligations, undertook to make all legitimate payments as soon as possible, Fourie said.

He appealed to Lebowa officials, inhabitants, political groupings and concerned parties to remain calm and co-operate in setting up a sound financial administration.

Fourie said Lebowa government representatives had expressed surprise yesterday morning when warned of SA's intervention. He had informed a delegation, including Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike, that the move was not vindictive, but was taken "in the interests of the taxpayers of SA".

PATRICK BULGER reports Ramodike described Fourie's allegations as "a diabolical lie". He had been under the impression Fourie had wanted to discuss the homeland's budget and was surprised that a decision had been taken already.

Ramodike said seconded SA finance officials were "incompetent". He was being

□ To Page 2

Lebowa

victimised because of his ANC ties.

"The truth is that there has been a delay (in) the annual sitting of the legislative assembly because of the continuous meetings that we have held with Fourie.

"It is nonsensical to suggest that any money has been misappropriated. Fourie is blowing the matter out of all proportion. We have nothing to hide," he said.

TIM COHEN reports that President F W de Klerk told the NP Free State Congress

□ From Page 1

that the SA takeover should not be regarded as a indication that government intended to dismantle the homeland governments. Existing institutions would remain until new structures were established in negotiations.

DP land affairs spokesman Peter Soal said the Lebowa government had been irresponsible and incompetent in allowing financial chaos to develop. But the crisis was a direct consequence of NP policy and it was government's duty to intervene.

KwaZulu Police killed suspects: Evidence

DURBAN. — KwaZulu Police (KZP) allegedly assassinated suspected police killers, and failed to co-operate with South African Police (SAP) in murder investigations of a Natal African National Congress (ANC) leader, a Goldstone inquiry heard yesterday.

It also emerged at a Goldstone Commission sub-committee hearing in Westville, near Durban, that a KZP member charged with murder continued to work in the homeland force for 2½ years after he jumped bail.

This and other evidence was led by SAP, KZP and Goldstone investigators.

The sub-committee, inquiring into the KZP's alleged role in fomenting public violence in Natal, heard that urgent requests for information relating to G-3 rifles sus-

pected to have been used in the 1992 murder of ANC deputy Midlands Chairman Reggie Hadebe were ignored.

KZP legal representative Mr Louis Visser, SC, yesterday promised to furnish the authorities with information on the G-3 rifles belonging to Inkatha leaders Mr Dumisani Khuzwayo, Mr Nkhosi Mkhize and KwaZulu Agriculture Minister Prince Dlamini.

Information about G-3 rifles belonging to Mr Mkhize's son, Eric, and his bodyguards, Mr B Mabaso, and Mr S Mtshali, was also requested by the SAP.

Mr Hadebe was shot with a .303 rifle while returning from a peace meeting involving Inkatha, the ANC, and SAP in Ixopo in October 1992.

Spent G-3 rifle shells were also found at the

scene of his murder.

The SAP later requested information about the rifles because the owners were at the meeting Mr Hadebe attended just before he was shot.

Mr Visser undertook to submit a list of circumstances and procedures applicable to the issue of these firearms by the KwaZulu Government.

Smuggling of AK-47s is big business

By Fred de Lange
and Sapa

THE smuggling of illegal firearms, mainly AK-47 assault rifles, has become big business in South Africa and some crime syndicates concentrate mainly on this, according to a senior police general.

The Chief General Unrest and Violence Related Crime of the Police, Major-General P L du Toit, said in Pretoria yesterday the former Soviet Union had dumped an estimated 300 000 AK-47s in Mozambique during the mid-eighties.

Most of these weapons were now available on the open market and syndicates from South Africa bought these weapons in Mozambique for about R50 each and then sold it in Natal and the Witwatersrand at between R1 000 and R2 000 each.

He said these weapons played a significant role in the prevailing violent atmosphere.

Firearms were easily smuggled into South Africa due to the thousands of

kilometres of uncontrolled border lines.

The most prominent routes used were the borders with Swaziland and Mozambique.

The following routes for smuggling are known:

- Zimbabwe via Beit Bridge to the PWV region.

- Zimbabwe via Botswana through Bophuthatswana to the PWV region.

- Zimbabwe via Mozambique through Swaziland to the Eastern Transvaal and Natal.

- Zambia via Mozambique through Swaziland.

- Transkei to southern Natal.

- Transkei to Ciskei and Eastern Cape.

- Lesotho to Transkei.

- An air route from Zimbabwe to Lesotho from where the weapons are transported to Transkei for further distribution.

Gen Du Toit said the use of illegal firearms in political violence had reached alarming proportions.

During 1992 alone, 495 persons were killed and another 574 injured in 651

incidents in which AK-47s were used.

The police have established 21 units and 10 more are in the process of being established to investigate the origin of such firearms and to stop the illegal trade in it.

Steps taken are patrolling the known smuggling routes, roadblocks, searches, rewards for information and propaganda campaigns.

The police were also making good use of co-operation agreements with the police forces of neighbouring states although, in this regard, the Transkei was proving to be a problem.

Apart from being a known smuggling route, the Transkei also allowed, especially APLA members, to be trained in the use of these weapons. Attacks were also launched against South African targets from Transkei.

"It must be emphasised that the police are busy with an extensive plan to act against the illegal possession of firearms and that no mercy will be shown to anyone who is found to be in possession of such firearms," he said.

Political deal 'won't stop violence'

Citizen Reporter

THE Commissioner of Police, General Johann van der Merwe, yesterday warned that a political solution in South Africa would not bring with it a significant reduction in violence.

Speaking at a Press briefing in Pretoria, Gen Van der Merwe said there was a perception in the country that once a political solution was found, violence would suddenly stop.

In fact, only about 12 to 15 percent of the violence in South Africa could be classified as political. This would mean that in an ideal situation, the number of murders in the country would drop from the current 20 000 a year to between 17 000 and 18 000.

What was a matter of concern, however, was that political violence was a breeding ground for civil war.

While the police had no indication at this stage of a civil war being planned

by any group, it was clear to any person that such a war could break out if a political solution did not include parties such as Inkatha or the White Right-wing.

Political violence was also not affecting the whole of South Africa with only small pockets in the Witwatersrand, Natal and Cape Province being affected.

Police say the main reasons for the political violence on the Witwatersrand were the following:

- Attempts by the ANC's Self Defence Units (SDU) to create "liberated zones" by, amongst others, attacks on the security forces and political opponents.

- Zulu hostel dwellers being involved in attacks and counter-attacks and establishing "security zones" around hostels, in particular on the East Rand.

- Criminal elements using the present political situation to their advantage.

tag.

- Inkatha Freedom Party and SDU-members as well as illegal Mozambican immigrants were being arrested in connection with the illegal possession of firearms. Some Mozambicans also offer training to SDU members in the use of AK-47 rifles.

- SDU members were also involved in murders on policemen and several had been arrested. Of those, three had been charged.

The conflict in Natal was dominated by an IFP/ANC power struggle which was further complicated by the free availability of firearms, internal power struggles in organisations, the activities of SDU's criminality, attacks on the security forces, violence in squatter camps and around hostels as well as tribal and ethnic clashes.

A further problem which intensified the conflict was the mobilisation of the Far Right-wing in

South Africa.

Ninety eight forms of non-violent action had been identified by the far Right-wing groups for use in the event of an unsatisfactory negotiated settlement and election.

Those actions include strikes, occupation and disruption of essential industries and mass meetings.

The far Right-wing also did not exclude the use of violence if the "desired effect" was not accomplished.

Transition Bills might not be enacted: Roelf

BLOEMFONTEIN. — Bills dealing with the transition process to be discussed during the special sitting of Parliament next month would not necessarily be enacted unless the government was satisfied with the constitution being drafted, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, said yesterday.

"There is no sense in proceeding with any transitional process before we are satisfied with the contents of the

the NP Free State congress in Bloemfontein.

He said agreement had already been reached on two Bills which would go before Parliament.

Media

They concerned the Independent Electoral Commission and an Independent Media Commission.

"They are busy with the Independent Broadcasting Commission Bill, and it looks as if agreement can be reached by next week."

on the Bill for the Transitional Executive Councils.

"We will then have four Bills for the transition process."

Important

"The other important one is the constitution itself, which will be the culmination of negotiations, and we are busy putting it together."

He gave his assurance that "we will not leave the negotiation table before we are satisfied with the contents of the constitution."

HA HA !!

Wide criticism of ANC's 'No' to paying compensation

Citizen Reporter and Sapa

THE African National Congress came under heavy criticism yesterday for its refusal to compensate the victims of its torture camps and for letting perpetrators of human rights abuses remain in key posts in the organisation — while calling for the establishment of a commission of truth.

The government, Democratic Party, Inkatha Freedom Party, and National Party all condemned the ANC for its handling of the Motsuenyane Commission report.

Ministry of Law and Order spokesman, Captain Craig Kotze said the SAP, for its part, had been "almost over-zealous" in publicly "weeding out" policemen who had committed human rights abuses, resulting in many being suspended, prosecuted and jailed. Police had also paid out massive amounts of money in civil claims.

"There has been no corresponding clean-up in the ANC. Therefore, the insinuation by the ANC that we are hiding human rights abuses is hog-wash," he said.

"They have killed numerous policemen in the townships. Clearly they wouldn't have the budget to compensate their families."

In its reaction, the IFP said it was "scandalously incomprehensible" that ANC officials identified by "even the watered-down" Motsuenyane Commission, would continue to occupy politically sensitive posts in the ANC.

IFP spokesman Mr Ed Tillet said the NEC's "sanctimonious" acceptance of collective responsibility for atrocities was not, and could not be, a substitute for tough penalties against those directly responsible.

"The ANC's appeal for a blanket cartharis of South African society in which all political organisations confront its inner demons before it took disciplinary actions against those directly responsible for its own abuses, will not wash with the public and has shattered forever the illusion of ANC moral superiority," he said.

"Although the ANC appears convinced that openness and 'profound

regret' is sufficient atonement for its litany of abuses, this is however insufficient to appease the victims of such abuses and satisfy the public's sense of natural justice.

"The ANC's decision to allow those implicated in human rights abuses in its detention camps off the hook, is a breathtaking slap in the face for the numerous victims who suffered cruel treatment, and often death, at the hands of their ANC captors."

National Party director of media, Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk MP, said the organisation's call for the establishment of a commission of truth was an attempt to delay dealing with the ANC's internal problems before the election. Such a commission would be impractical and would cause more conflict than it would settle.

Even though the ANC's national chairman, Mr Thabo Mbeki, denied that such a commission would culminate in Nuremberg-type trials, the organisation had made it clear that the commission could call

witnesses and impose punishment.

"The idea that future taxpayers should be held responsible for the wrongs committed by political parties in the past, is totally unacceptable," Mr Van Schalkwyk said.

"It is the opinion of the National Party that the new South Africa has to be entered with the past already handled in a balanced and disciplined manner."

DP justice spokesman, Mr Tony Leon, said the ANC's response represented "another sorry page in a sordid chapter of human rights abuses and violations".

He said it was clear the ANC had no intention of applying any sanctions or expressions of disapproval to those of its members whom its own commission had fingered as being guilty of atrocities.

— Sapa.

Play active role, Kohl appeals to Buthelezi

BONN. — German chancellor Dr Helmut Kohl yesterday called on Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to continue negotiating with other political groups in South

Africa and to take an active role in the negotiation process.

They met in Bonn at the invitation of Dr Kohl, according to a German Government statement released to Sapa by the German Embassy in Pretoria.

Dr Kohl said that a broad consensus between political parties could only be reached through participation and co-operation.

They agreed that everything possible should be done to end the violence in South Africa, and to secure a peaceful future

for the country.

The meeting focused on present and future developments in South Africa as well as efforts to secure a political solution for internal conflict in the country.

Chief Buthelezi explained the Inkatha Freedom Party's position, especially with regard to the present multi-party negotiations.

The federal chancellor praised the IFP's role and Dr Buthelezi's contribution in abolishing apartheid and reaching a peaceful and democratic future for South Africa.

— Sapa.

FW: Reaction to ANC probe unconvincing

BLOEMFONTEIN. —

The African National Congress' reaction to the commission it instituted to investigate deaths in detention camps was weak and unconvincing, State President De Klerk said last night.

It also fell short of what the ANC should have done, he said at the Free State National Party congress in Bloemfontein.

Mr De Klerk said the ANC was always quick to accuse the NP and the government, but there was no doubt that it knew about the atrocities committed at its camps yet tried to say it did not know.

When the NP became aware of incidences that had to be investigated it took steps against each and every individual against whom such evi-

dence came to the fore, he said.

In some cases the culprits were even sentenced to death. In a number of other cases strong disciplinary steps were taken, he told delegates.

Mr De Klerk said that the actions in the detention camps had not been to overthrow "a White racist regime" — it was the killing and torture of their own people. — Sapa.

Support for peace campaign pours in

By Sapa and
Citizen Reporter

STATE President F W de Klerk has expressed support for National Peace Day tomorrow and has called on all South Africans to join the campaign.

A statement issued by a government spokesman in Pretoria yesterday said Mr De Klerk had ordered all national flags to be flown half-mast at government buildings in South Africa and abroad as a mark of respect for those who had died in political violence.

Mr De Klerk also called on all South Africans and all political, community and religious leaders to give their full support to the letter and spirit of the National Peace Accord.

He said it was crucial for the future of South Africa and for the establishment of a strong democratic society that all joined hands to put an end to violence.

The National Peace Campaign office was being flooded with calls in the build-up to National Peace Day tomorrow.

national convenor Mr Jayendra Naidoo said yesterday.

At a Press briefing in Johannesburg, Mr Naidoo said the peace campaign was attracting the interest of South Africa's people and had the support of all political parties.

At noon tomorrow South Africa's radio network would observe a moment's silence before broadcasting a peace message.

Between 12.01 pm and 12.05 pm a peace song would be aired.

The public has been requested to wear blue ribbons on the day.

• Orthodox Jewish congregations across the country will be holding special evening services tomorrow in support of National Peace Day.

Rabbi Cynl Harris, Chief Rabbi of the Union of Orthodox Synagogues of South Africa, said it was a priority that a climate of peace and harmony be established so that the promise of a secure future may be fulfilled.

FW, Buthelezi to meet

FROM PAGE 1

which we agree, and we wish to continue talking about those on which we differ.

"I also wish to announce that Chief Minister Buthelezi and I have agreed to hold extended talks with each other soon. The date still has to be determined."

He and Chief Buthelezi would each be assisted by complete teams of senior advisers and negotiators. They would hold all-day discussions.

Apart from the ANC and its allies on the one hand and the Conservative Party and its supporters on the other, who were political opponents, there were other parties on which the NP saw as part of the moderate group.

"They are the Inkathas, the Dikwano-wotlas, the Sankubas, the DPs and so on. They are parties with which we do not have real

differences but which, nonetheless, will compete against us for votes."

It was important that the NP and these parties acted in such a way as not to harm the moderate cause for which they all stood.

Giving his vision of the new South Africa, Mr De Klerk said the new constitution would have to provide from the outset the basis for stability, non-domination and true democracy.

It included strong regional government, because that was what South Africans wanted. "Strong regional government means a federal dispensation," he added.

"It also means that the Free State will have its own legislative assembly, its own regional government and its own regional constitution."

"That means a high degree of autonomy, your own reasonable sources

of taxation, meaningful functions on a wide range of matters, exclusive powers in respect of certain functions, and the security that these things will not be taken away from you."

"Every other region or province in the country has to get this dispensation too."

Mr De Klerk said he and General Constand Viljoen, the Afrikaner Volksfront leader, would have to discuss means by which Afrikaners could be led away from violence.

"I do not wish to cross swords with Gen Viljoen this evening. His entry into the debate is to be welcomed."

"My impression is that he is trying seriously to steer away from violence, that he is displaying an openness towards realistic negotiation. I welcome that."

"As for Afrikaners, he and I have to find a

way, a route away from the violent confrontation which so many of the AVF's members are threatening with growing frequency."

"On my part, and that of the NP, I give an assurance of our readiness for meaningful discussions directed at solutions that are able to work."

"Such discussions have taken place already. More are in the pipeline."

The old dream of separate, sovereign states had been shattered for all time. The urge for self-determination of Afrikaners, Zulus, Sothos or others would have to be fulfilled within the framework of a single South African nationhood.

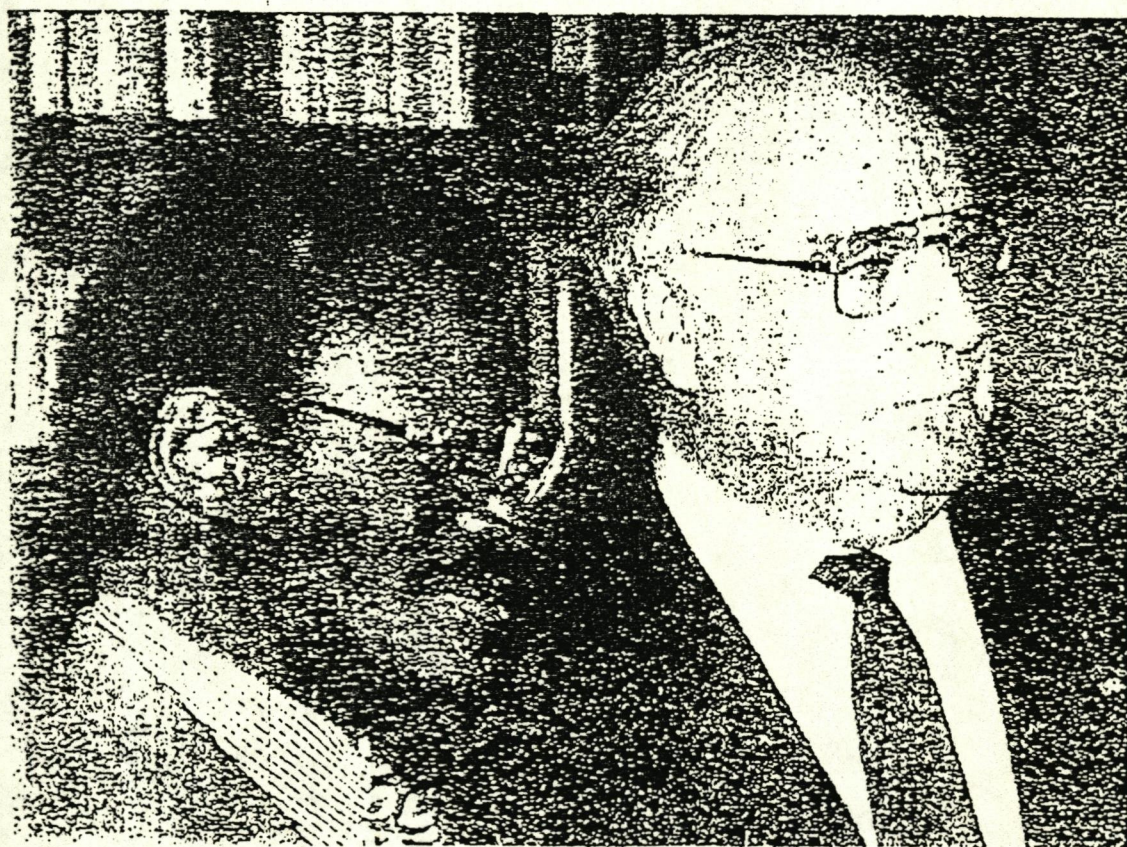
An Afrikaner volkstaat could not be formed in the Free State, where Whites made up 23 per cent of the population, or even a smaller percentage if Qwa-Qwa was added.

The situation was probably even worse for the CP in the Transvaal or Natal. It was small wonder the CP could not put a plan on the table.

"The CP is in crisis. As a political party it is tottering."

"Its leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, does not inspire confidence, and is fast losing support within his own party."

"Disenchanted CP supporters are gravitating increasingly to the newly-formed AVF, which is nothing more than a loose umbrella covering a multitude of divergent points of view, under the guise of unity."



German Chancellor HELMUT KOHL meets the president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, in the Bonn chancellery yesterday for talks on the political situation in South Africa. — See Page Four

FW, BUTHELEZI TO MEET SOON

Attempt to
end their
differences

By Brian Stuart

STATE President De Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, have agreed to meet soon — possibly within the next 10 days — in an attempt to end the disagreements between the government and Inkatha.

Mr De Klerk is keen to obtain Inkatha's support for the planned transitional arrangements, aimed at the holding of a general election on April 27 next year.

"The National Party recognises Inkatha as an important role player that has to be party to agreements," Mr De Klerk said in Bloemfontein last night, at the opening of

the NP's Free State congress.

"I know there is concern about the relationships between our party and Inkatha. Therefore, I wish to repeat here tonight that there is a constructive approach on the part of the NP.

"We would like to co-operate on matters on

TO PAGE 2

2 draft Bills passed at the talks

THE first two pieces of draft legislation for the interim phase in the run-up to the April 27 election were adopted at democracy talks yesterday.

But the heavy burden hanging over the talks returned soon afterwards with news that senior negotiators are divided about the way forward.

At the heart of the differences between negotiators is whether the special session of Parliament starting on September 13 should be postponed or not.

The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) draft Bill and Independent Media Commission

(IMC) draft Bill were adopted by "general consensus" yesterday, with only the Afrikaner Volksunie reserving its position.

The IEC has to organise and adjudicate the April 27 election and su-

TO PAGE 2

2 draft Bills pass

FROM PAGE 1

perverse any referendum conducted.

The IMC has in the period before the election to ensure "equitable treatment of political parties by broadcasting services and that State-financed publications and State information services do not advance the interests of any political party."

"These two Bills are the first fruits of the negotiations," the Democratic Party's Peter Soul said after their adoption.

Their significance is that they will help ensure that the political playing fields are levelled for political parties.

"You couldn't allow the SABC to continue as it was," added Mr Soul, the DP's spokesman on the media.

Negotiators linked to the African National Congress and its allies at the talks said the adoption of the two draft Bills was reason enough to go ahead with the special session of Parliament in mid-September.

Parties such as Bophuthatswana and Ciskei are, however, insisting that all draft legislation for the interim period be finalised before the special Parliamentary session.

They are also demanding that a plenary session of all the political leaders of the participants at the

talks, as stipulated in the standing rules, be held before the Parliamentary session to ratify the "package" of draft legislation.

Sources said the ANC and its allies had turned down an offer from the government to postpone to mid-October the mid-September special Parliamentary session.

The Planning Committee, whose job it is to ensure the smooth functioning of the talks, was yesterday still divided on the way ahead.

It is meeting this morning, when it is expected to try to reach a compromise resolution to be tabled in the Negotiating Council later in the day. —Sapa-

Northern Natal cashes in on its 19th century battles

War a drawcard for tourism

TOURIST guides take visitors through the numerous bloody battlegrounds in Natal

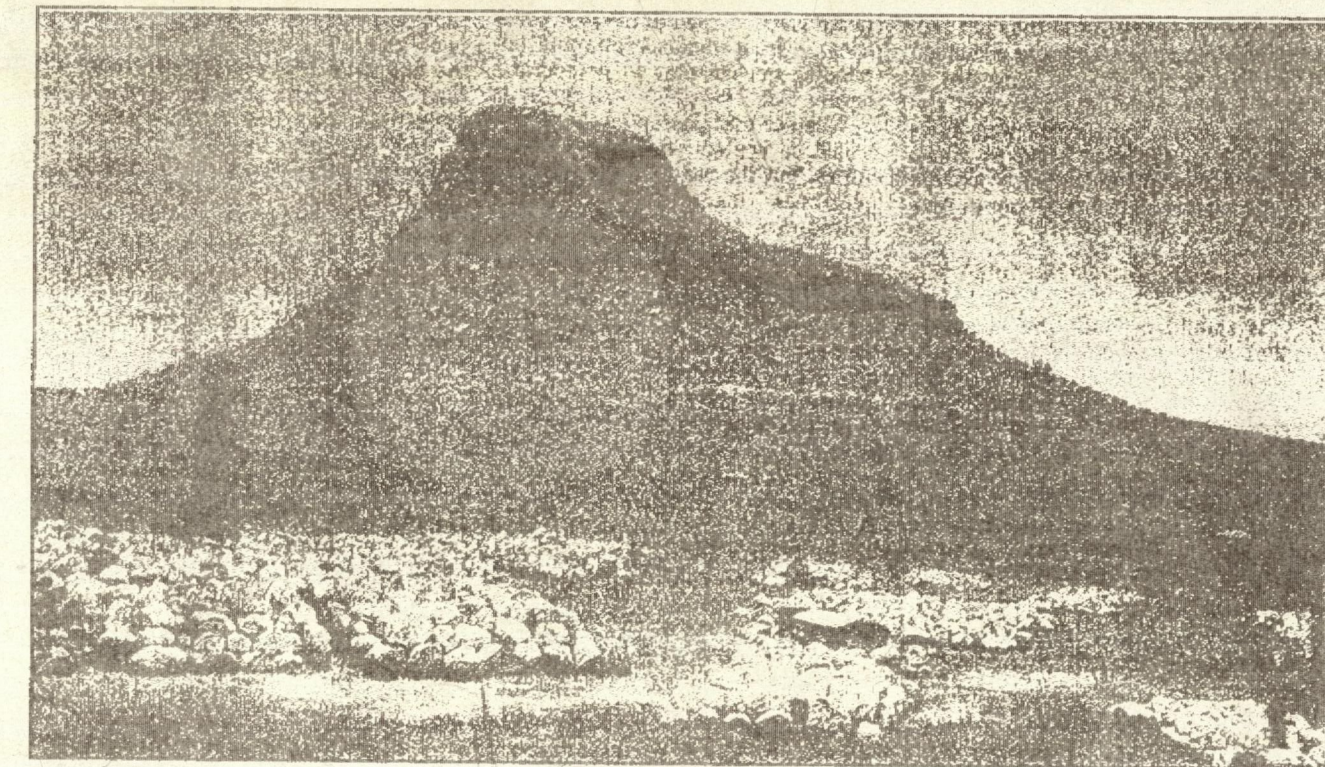
BY LINDSEY SANDERSON

Northern Natal is making a strong bid to attract tourists both from overseas and locally. And the drawcard is war.

With South Africa's tourist problems owing much to the conflict battering the country at present, this may seem a little out of place, but the wars that are drawing the tour groups and individuals are those which took place in the last century.

The area of northern Natal stretching from Escourt and Colenso in the south, Ladysmith and Newcastle in the west and Vryheid and Utrecht in the north-east is a region that has seen more battles in its history than any other region in South Africa.

Even before the encroachment of white settlers in the country, it was the scene of conflict between Zulu groups fighting for supremacy in the area. In the late 1830s it saw the conflict between the Zulus and the Voortrekkers, followed in 1879 by the brutal wars of Britain's Zulu Cam-



Zulu victory ... Isandlwana is where the British forces were beaten. The remains of the soldiers lie under the stone cairns.

PICTURE: LINDSEY SANDERSON

paign and then by the clashes between the Boers and British in the Anglo-Boer wars towards the end of the century.

The countryside is studded with battle sites, cemeteries, monuments and memorials to those who fell in war. Among the most famous sites are

Blood River, Isandlwana, Rorke's Drift, Talana and the siege town of Ladysmith. Ironically, the region is regarded as one of the most peaceful in South Africa today.

During the Anglo-Zulu War and the Anglo-Boer wars it was an area to which thousands of British soldiers came

eagerly to fight for "Queen and Country" and to which the Boers flocked in defence of their fatherland. Now it is an area visited by the children and grandchildren of those who fought each other.

In 1990 an official Battlefields Route was established with the towns of Ladysmith,

Newcastle, Dundee and Vryheid joining forces to promote the area as a tourist attraction. Over the last three years the number of participating towns has grown to nine with Volksrust (just across the border in the Transvaal) Utrecht, Colenso, Estcourt and Glencoe joining in. Ulundi in Kwa-

Zulu is to join shortly.

In July all participating towns linked up at a joint function with the SA Defence Force and Caltex at Talana Museum at Dundee where the new route was launched, together with a brochure which includes maps, pen sketches of the battles and information on where to stay and who to contact in connection with tours.

The SADF's role is largely one of practical support and liaison with participating members. Examples of this are the help given by the SADF in measuring distances which are provided for self-guide tours, tidying up the sites and assisting overseas visitors to get in touch with tour organisers.

Caltex has committed itself to a five-year sponsorship of the route with the initial step being the sponsorship of the brochures which will be available at the company's 22 service stations along the route.

Although the centenary of the outbreak of the second Anglo-Boer War (Oct 1897) is six years away, preparations are already in progress to mark the anniversary. Thousands of overseas tourists are expected to visit the area and bookings have already been made by people who will be visiting the sites where their forefathers clashed during the conflict.

Spirit of peace grips nation

■ BY HELEN GRANGE

The Peace Day campaign tomorrow has grasped the imagination of people and it is expected that the day will be marked by a wide variety of activities, says the National Peace Campaign (NPC).

The NPC's offices in Braamfontein and Rosebank have been inundated with calls from companies and people wanting details of planned events.

Everyone has been asked to wear a blue ribbon to symbolise their commitment to peace.

Johannesburg mayor Les Dishe decided weeks ago that city council staff should wear yellow ribbons. He has now asked staff also to wear blue ribbons for the sake of conformity.

The nation will come to a standstill for five minutes starting at noon, and it is expected that long human chains will form in central Johannesburg.

The first minute will be one of silence to focus people's minds on those who have died in the violence which has racked the country for months.

Motorists have been asked to pull over for the five-minute standstill and to hoot their horns or flash their headlights.

Peace songs will be played on TV and radio stations.

National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys will address an SABC peace function in Johannesburg where a human chain will be formed and the peace flag hoisted.

CCV-TV and TV1 will observe a minute's silence at noon before broadcasting the peace song. TV1 will then resume its cricket commentary from Sri Lanka. CCV will continue its peace programme,



broadcasting interviews with community leaders and choir music with a peace theme from 11.30 am to 1 pm.

Companies and institutions have made their own arrangements to mark the day as a commitment to peace.

Pamphlets are being distributed and a number of employers will be holding meetings with unions.

Teachers have also planned a variety of activities for pupils throughout the day.

President de Klerk has ordered all national flags to be flown half-mast at government buildings in South Africa and abroad as a mark of respect for those who have died in political violence.

He called on all South Africans to join the campaign.

Miss South Africa Jacqui Mofokeng will have a bird's-eye view of the spectacle — she will be circling Johannesburg in a helicopter organised by Eskom.

The NPC yesterday stressed that tomorrow was just the beginning of a peace campaign that is expected to continue this month and in October.

To this end, Eskom and Telkom have embarked on a campaign to electrify and provide phone services to as many homes as possible in disadvantaged communities.

■ If you're short of a blue ribbon, head down to The Star's building in Sauer Street. Ribbons will be handed out by promotions department staffers. The Star's switchboard will not operate from noon to 12.05 pm.