

The Daily News

THE DAILY NEWS, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1991

Significant step 7

- LAST week's agreement between President de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela does more than formalise the suspension of the armed struggle by the African National Congress - it is a significant step toward the ANC's becoming a political party rather than a liberation movement. -

A political party which seeks to join multilateral negotiations does not simultaneously infiltrate armed men, create underground structures and pursue an agenda of sabotage and insurrection. Nor does it usually have a vast body of exiles outside the country or members in jail merely for their political convictions.

The agreement should mean an end to the ANC's dualism. It

- has to educate and discipline its membership into a new role. The Government has to play its part by proceeding with the in-

An 'ill omen

THE course of the trial of Mrs Winnie Mandela bodes ill for the future of justice in the new South Africa. Here the wife of one of the most prominent people in the country, a world figure, faces serious charges, including abduction. A key witness disappears inexplicably and apparently pitches up in Harare. Two other witnesses decline to give evidence. The inference is clear: those who testify against certain people may be subject to intimidation and threats, a proposition borne

ParcÃ©l bomb

THERE are many unanswered questions relating to the ghastly death of Mr Bheki Mlangeni, the unsuspecting ANC lawyer who switched on a walkman

sent to him in the post only to  
be blown up by a miniature  
bomb hidden in its earphones.  
. What murder ;

this up? Wa:

reau

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demnity to exiles and the re-  
lease of political prisoners.  
(There is little new in President  
de Klerk's agreement that or-  
derly mass action should be  
allowed to replace violent ac-  
tion he has been allowing  
street demonstrations for more  
than a year.)

There will no doubt be hard-  
line elements in the ANC who  
resent being deprived of the  
aura of a liberation struggle,  
even though it was taking them  
nowhere. There will no doubt  
be snags in the return of exiles  
and the release of prisoners.  
But the momentum has re-  
turned to the political process  
and the pace is likely to quick-  
en. Those who drag their feet  
will be left behind.

The agreement restores the  
ANC to the status it had before  
its banning 31 years ago. And at  
last real negotiations are a

prospect.

out by many other examples of  
intimidation, assault and mur-  
der. If this is to be the pattern  
for the future it is a grim pros-  
pect. Justice must be adminis-  
tered impartially and fearless-  
ly. It must protect the weak,  
sometimes against the power-  
ful. It must not be manipulated -  
or distorted. It must not be  
placed under populist pressure,  
such as chanting mobs. The al-  
ternative is the law of the jun-  
gle, and a loss of freedom for  
everybody. e R

iR

Who was the real victim in-  
tended to be? Captain Dirk  
Coetzee? Could a parcel bomb  
like this really travel undetect-  
ed through the post to various  
addresses over a period of  
months? A full investigation is

needed. The Harms Commis-

sion findings did not allay pub--  
e ol

over hit squads.â\200\235 |

; This incident will create more |

disquiet. . AR

Beseiged councilori

L â\200\230Page 6  
SONWETA m e (191

Buthelezi;  
Harare 5r

find ally in Inkatha

- DEFIANT township councillors who have resisted calls by the Civics Association of Southern Transvaal to resign have finally found their ally in the Inkatha Freedom Party.

At a rally attended by more than 35 000 Inkatha supporters at Jabulani Amphitheatre on Saturday, councillors and mayors received a standing ovation and a mock 21-gun-salute.

Introduced as guests of honour, Kwa-Zulu chief minister Chief Gatsha buthelezi joined them for photograph sessions.  
| ~ Buthelezi assured them of IFP sup-

port - something they have been yearning for for sometime.

The councillors have been ostracised.

Some have had their houses petrol-bombed. Others have had- their businesses boycotted.

Last year Cast embarked on a concerted campaign to end the councillorsâ\200\231 jobs.

While some resigned, -others remained defiant, especially those in Soweto. Even mass action campaigns could not change their minds.

Those that resigned criticised the Transvaal Provincial Administration for â\200\234legitimisingâ\200\235â\200\235 Cast by overlooking them, particularly during negotiations

By DON SEOKANE

over power cuts.

Buthelezi strongly lashed out at the campaign to oust councillors.

â\200\234It is shameful that campaigns against local authorities have cost us so many lives and such heavy losses through the destruction of so many homes,â\200\235â\200\231 he said.

â\200\230â\200\234We respect the right of people to offer themselves for these council positions and we respect the right of people who want to vote for them to do so.

â\200\234â\200\234We respect you for the positions that you hold,â\200\235â\200\231 Buthelezi told the councillors.

The councillors have accused Cast of being undemocratic, pointing out that its leaders are not elected.

They have urged Cast and any other organisation that opposes them to contest their legitimacy through the ballot.

They argued that the reason for the low turnout in their elections is that people have been intimidated and told not to vote.

In a message of hope to councillors besieged by rent boycotts and power cuts, Buthelezi said that he expected that people would no longer be intimidated after his meeting with the ANC.

PAC rejecte  
seeks strategy reviewâ\200\224 L

The PAC yesterdayy process

s/ANCâ\200\231s pact,

of change (jovemmem demand that

review its strategies for  
econstitutional negotia-  
tions.

The agreement - concerning the armed struggle and mass action, among others - between the Government and the ANC, announced on Friday, was rejected by the PAC at a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

The organisationâ\200\231s  
general secretary, Mr  
Benny Alexander, said  
the agreement meant the

called on the ANC to remain firmly in the

hands of white people  
with the African majority  
hopeful spectatorsâ\200\231â\200\235.

The agreement was  
also rejected on the basis  
that the Government and  
the ANC were prescribing  
how liberation move-

ments â\200\230â\200\230could achieve -  
freedom from oppres-

sionâ\200\235â\200\231

The PAC said the ex- -  
iles and political prisoners  
referred to by the agree-â\200\230 :  
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PAC also rejected the

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gotiations before its  
prisoners were released.  
However, both  
Alexander and PAC in-  
formation chief, Mr  
Barney Desai, stressed  
that although they dis-  
agreed with the ANCâ\200\231s  
accord with the Govern-  
ment, this would not jeop-  
ardise the prospects of a  
â\200\234â\200\230united frontâ\200\231â\200\231 meeting

of liberation movements.  
A joint committee had

â\200\230been established with the

ANC to investigate set-  
ting up a â\200\230â\200\230united frontâ\200\231â\200\231.  
- Sapa.

document  
a blunder

KWAZULUâ\200\231S Chief  
Minister Mangosuthu  
Buthelezi on Saturday re-  
jected the Harare Declara- |  
tion, saying it will prove  
to be a blunder if allowed  
to proceed.

Buthelezi was speak-  
ing at a rally attended by  
more than 35 000 Inkatha  
Freedom Party sup-  
porters, many heavily  
armed with an assortment  
of traditional weapons.

Speaking at Jabulani  
Amphitheatre in Soweto,  
he said the Harare Decla-  
ration will not offer the  
kind of democracy that  
everybody in the country  
will accept.

He also rejected calls  
for an interim government  
and a constituent assemb-  
ly.

: "There is nothing that

justifies the thought that a  
one man one vote system  
of government in a  
unitary State employing  
winner takes all politics is  
the only democracy fit for  
mankind," said Buthe-  
lezi.

The proceedings of the  
rally were brought to a  
standstill when the coun-  
cillors were introduced.  
Jubilant Inkatha sup-  
porters welcomed coun-  
cillors with gunshot  
salutes.

Even Buthelezi was  
temporarily startled when  
the gunfire erupted and  
Inkatha supporters  
cheered the councillors.  
He was heard asking an  
aide: "What are they  
doing now? What is going  
on?"

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he’ pivotal â\200\230figure-  
’Africaâ\200\231s cause.

Movement isshed  
cusing’her-â\200\234footb  
ductingâ\200\230aâ\200\230reignâ\200\231



WRIE MANBELR Ale Waw Wew ChallEnes  
RO o \'DACB i~\201\_

. She is " not without ~powerful i  
' allies in the ANC; especially in the  
" 'ANC Youth League; and the possi- 4,  
bility. â\200\230of her: succeeding. her:hus-- |

band â\200\230as-ithe -leader :of: the :ANC  
cannot be discounted. But her fate &

. as a politician as well as pers;:ri r;lsâ\200\230  
.the :

contingent on the outcome:.0  
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Foreign trade  
links multiply

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 SA estab-  
lished 13 new missions  
abroad in the current finan-  
- cial year â\200\224 seven in East-  
ern Europe and six in  
Africa, Foreign Affairs  
Minister Pik Botha told  
Parliament yesterday.

The European missions  
were in Sofia (Bulgaria),  
Prague (Czechoslovakia),  
Bratislava (Czechoslova-  
kia), . Zagreb (Yugoslavia),  
Ljubljana (Yugoslavia),  
Warsaw (Poland) and Bu-  
charest (Romania). i

Botha did not name the  
African countries involved,  
but sources said they could  
include Madagascar, Mo-  
rocco, Zaire, Senegal, Togo  
and Ivory Coast.

Trade between SA and  
the frontline states was in-  
creasing â\200\234tremendouslyâ\200\235  
and the number of visits of  
SADCC officials visiting  
Botha had become virtually  
â\200\234unmanageableâ\200\235.

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ANC, PAC relations

sour after a

RELATIONS between SAâ\200\231s leading  
liberation movements soured yester-  
day when the PAC denounced the

Câ\200\231s armed-action accord with gov-  
ernment and announced the postpone-  
ment of a â\200\234patriotic frontâ\200\235 conference.

At a news conference yesterday PAC  
general secretary Benny Alexander called  
on the ANC to review its decision to par-  
ticipate in the all-party conference with  
government and other groups.

Alexander said the government/ANC  
agreement, announced on Friday, on the  
armed struggle and mass action meant the

process of change would remain firmly in the hands of the white people, with the African majority hopeful spectators.

Neither the ANC nor government had any right to decide or prescribe the method used by broad liberation movements to achieve freedom from oppression, he said.

In the absence of the ballot, the bullet cannot be abandoned, he said.

The accord only made reference to prisoners and exiles who were ANC members, which was a departure from the UN Consensus Declaration and the Harare

agreement.

S TIM COHEN |

Declaration which demanded the unilateral

release of all political prisoners, he said. In spite of the agreement, the objection-ious indemnity terms still remained.

A senior government official said the PAC would have to join negotiations before its members would be released from jail, Alexander claimed.

This was confirmed by the government/ANC agreement and was unacceptable political blackmail, Alexander said.

It was necessary for the ANC to review its decision to participate in an all-party congress which was clearly designed to sidetrack the people's democratic demand for an elected constituent assembly.

A recent Organisation of African Unity meeting had asserted that a prerequisite to future talks was a conference of the oppressed. The ANC had announced that such a conference would take place on March 21, but it could not be organised by that date.

— Despite the clear difference between the ANC and PAC positions, he said, such a conference should still go ahead. —

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Local government  
groups join forces

THEO RAWANA

SA's leading black local government organisations are to amalgamate to form a formidable force against intimidation headed by the UDF-aligned Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal (Cast).

United Municipalities of SA (Umsa) president Henock Ngakane said his organisation and the Urban Councils of SA (Ucasa) would have a stronger voice against Cast, which has been campaigning for the resignation of black councillors. ,

The two organisations will meet on March 9 to decide on a date for amalgamation. Umsa wanted a mandate from its membership for an alliance with Ucasa, but instead received an urgent appeal for full amalgamation with them, Ngakane said.

The amalgamation will be of benefit to both organisations because we will also have a stronger voice when talking to government and the TPA, he said.

Ucasa national organiser and Alexandra mayor Prince Mokoena said: With the new dispensation coming, we need to speak with one voice.

When we go into the stage of one local government for all, we need to go as one.

He said in the new structure black councillors would be joining people who were well-versed in politics.

They don't have to contend with, and have never been asked to resign as was done to us by Cast. All they have to contend with are their ratepayers, he said. .

Cast vice-president Kgabisi Mosunkutu said the amalgamation of the organisations was of no importance to the liberation of our people. -

The only importance is that their grouping together will make it easier for us to remove them we'll need to identify only one organisation.

But what they are doing clearly points to a collusion between government, the TPA and the councillors. (Transvaal) Administrator Danie Hough has already called on councillors to organise themselves, he said.

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" THE CITIZEN

COMMENT

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Dangers /-

AS has happened with all the agreements between the African National Congress and the government, the ink is hardly dry when there are arguments over interpretation.

The African National Congress says the mass campaign to force town councils to resign is now accepted as a legitimate form of political pressure.

Not so, says State President De Klerk. Efforts

can be made democratically to get town councillors to resign, but they must not be intimidated into doing so.

Besides, the ANC remains subject to the law and cannot do anything that breaches the law.

What the agreement said was that the working group agreed that people had the right to express their views through peaceful demonstrations and that it was â\200\234urgent and imperativeâ\200\235 to eliminate violence and intimidation from whatever quarter that accompanied mass action.

We doubt, however, whether violence or intimidation will cease.

But the main point that is overlooked is this: " Mass action is historically used by revolutionary organisations to mobilise the masses.

Even by accepting â\200\234â\200\234â\200\230peacefulâ\200\235 mass action, the government has legitimised this tactic.

It is, therefore, a victory for the ANC that will have serious consequences, since mass action and mass mobilisation are intended to enable the ANC to control the townships.

The State President has warned the ANC several times to desist from mass action, since it can lead to violence.

But the government has now conceded that mass action can continue.

Some observers suggest that the ANC made the major concession by agreeing that sus-

pension of the armed struggle means there will be no further infiltration of men and materials by the ANC, no armed attacks, no creation of underground structures and no training inside South Africa.

But the ANC has made it clear that it intends to continue training its men outside the country, switching Umkhonto we Sizwe from a guerrilla force to a conventional one.

Moreover, the ANC could continue to train its cadres in Transkei, as well as Tanzania and Angola, since Transkei is theoretically independent.

In any case, training its men in South Africa is really not desperately important when one considers that more than 5 000 trained guerrillas are to return with the ANC exiles.

The ANC will thus have a far bigger, highly trained force in South Africa, and it will be one that the government, if negotiations failed and the ANC took up the armed struggle once more, would find it difficult to deal with.

Furthermore, since the ANC's caches of arms do not have to be handed over there was no agreement on this point one can assume that Umkhonto will be highly armed.

A phased process to achieve control over these arms would be started as soon as possible, said Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok.

But the fact that the matter has not yet been resolved suggests it is going to be difficult to get the ANC to give up these arms.

The government and the ANC also differ on self-defence units, Mr Vlok saying the government was absolutely opposed to them and the ANC saying they had been approved in principle.

Meanwhile, Umkhonto we Sizwe is no longer an unlawful organisation and membership of it-is not unlawful.

All this so that, according to Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee, with some co-operation the April 30 deadline for the release of prisoners and the return of exiles can be met and the stage can be set for negotiations.

We wonder whether in trying to achieve this objective, the government hasn't given the ANC too much leeway for its revolutionary tactics.

Umkhonto we Sizwe, it seems, has the opportunity to keep itself intact, together with its armed caches, in case the negotiations do not lead to a solution favourable to the ANC.

The dangers are obvious.



- February 11, 1992 headlined:  
. â\200\234Unsavoury bedfellowâ\200\235 can-  
- not go unchallenged. The dia-  
tribe you unleashed against

Nelson Mandela, the ANC and

. the oppressed majority of

South Africa is an indictment  
t apartheid

against which has  
brainwashed even the opin-  
ion-makers, such as the edi-  
tors of our country. B

I would understand if you

were ill-informed about the  
the ANC concern-  
an â\200\234suspectsâ\200\235 in  
f 1988 Lockerbie bombing.

| But on Page 9 of the same is-  
published a letter by  
Jordan of the ANC  
| restating the ANC po

â\200\234this matter which can be

summarised as: | :

1 The Lockerbie disaster  
was a tragic incident which  
resulted in the unfortunate  
| loss of innocent lives;

9 If there is clear evidence of  
â\200\230the involvement of the identi-  
- fied suspects,  
arrested and punished as  
soon as possible; and :

3 The trial should not only  
be fair and just, but be seen to  
be fair and just  
context of respect for the sov-

Diatribes 2

Â£ /gz  
your editor of

they should be

within the

can only be achieved if the fol-  
lowing considerations can be  
taken into account:

@ n the absence of an extra-  
dition treaty, the accused  
must be tried in the country  
where they were arrested; or

@ They must be tried in the



%n,taernational Court of Just-  
ce.

You seem to\bâ\200\231e unsettled  
with the statement that the  
purposeâ\200\230of the trial should not  
be to embarrass Col Gaddafi.  
What a shame!

\_ 1 believe the purpose of the  
trial should be to determine  
whether the suspects are

ty or not without any po-

Titical bias. That is one of the  
pillars of an independent judi-  
ciary. Do you pelieve in that?

You say â\200\230â\200\234when the ANC  
was banned and resorted to  
terrorism it was assisted by  
Gaddafiâ\200\235. The ANC has never  
denied that it receives sup-  
port from the international  
communit :

But that i resorted to terror-  
ism is an insult to the over-

whelming majority that sup-

ports the ANC.

Have you ever heard of the  
concept of state temĩ-\201sm? It  
including Libya.

ainst Mandela ,  
ereignty 5%â\200\230(%â\200\231&& / gs?1(e international ct{ĩ-\201mi-

ty that describes apartheid as

the crime against humanity.

How then can those who took

up arms against this crime be |

described as terrorists?  
You are entitled to your !  
ideas and their propagation

but others are also entitled to  
a different view and its

propagation. : :  
HD MAKHAYE  
Durban

FOOTNOTE â\200\224 You have  
partly misunderstood the edi-  
torial to which you refer. The  
Mercury approved of fan-

delâ\200\231s proposal that the )

\_national Court of Justice in

the Hague could be 2 venue  
for a politically neutral trial of

"the Lockerbie suspects. Con-

sidering the nefarious role  
Colonel Gaddafi plays in in- |  
ternational affairs, however,  
the close association which  
Mr Mandela and the ANC  
maintain with Libya should  
long since have ended. Unfor- |  
tunately. many of the acts of

- ANC cadres amounted to

straight terrorism and were a  
disgrace to any legitimate  
freedom struggle. ANC

- spokesmen would do well to

acknowledge that fact. â\200\224  
Editor. :

â\200\234Tuesday 19 February 1991

\_ THE CITIZEN

'ANC prison  
jail bre

DURBAN. â\200\224 Two  
African National Con-  
gress members who al-  
legedly robbed a build-  
ing society, made a jail

. break -at the weekend ..

and left a note for the  
police.

The note read: â\200\234You  
did not want to give us  
bail, so we took free  
bail.â\200\235

Four other awaiting-tri-  
al prisoners refused .t0  
join the two ANC mem-  
bers who escaped with six  
other prisoners from the

a hote -

police cells at Scottburgh  
on the Natal South Coast

â\200\234on Saturday.

A police spokesman  
said the prisoners escaped  
by sawing through the  
bars.

The two ANC mem-  
bers were arrested by  
members of -the Umko-  
maas Dog Unit in Decem-  
ber soon after they alleg-  
edly robbed the South

"PAC calls on  
ANC to review  
,Qlâ\200\224\

talks strategy

THE Pan Africanist Con-  
gress yesterday called on  
the African National  
Congress 10 review its  
strategies for constitu-  
tional negotiations.

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cerning the armed strug-  
gle and mass action,  
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eral secretary, Mr Benny Alexander, said the agreement meant the process of change remained â\200\234firmly in the hands of White people with the African majority hopeful spectatorsâ\200\235.

The agreement Wwas also rejected on the basis that the government and the ANC were prescribing how liberation movements â\200\234could achieve freedom from oppressionâ\200\235.

The PAC =aid the exiles and political prisoners referred to by the

agreement did not include PAC exiles and prisoners. The PAC also rejected the government demand that it would have to join negotiations before its prisoners were released.

However, both Mr Alexander and PAC information chief, Mr Barney Desai. stressed that although they disagreed with the ANC's accord with the government, this would not jeopardise the prospects of a â\200\234united frontâ\200\235 meeting of liberation movements.

A joint committee had been established with the "ANC lo investigate setting up a â\200\234united frontâ\200\235 but Mr Alexander said the March 21 date set by the ANC was â\200\234unrealisticâ\200\235.

He said a â\200\234united frontâ\200\235 would precede a constituent assembly and he reiterated that the PAC rejected an all-party conference on the grounds that representatives would not have a mandate from the electo-

rate. â\200\224 Sapa.

African Perm Building  
Society at Umzinto on the  
Natal South Coast in De-  
cember. .

The escape of the pris-  
oners was discovered on  
Saturday morning. A

â\200\230massive search for the

prisoners at weekend  
proved unsuccessful.

A police spokesman  
said that there was no in-  
dications the prisoners  
had been freed with out-  
side help.

â\200\234The two ANC cadres

â\200\224 Joseph Memela and  
Zibusele Luthulti, who  
were facing charges of  
robbery and possession of

ers make  
ak, leave

arms and explosives â\200\224  
made an unsuccessful ap-

plication last month for

bail.  
Appeal

Police appealed to any-

one with information  
about the whereabouts of  
the prisoners to contact  
police.

- Meanwhile, 640 sus-  
pects were arrested for  
various crimes in Natal on  
Saturday in the second  
crime blitz in a week  
codenamed â\200\234Operation  
Guiltwatchâ\200\235.

A police spokesman  
said 11 unlicenced fire-  
arms as well as quantity of  
ammunition were seized  
during the operation  
which started at 4 am on  
Saturday. â\200\224 Sapa.

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~"\_THE CITIZEN

COMMENT

Dangers-â\200\224

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terials by the ANC, no armed attacks, no creation of underground structures and no

training inside South Africa. ' But the ANC has made it clear that it intends

" to continue training its men outside the country, switching Umkhonto we Sizwe from a guerrilla force to a conventional one.

Moreover, the ANC could continue to train its cadres in Transkei, as well as Tanzania and Angola, since Transkei is theoretically independent.

In any case, training its men in South Africa is

- really not desperately important when one considers that more than 5 000 trained guerrillas are to return with the ANC exiles.

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gle once more, would find it difficult to deal with. :

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But the fact that the matter has not yet been resolved suggests it is going to be difficult to get the ANC to give up these arms.

The government and the ANC also differ on self-defence units, Mr Vlok saying the government was absolutely opposed to them and the ANC saying they had been approved in principle. |

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Amphitheatre on Saturday, councillors and mayors received a standing ovation and a mock 21-gun-salute.

Introduced as guests of honour, Kwa-

Buthlezi joined them for photograph sessions.

] Buthlezi assured them of IFP support - something they have been yearning for for sometime, The councillors have been ostracised. Some have had their houses petrol-bombed. Others have had their businesses boycotted.

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While some resigned, -others remained defiant, especmlly those in Soweto. Even mass action campaigns could not change their minds.

Those that resigned criticised the Transvaal Provincial Administration for legitimising Cast by overlooking them, particularly during negotiations

000 Inkatha supporters at Jabulani

Zulu chief minister Chief Gatsha

ly in Inkatha

5 & By DON SEOKANE 7

over power cuts. :

Buthlezi strongly lashed out at the campaign to oust councillors.

It is shameful that campaigns against local authorities have cost us so many lives and such heavy losses through the destruction of so many homes, he said.

We respect the right of people to of-

fer themselves for these council positions  
and we respect the right of people who  
want to vote for them to do so.

â\200\230â\200\234We respect you for the positions

that you hold,â\200\235â\200\231 Bnthelezi told the coun-  
. cillors. T

The councillors have accused Cast of  
being undemocratic, pointing out that its  
leaders are not elected.

They have urged Cast and any other

organsagon that opposes them to contest

their legitimacy through the ballot.  
They argued that the reason for the  
low turnout in their elections is that

people have been intimidated and told -

not to vote. .

In a message of hope to councillors

\* besieged by rent boycotts and power :

cuts, Buthelezi said that he expected that  
people would no longer be intimidated

- after his meeting with the ANC.

PAC rejects A  
seeks strategy reviewâ\200\224 L

S pact

The PAC yesterday  
called on the ANC to  
review its strategies for  
constitutional negotia-  
tions.

- The agreement - con-  
cerning the armed struggle  
and mass action, among  
others - between the  
Government and the  
ANC, announced on Fri-  
day, was rejected by the  
PAC at a news conference  
in Johannesburg yester-  
day.

ey 1  
The organisationâ\200\231s

Benny Alexander, said  
- the agreement means the

general secretary, Mr

process of change  
remained â\200\230â\200\230firmly in the

hands of white people \*

with the African majority  
hopeful spectatorsâ\200\235â\200\231.

The agreement was  
also rejected on the basis  
that the Government and  
the ANC were prescribing

how Liberation move-  
ments â\200\230â\200\230could achieve -  
freedom from oppres- Â£

sionâ\200\235â\200\231

The PAC said the ex-  
iles and political pnson;rs

Government demand that

it would have to join ne-.

gotiations before its  
prisoners were released.

. However, both  
Alexander and PAC in-  
formation chief, Mr  
Barney Desai, stressed

that although they dis-  
lagreed with the ANCâ\200\231s  
â\200\230accord with the Govern-  
. ment, this would not jeop-  
ardise the prospects of a |

â\200\234â\200\230united front>> meeting  
of liberation movements.

A joint committee had

referred to by the aï¬\201 1 â\200\230been established with the

ment did not include  
exiles and prisoners. The  
PAC also rejected the

ANC to investigate set-  
â\200\230ting up a â\200\234â\200\230united frontâ\204¢.

\_'Â» - Sapa

T T L R R N CA 2 T

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S:QWT:\_T&N B b, Tl

Buthelezi,

Harare %â\200\224  
document  
a blunder

KWAZULUâ\200\231S Chief  
Minister Mangosuthu  
Buthelezi on Saturday re-  
jected the Harare Declara-  
tiqp, saying it will prove

" to be a blunder if allowed  
to proceed. ,

Buthelezi was speak-  
ing at a rally attended by  
more than 35 000 Inkatha  
Freedom Party sup-  
porters, many heavily  
armed with an assortment  
of traditional weapons.

Speaking at Jabulani  
Amphitheatre in Soweto,  
he said the Harare Decla-  
ration will not offer the  
kind - of democracy that  
everybody in the counu-y-  
will accept.

He also re\_jected callsâ\200\230  
for ait interim government

"~ and a coustltuent assemb-

ly. %  
â\200\234There is nothmg that  
justifies the thought that a

~one man one vote system

of government in a |  
unitary State employing  
winner takes all politics is  
the only democracy fit for  
ma.nkmq:l,"â\200\231l said Buthe-l  
len i

The proceedings of the  
â\200\230rally were brought to a  
standstill when the coun-  
cillors were introduced.  
Jubilant Inkatha sup-  
porters welcomed coun-  
cillors with gunshot  
salutes. o

Even Buthelezi was  
temporarily startled when  
the gunfire erupted and  
Inkatha supporters  
cheered the councillors.  
He was heard asking an  
aide: â\200\230â\200\234What are they  
doing now? What is going  
on?â\200\235â\200\231 .



THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

THE LAMOLA FAMILY: Silas, Trudy (center), and Emily in front of their shack in Orange Farm. They lived in a squatter area nearby until safety concerns forced them to move here.

Life on South Africaâ\200\231s MarÃ©i\_gsâ\200\224

Tuesday, February 19, 1991

Like 7 million other blacks without housing, the Lamolas hope for safety and fight for rights

By John Battersby

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

ORANGE FARM, SOUTH AFRICA

HE Lamola family believes

I that the road to the new

South Africa is going to be long and painful. ;

â\200\234If you can put yourself in the position of a struggling person, you will see that negotiations donâ\200\231t mean very much,â\200\235 says Silas Lamola, a pensive man whose

' commitment to his community is

even more important than goals  
for himself and his family. â\200\234I  
havenâ\200\231t seen any major changes  
in the way we live,â\200\235 he says.

Mr. Lamolaâ\200\231s quiet skepticism  
is founded in personal experi-  
ence. His mood contrasts sharply  
with the expectation and hope  
among middle-class blacks.

If the main dynamic in South  
Africa is a conflict between the old  
and the new - between the  
hierarchy and tradition of the

~tribe and the new values of ur-

PHOTOS BY ROBERT HARBISON - STAFF

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SINGING AT SCHOOL: Emily Lamola leads students at the community nursery school

banization and Western-style  
democracy - the Lamolas are  
caught somewhere in the middle.

Lamola says that it will take  
generations to correct the distor-  
tions created by apartheid. He is  
convinced that strife and up-  
heaval are as inevitable as the re-  
lentless wind that blows dust  
through the cracks in his home.

â\200\234We cannot lead a normal life  
under such conditions,â\200\235 says La-  
mola, pointing to the lack of facili-  
ties. â\200\234We first have to build the  
community.â\200\235



Silas Lamola plays a special role in his community. He says he believes in God, but then proceeds in a passionate explanation of the importance of tribal ancestor worship and the central role that communicating with the ancestors plays in his decision-making. Perhaps because of his respect for and understanding of his ancestors, Silas is regarded as a natural mediator in

the house is in darkness. Inside the shack, the walls are covered with newspapers to keep the dust and wind out and the warmth in.

In 1987, the Lamolas lived in Weiler's Farm, a rapidly growing squatter settlement about three or four miles from here. Emily Lamola, a dignified woman with a deep reserve of inner confidence, taught at the nursery school. Silas was a community activist at the forefront of the campaign to resist forced relocation by the government to Orange Farm. The community was unified in resisting continual demolitions, evictions, and arrests.

Because of his activist role, harassment by the authorities

forced Silas to move to Orange Farm in early 1989. Fellow activists told me that, if I came here, I would be on my own, says Lamola. But I felt I had to come here for my safety.

After the African National Congress (ANC) was legalized last February, Silas became involved in trying to form a branch in Or-

-ange Farm. His efforts were thwarted by residents who have aligned with the provincial authorities to try to increase services to their area. Now his energies are devoted to organizing the ANC-aligned local street committees that he sees as vital to the struggle for empowerment.

Life has changed. If I had a problem in the old days, I would tell my parents and they would summon uncles and elders, he says. Now if someone has a problem, they come to me - so I have to go to the street committee.

A year ago there were more shacks than permanent homes

here. Today homes outnumber  
shacks. The pink-painted Lamola

shanty is becoming an island  
among the burgeoning

the community.

With black-on-black  
violence raging, the  
only constant factors in  
the Lamolas lives are  
the community and  
their smiling daughter  
Trudy, who reflects the  
boundless energy of  
childhood.

Silas, Emily, and 7-  
year-old Trudy live in a

houses of an aspiring  
middle class. !  
Emily, a member of  
the Sotho tribe, some-  
times despairs. She  
would like to build a  
house and seek more  
of a balance between  
efforts for the family  
and for the community.  
She sometimes gets  
very upset with me,

wood-and-iron shack in S=EE  
this sprawling community of  
30,000 about 25 miles south of Jo-  
hannesburg. In the center of  
their tiny living room is the cabi-  
net of a 1950s hi-fi set that is used  
as a storage cupboard. The dirt  
floor is covered by a carpet.  
There are no windows, so as soon  
as the front door is closed (which  
is essential to keep the dust out)

in Orange Farm. Though Silas assists her at the school, Emily is currently the  
family's only breadwinnes; bringing home \$320 a month.

He has kept his tiny shack in  
Weiler's Farm and visits it at least  
once a week when he attends  
meetings of the old residents'  
committee. There he feels a sense  
of purpose as part of an organ-  
ized political collective. Through  
attrition, Weiler's Farm has dwin-  
dled over three years from 10,000  
to 1,000 people.

They are among 7 million blacks without permanent housing, about one-quarter of the black population. Since the system of influx control known as the â\200\234pass lawsâ\200\235 was abolished in 1986, hundreds of thousands of blacks have streamed to the cities in search of employment. The prospect of huge shantytowns

. sprawled around major cities â\200\224

once the ruling National Partyâ\200\231s nightmare - is now accepted as a reality for the foreseeable future.

Lamola has not yet built a shack in Orange Farm and lives in the shanty built by his late father-in-law, for Emilyâ\200\231s mother. Attempts to mobilize his new community have proven difficult. Residents are acquiring a vested interest in the new-found security of owning land and homes and see the prospect of improving their bleak fortunes. They pay

about \$200 for their sites. For

\$3,200 (with 95 percent of that amount borrowed), they can buy a hastily built stucco home.

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concedes Silas. â\200\234But I just canâ\200\231t leave all these people behind.â\200\235

He has tried. After moving to Orange Farm in 1989, he took a job as an electrical assistant. He earned \$300 a month, spent much of his time traveling, and felt like a â\200\234fish out of water,â\200\235 being separated from his community. He didnâ\200\231t fit into the business mold and came into conflict with what he saw as exploitative working conditions. â\200\234I was soon looked on as a troublemaker, because I was not satisfied with many of the employerâ\200\231s practices,â\200\235 he says. Today he devotes his time to helping Emily run the community nursery school. She earns \$320 a month, and is the sole breadwinner.

On one of this reporterâ\200\231s visits, Silas was going to the city to buy a new suit. He bought the suit

and took it home, but found it was too big. He hung it behind a curtain dividing the living room from the tiny bedroom. By the next week, when he was able to go back to the shop, the suit was coated with dust and needed to be dry cleaned to be returned.

â\200\234How can we go on living like this?â\200\235 he asks, glancing at Emily.  
â\200\234For the sake of the family I might build a house here.â\200\235

That would be a turning point in Silas Lamolaâ\200\231s journey from the old order to the new.