

LYBON TIYANI MABASA  
Commltted to Black Consmousness

is nevertheless  
Daily News

Nyatsumba.

yet certain if it will  
contest the election, it

preparing for it, writes

Correspondent Kaizer

YBON Tiyani Mabasa  
may not be one of the most  
recognisable names, but the  
Azanian Peopleâ\200\231s Organisa-  
tion (Azapo) leader takes sol-  
ace in the knowledge that  
among â\200\234the oppressed and

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\_j\r\â\200\230c  
Although Azapo is not exploitedâ\200\235, his name does  
more than just ring a bell.

Mr Mabasa, like many other  
political activists in the country  
in the 1970s and the 1980s, has  
seen the inside of prison walls  
more often than he cares to  
remember, but he remains dog-  
gedly committed to the philoso-  
phy of Black Consciousness (BC)

~ which he first embraced years  
ago as a young man.

A former president of Azapo,  
Mr Mabasa has seen some of his  
once-close comrades and associ-

ates leaving the BC fold to join organisations like the ANC and its allies. However, his faith in BC remains as unshakeable now as it was before Steve Biko's death in 1977.

reparing

And like his comrades in

&~

Azapo, Mr Mabasa is very sceptical of the multi-party negotiations taking place at the World Trade Centre (WTC), and calls some of those deliberating on the country's future in that forum nothing but 'puppets and stooges of the regime'.

But Mr Mabasa and his colleagues have been keeping a watchful eye on goings-on at the

WTC, and they know that April

27 next year is a tentative date for the country's first all-in election.

Will they participate in the election? Mr Mabasa, now Azapo's deputy secretary-general, hesitates. His president, Professor Itumeleng Mosala, recently told a news conference in Johannesburg that the question

for ge

of elections 'does not arise'.

But two weeks later, the question still 'does not arise'?

Azapo, Mr Mabasa says 'preoccupation with an election being an instrument for transfer of power'.

However, the organ

tion will contest the election

is satisfied that an elected constituent assembly would not

'be constrained' by constitutional

principles still to be adopted

negotiators at the WTC.

As an organisation, we W

not fear that our people w

Azapo to announce today  
its final stance on talks

[0 Groups split on  
Political Staff

THE Azanian People's Organisation  
will today announce its final posi-  
tion on negotiations following its  
two-day special consultative confer-  
ence at the Wilgespruit Fellowship

Centre near Roodepoort at the

weekend, Azapo publicity secretary  
Dr Gomolemo Mokae said.

The conference, attended by top  
Azapo strategists and rank-and-file  
members from across the country, was  
last night still debating a resolution  
drawn by a technical committee on ne-  
gotiations.

The meeting had been expected to end

"about noon.

Azapo's stance on negotiations will  
now be announced a Press conference in  
Johannesburg today.

Nats' willingness to relinquish power

Sources within the organisation said  
Azapo was divided down the middle on  
the question of negotiations.

While one group felt that now was the  
time for the organisation to take part in  
multi-party talks, others remained scep-  
tical about the government's willingness  
to relinquish power to a democratically  
elected constituent assembly, and there-  
fore opposed negotiations.

And yesterday sources believed the  
anti-negotiations group in the organisa-  
tion would win the day.

It appears this (negotiations) is an in-  
volved matter which congress is taking  
very seriously. The congress was sup-  
posed to have ended four hours ago, but  
it had to be extended because of the na-

ture of the discussions.

â\200\234We are optimistic that whatever po-  
sition is taken will be a unifying one,â\200\235  
said Dr Mokae.

So far the Black Consciousness or-  
ganisation has steadfastly refused to en-  
gage in talks with Pretoria, and has  
called on President De Klerkâ\200\231s govern-  
ment to resign before Azapo could talk  
to it.

The organisation' last year appointed Â¢  
a facilitator to present its views to the  
government and arrange a meeting be-  
tween the two parties, but early this  
month Azapo put a moratorium on talks  
between itself and other parties and or-  
ganisations until this weekendâ\200\231s special  
congress.

With the Pan Africanist Congress now |  
represented in multiparty talks at the  
World Trade Centre, Azapo is the only  
prominent orgamsatlon on the left not |  
involved in negotiations.

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\_was not completely negative

nnual report released today,

or gold buffs. It said that gold  
floldgmgs in Belgium â\200\224 which  
earlier were reported as hav-  
ing fallen by 202 tons â\200\224 did  
not fall by that full amount, as  
some gold from earlier swap  
operations was returned.

The BIS added that the sec-  
ond-largest decline in gold  
stocks was a 94-ton drop in re  
serves in Canada, a major pro-  
ducer. Canadaâ\200\231s total stocks  
stood at 309 tons compared  
with 630 tons 10 years earlier.  
Total official gold reserves

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THE DAILY NEWS TUESDAY AUGUST 3, 1993

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FRIENDS AND NEIGHBOURS: President F.W. de Klerk and President Frederick Chiluba at Lusaka airport

De Klerk uses Zambia trip to begin cementing ties %

\*'Wâ\200\231s Frontline friends

President F.W. de Klerkâ\200\231s  
first visit to Zambia in  
office could have  
far-reaching  
consequences. Robert

' Brand reports for The  
Daily News from Lusaka.

HE previous time  
President F.W. de Klerk  
visited Zambia, he set in  
motion a chain of events which  
re-opened the doors of the  
international community to  
South Africa.

It was four years ago when Mr  
de Klerk â\200\224 not yet president, but  
leader of the National Party â\200\224

./} met former Zambian president

Kenneth Kaunda at Livingstone,  
thereby incurring the wrath of

el %(;Sident P.W. Botha.  
public row between the two

led to Mr Bothaâ\200\231s resignation, Mr  
de Klerkâ\200\231s ascent to the  
presidency, and the reforms of  
February 2 1990.

At the weekend Mr de Klerk vi-  
sited Zambia for the first time as  
state president, and again the trip  
could have far-reaching  
consequences.

It was not, strictly speaking, an

â\200\234officialâ\200\235 state visit: Mr de Klerk

had been invited by the Zambian Agricultural and Commercial Show Society to open its annual show in Lusaka.

But his purpose in making the journey went further than that.

He saw it as a chance to begin cementing ties with the Frontline states, which have continued to shun South Africa in spite of its newly-acquired international respectability.

Mr de Klerk knows â\200\224 as does Zambian President Frederick Chiluba and other Southern African leaders â\200\224 that not much time remains to forge an economic bloc capable of holding its own in the global exchange of goods and services.

The world trend is towards the forming of economic alliances to the benefit of their members and the detriment of competitors.

â\200\234In Africa, we dare not allow ourselves to fall too far behind in this process. We cannot and will not allow ourselves to be marginalised,â\200\235 Mr de Klerk told the Lusaka showgoers in his opening address.

And this was also the message he pushed in his discussions with Mr Chiluba afterwards.

The barrier of apartheid in the past prevented such an alliance. South Africa entered into a customs union with its less powerful neighbours of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, while the Frontline

states, including Zambia, organised themselves into a Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC), later to become the current Southern African Development Community (SADC).

But without South Africaâ\200\231s economic capacity â\200\224 almost equal to that of the rest of Africa combined â\200\224 the SADC, intended to reduce the regionâ\200\231s dependence on South Africa, has never attained the status of equal among the giants of world trade.

However, as Mr Chiluba noted after his meeting with Mr de Klerk, the original reasons for the establishment of the SADC have faded.

Economic bloc

â\200\234The SADCâ\200\231s role of excluding South Africa has stopped ... it is with South Africa we now have to trade,â\200\235 he said.

The next step, Mr de Klerk said, would be a meeting of all the leaders of states in the subcontinent

â\200\234at the earliest possible momentâ\200\235 .

to discuss ways of structuring future economic co-operation.

A formalised Southern African economic bloc could be possible within the next two years, he added.

The concept has the backing of US President Bill Clinton, who is believed to have told Mr de Klerk during the latterâ\200\231s recent visit to the US that South Africa should

take a lead in the economic,â\200\230 recovery of the sub-continent. i

He said the US was willing to assist South Africaâ\200\231s economic' recovery and called on Mr deâ\200\230 Klerk to explore ways of co-operation with other Southern | . African states as a matter of\ urgency.

L

The international financial | community, including the World |â\200\231

" Bank and the International |

Monetary Fund, also wants South | , ' Africa to take the lead in rescuing

the region from economic disaster.

Mr de Klerk excluded the possibility of direct government aid from South Africa to other states in the region, but said there was room for co-operation between the private sectors.



And South Africa was willing to  
provide much-needed expertise  
and technology, especially in the  
fields of agriculture, mining and /v

financial services.

A formalised economic bloc

would use further means, such as e

preferential trade agreements, to I

improve the region's chances of e

economic survival and prosperity.

Mr Chiluba said the SADC had l, v

already discussed the possibility of  
organisational change, and at its

last meeting had set up a commit- |, =~

tee to study the expansion of ex-  
isting structures.

And it is now looking towards

South Africa to lift the region out | .  
of its economic quagmire. !

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FOUNDED IN  
Bulwark or

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PART from'exasperating his opponents to the point of  
pulling out their hair, what is Inkatha Freedom Party  
president Mangosuthu Buthelezi about?  
anship? Many think so; that he is engaged in a  
ruthless and extremely dangerous contest of nerves and

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political cunning to ensure his group has its share of power  
in the new South Africa.

Now, having withdrawn from the negotiations and setting.< iy

tough conditions for its re-entry into the process, the IFPâ\200\230-g.r %  
has formally placed itself on an election footing. And;  
having launched a court action to stymie the negotia-  
tions, he has let it be known that this is a bargaining chip  
too. Confusing signals, indeed.

Critics brand Dr Buthelezi the spoiler, believing that he \*  
will not stop obstructing the negotiations until he is re-

cognised as an essential part of decision-making at the  
World Trade Centre and beyond, and guaranteed an influenâ\200\231  
tial role to his liking in the new deal. Supporters, including,

a growing number of white sympathisers, see him as a '  
bulwark against socialism and domination by those who =~

may seek unreasonable compensations for past imbalances.  
They view him as holding out, justifiably, for federalism.  
And they are grateful he is there.

Opponents and followers aside, is this brinkmanship  
right or wrong? Using the negotiation process as'part  
of an election campaign, to win votes, would be wrong. But -  
unstinting zeal in the pursuit of federalism, if it won as.  
much ground as possible for a proven model of government,  
would be right â\200\224 and a great vote-catcher.

To prolong South Africaâ\200\231s bloodletting through that  
brinkmanship, however, or perhaps pitch the country into .  
unnecessary calamity if he misjudged and overstepped that -  
perilously thin line, would be tragic. The question Dr  
Buthelezi faces is: are self-interest, regional interest and .  
national interest compatible? Events will tell, either way,  
within a matter of months.

â\200\230The distant lory

THE Department of Environment Affairs is right to stop importation of the red-and-blue lory (a strikingly beautiful parrot) from its native Indonesia. Anyone who doubts the justice of it ought to consider what South Africaâ\200\231s reaction would be if Indonesia were to allow the importation of rhino horn, encouraging the poaching and smuggling network.

All over the world, wildlife is under pressure. As with the Indonesian lory, destruction of habitat accounts for most of the marginalisation or extinction of species. But direct depredation by man can also play a devastating role. In the case of the Indonesian lory, numbers were reduced to about 2 000 birds on only three islands â\200\224 before at least 700 were trapped for sale in the past year. That makes their current position precarious to say the least. :

However, there are encouraging signs of a world-wide surge in public concern about such reckless exploitation. A few years ago there was no Department of the Environment in South Africa to link up with its international counterparts. The cause of the distant lory would have gone unnoticed. Not so today.

THE least important aspect of the soccer clash between the ANC and IFP at Malukazi near Durban on Sunday was the score. That the ANC beat the IFP 3-1 meant little. - What mattered was that the match celebrated a peace pact among warring factions in an atmosphere of tolerance and fun. It was the community that emerged the victors. All that was missing was the Zulu football loyalist who found himself in the crowd at the FNB Stadium imbizo recently. Amid the speeches, he shouted: â\200\234When is the soccer going to-start.â\200\235 Seems its started. REgE

The Daily News

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the federal case

OMPARED to the constitution it replaces and models  
abandoned before that, the draft proposal for a new  
: South Africa tabled yesterday at the multi-party talks  
is vast progress. Hallmarks of the old were exclusion,

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constitutional contortionism and sleight â\200\224 all aimed at P

keeping power firmly in the grip of a determined white

minority. The most distinguishing feature of the new is its Rt :

inclusive character, acknowledging and entrenching  
political adulthood and full  
Africans regardless of race.

But the 12-chapter document is a draft and still has ;"â\200\234â\200\231fiâ\200\230.f\ ;

serious flaws. It is only the first step, but nonetheless a  
historic and highly important one, on the road to an interim  
constitution. It is a basis for discussion and, we think, a  
good one to stimulate debate and generate the plethora of '  
amendments which must surely follow in the haggling. :

Now should come the most intense political bargaining of  
the multi-party talks. It is the time for political groups to  
compromise and deal for what they can get â\200\224 hopefully

partnership for all South \

placing national interest above party-political powerplay lk  
and self-interest.

Parties which have absented themselves from the World Trade Centre should reconsider: this is the time for their best contributions, not a moment to be caught glowering on the sidelines, hostile, negative and reactive rather than positive, pioneering and proactive.

Can the Inkatha Freedom Party leave it to others, for instance, to represent their anticipated concerns at the forum with clauses 24(c), 24(f) and 24(k) of the constitutional principles allowing central government to override regional legislatures? Who better to articulate these fears ' and objections than the IFP, which has withdrawn? â\200\231

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Federalists will be fighting to underscore and entrench E\ -Lf\ ; the federal nature of the draft. At this crucial time they: &=

could do with support from fellow federalists such as the

IFP whose presence and argument would add considerable = ;

weight to objections to, among other worrying clauses, a | controversial deadlock-breaking mechanism. |  
It may be flawed but the good news is that it is a

fledgling federal constitution. By participating as i;â\200\230â\200\235; i

aggressively as they have so far in the debate, the IFP has = buttressed the case for federalism. They have, judging by | this draft document, had their way to a significant extent. They should stay to complete the job. Continued withdrawal may just lose them their vital role in shaping the future, and alternative constitutional negotiations run the very grave danger of splitting the country permanently, as IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned. ?

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TeaÃ©hers S

TEACHERS at the same  
schools and in the same  
staffrooms are being divid-  
ed into members of the  
South African Democratic  
Teachersâ\200\231 Union, who will  
participate in the strike,  
and others who do not be-  
long and intend to carry on  
teaching.

â\200\234Roseâ\200\235 (name changed) is a  
teacher at a secondary school  
in Sydenham, Durban, and be-  
longs to the Society of Natal  
Teachers (Sonat) which has not  
joined the Sadtu call to strike.

She said there was no way  
she would be able to bring her-  
self to strike at â\200\230this time as  
her matric pupils had only six  
â\200\230weeks to go before their final  
examinations.

â\200\234We are in the majority at  
our school; probably only 12  
members of our 42-member  
staff will participate in the  
strike on Monday, but there  
are no hard feelings between  
us as colleagues,â\200\235 she said.

Rose said she understood the  
reasons behind Sadtuâ\200\231s call for  
a strike but was aware that  
some teachers and members  
of the community had criti-  
cised Sadtu for calling a strike  
so close to the final examina-  
tions.

â\200\234Laraâ\200\235 (name changed) and  
â\200\234Raymondâ\200\235 (name changed)  
teach at the same school in Sy-

denham but as members of  
Sadtu will be joining the  
strike.

â\200\234This is probably one of the  
most difficult decisions you

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trike cause

BUSINESS AS USUAL: A m iric class teacher in Sydenham with a very eager 10A class.

S )  
division

A teachersâ\200\231 strike called by the 80 000-strong  
South African Democratic Teachersâ\200\231 Union has

been set to start on Monday. The Department of

Education and Training brought an urgent  
interdict against the union in the Supreme  
Court, Johannesburg, yesterday but Mr  
Mpendulo Khumalo, Sadtu deputy president,  
said that the strike would go ahead whatever  
the verdict of the court, unless something

â\200\234drasticâ\200\235â\200\231 happened.

Education Reporter Susan Miller spoke to a  
local matric pupil about her feelings about the  
strike and to teachers who are members of  
Sadtu and one who opposed the strike.

can get called on to make be-  
cause as a teacher you care so  
much about your children, but  
as members of a trade union  
we must abide by a national  
decision,â\200\235 said Lara.

Lara and Raymond both  
want the strike to end quick-  
ly because they do not want to  
adversely affect their pupils.

â\200\234We are talking about big-  
ger issues than each of us just  
getting some kind of increase.  
We are talking about 18000  
fellow black teachers getting a  
salary of R650 a month take  
home pay.

â\200\234People must realise that  
part of Sadtuâ\200\231s demands are  
that a living wage for all  
teachers must be negotiated  
especially for lower grade  
teachers,â\200\235 she said.

Mo Ally, Sadtu regional or-  
ganiser, said the union wanted  
to negotiate for a certain

amount of money for the edu-

cation budget which would then be negotiated again to try to bring the lower grade teachers' salaries up to a certain level.

Raymond said that even if the outcome of the strike did not affect them directly, they were still prepared to take the strike action because of loyalty to their poorly paid colleagues.

We probably will not get paid for the days that we will be on strike and this will be very difficult because we do

\* not get great salaries," said

Lara.

Both teachers were optimistic that the strike would be very short and said they would probably spend their time at the school even if they were not teaching.

We will leave a lot of work

will be affected by the strike.



Picture: MARILYN BERNARD |

for our pupils. While some of |  
them are very supportive of |  
our actions, there are others  
who have expressed anxiety  
about their own education,â\200\235  
said Raymond.

Mandy Correa, 17, is deputy  
headgirl of the secondary  
school in Sydenham.

She said the matric pupils  
were generally sympathetic

towards the teachersâ\200\231 strike

but knew they could not afford  
to lose any time as they were  
already involved in â\200\234intense  
revisionâ\200\235 before the matric  
finals. .

â\200\234In our schools we do not  
get substitute teachers, either,  
so we would be left to cope en-  
tirely by ourselves. :

â\200\234Luckily, at our school, the  
matric teachers have already  
said that they will not be join-  
ing the strike,â\200\235 she said.

Mandy said a lot of parents

also supported the teachers in f| i

their demands but did not  
want to see any more school-  
ing lost this year.

â\200\234We live in quite a conser-  
vative area and our school has  
always been quite quiet but I  
do know friends who live in

areas such as Newlands who  
have lost a lot of schooling and  
failed their June examinations  
because of the earlier teachers  
actions. 2

Local schools from the De-  
partment of Education and  
Training (Det), House of Rep-  
resentatives, House of Dele-  
gates and KwaZulu Depart-  
ment of Education and Culture

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& s VN R RS R 7

IFP

| The launch of a branch of the  
-| Inkatha Freedom Party in Bambayi  
has added another dimension to the  
- | violence in the strife-torn shackland.  
| Ido'Lekota of The Daily News  
~ Political Staff reports.

INCE its eruption, the violence in  
~ Bambayi has been ascribed to an â\200\234in-  
- ternal disputeâ\200\235 between two ANC-sup-  
. porting factions, the Reds and the

Greens.

— In trying to understand the â\200\234domestic con-  
- flictâ\200\235 various reasons were enumerated as

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branch adds new d 'meg{sion [8  
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the causes. These included factors such as

socio-economic deprivation, poverty and un-  
employment.

From the two groups themselves the most  
common reason given for the fighting was an  
accusation levelled against each other of one  
faction having used a different inyanga to try  
and overpower the other.

After various attempts to resolve this â\200\234do-  
mestic feudâ\200\235 there were rumours that the  
IFP had made inroads into Greens territory.  
This led to the Reds referring to the Greens  
as Inkatha, a tag the Greens initially vehe-  
mently denied.

Yesterdayâ\200\231s launch of an IFP branch in the  
area confirmed the Greensâ\200\231s loyalties.

On the other hand the launch and the vio-  
lence that erupted thereafter has to a large

extent compounded the situation into an  
ANC/IFP conflict.

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While watching their blazing shacks after the IFP supporters marched through their area, ANC-supporting Reds said Inkatha had now openly declared war on them.

â\200\234They have been arming the Greens all along but today they have brought them into their fold and are now going to destabilise this area,â\200\235 said one of the residents.

For its part, upon hearing of the intended launch, the ANC had expressed its fears for such a scenario. Â»

â\200\234We fear that the move to launch an IFP branch in what has essentially been an ANC territory will lead to more conflict,â\200\235 said ANC Southern Natal spokesman Mpho Scott.

The police have repeatedly denied any involvement in the violence, explaining that their presence in the area was as a â\200\234peace-keeping forceâ\200\235.

The ANC have gone further, accusing the Internal Stability Unit of destabilising the

violence in shackland =  
\o

â\200\230KwaZulu area to go ahead â\200\234only after its

OIS OLN  
S o i e  
area, to aid the IFP moving in. :

This has led to the organisation calling - for the removal of the ISU from the area.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillett has also denied =

that the launch of a branch in the area was an attempt to â\200\234destabiliseâ\200\235 an ANC territory.

He said the IFP was moving into the area because of its belief that the violence could only be stopped through development.

â\200\234The conflict in the area is mainly a result of scarce resources and we have the means, through the KwaZulu government, to develop the area,â\200\235 said Mr Tillett.

He said the move was also a challenge to the ANCâ\200\231s policy of â\200\234stuntingâ\200\235 development by expecting every development in the

bleedingâ\200\235.

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Bambayi turmoil in pictures: Page7 -

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ment has hit back at a report  
; .| claiming it has been implicat-  
. | edina multi-billion rand scam  
| involving off-shore loans,  
B Spokesman Dave Steward  
~ /Â¢ | said the newspaper report re-  
-] lated to a court case in which  
- | Alwyn Lombard, brother of  
Â@/ | the former deputy governor of  
the Reserve Bank, Jan Lom-

overnmenti¬\201e

J )V Johannesburg: The Governi¬\202 biard, had been convicted  
foreign exchange fraud.

trate who heard the case had  
found that there was no sub-  
stance to allegations of Gov-  
ernment involvement in the  
scam. He accused the Sunday  
Nation newspaper of ignoring  
this and having a â\200\234political

dies link  
story.

Mr Steward said the magis-  
appeal.

of agendaâ\200\235 in publishing the

Lombard was found guilty  
and sentenced to 12 yearsâ\200\231 jail.  
He is out on bail pending an

The newspaper said financial consultants who helped the Government obtain loans from abroad had claimed the

to multi-billion-rand sascafa\| L

brought into the country.

dent

State borrowed billions of rands from overseas bankers, but the money was never

The consultants claimed the money may have been used by senior government officials to buy property and assets overseas.â\200\224Daily News Corresponden-

Vv

R

athelezi calls

L

â\200\234Let us go together to

R Zulus and Afrikaners,  
Sl wl;th the non-Zulus and  
place for all in this,

on leaders \+

to join him to end strife

ident Mangosuthu

THA Freedom Party presi : :

}Bifxlt{llAelezi has called on ANC president Nt\_al?o:clzla;\â\200\230xi]n -  
dela to go with him agd putfage?tlgâ\200\235u\,w ;:ez' : it !

s valley of the shadow o

gl:r: a;\â\200\230io'ufg unspeakable things to blacks.

i ' di yesterday,  
ng a day of prayer at Ulun  
-heâ\200\230:(; (iigessgtltlgl Afriga was witnessing what ctggllld be  
the beginnings of awesome racial conflagration.  
  
i Klerk to go  
called on Presndent' dg.  
wi{{heh?rils (t)o the heart of the negotiation matter.  
  
your people, and to my  
  
inished history â\200\224 between  
e e ung]r;;hbe finished as we join  
the non-Afrikaners jo fmqla e  
the land of our birth.â\200\235â\200\224Daily

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News Reporter Danly NQw .>

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B  
force  
=

A new police force that  
is accountable to the  
public is needed, writes  
former exile and  
anti-apartheid activist  
Cosmas Desmond.

RECENTLY, following the  
granting of a court order, Co-  
satu was able, for the first  
time, to hold a rally in the  
stadium at Mandini. Inside,  
there was a carnival atmo-  
sphere, as the crowd some-  
-~ how managed to do a version  
- of the toyi-toyi to the music  
: \_ of Mango Groove.

-~ Outside, the scene resembled  
the old Red Square on May Day

1 as a wide assortment of police  
. vehicles â\200\224 casspirs, nyalas,  
large wagons, pick-up trucks,  
kombis and private cars.

A group of about 25 KZP poli-  
cemen ambled up from the near-  
by police station and lolled about

. or squatted on the stumps of  
- fence posts â\200\224 not at all reminis-  
. cent of Red Square â\200\224 while their  
~ SAP colleagues, with whom  
â\200\230 there was no noticeable commu-  
. nication all day, hung around  
their vehicles a short distance  
away. Neither their demeanour

. nor their camouflage made them  
| instantly recognisable as â\200\234citi-  
| zens in uniformâ\200\235.

% My own anarchic tendencies  
. do not dispose me towards for-  
" mality and regimentation; but if  
. a body of armed men are not dis-  
\_ciplined in every way, they are  
e need

Ly Jew 2  
;erve

@â\200\230/â\200\231ZB-

unlikely to be djsciplined in any way and may well prove to be as slapdash in their use of weapons as they are in their dress and general behaviour.

As indeed they often are. I am rather allergic to policemen at the best of times; it makes me decidedly edgy when, perhaps out of sheer boredom, they start playing with their guns.

The authorities were clearly

terminated that nothing untow-

rd should happen on that Sun-

ay. In this they were successful, albeit at tremendous financial cost to the taxpayer, and all concerned were duly grateful.

The SAP responded graciously and immediately to requests from monitors to investigate possible flashpoints; there were

. even signs of community polic-

ing, as when a policeman leapt from his truck to assist two small children who were having difficulty opening their cold drink cans. They appeared quite terrified at his approach, but he reassured them, telling them, in Zulu, that he would open the cans for them.

00ld habits, however, die hard;; there was the inevitable camera recording the proceedings and a dour security policeman listening to every word said by the speakers â\200\224 and possibly by everybody else.

Saturation policing is doubtless one way of ensuring the absence of violence; though not of creating peace. But does it have to be so intimidatory? The KZP, for example, spent the whole day, guns at the ready, facing the

a new police,|

public

stadium. But the people in the = . =~ = ., stadium were obviously not there

to fight each other or anybody | - .  
else; any disruption would have | -~

CASC ;:t\\_

come from outside.

I have had dealings with vari- | ~ =  
ous arms of the security forces in | = â\200\234-  
different townships and am pre- =

pared to believe that the SAP  
are trying to improve their  
image and their modus operandi.  
But, despite their efforts at po-  
liteness towards, and co-opera-  
tion with, peace monitors, there  
is no way in which they can be-

come effective agents for peace; [ -

any group of blacks is still seen  
as a threat, to which force is the

only answer. This is not neces- | -~ Â°

sarily the fault of the present  
members.

They are heirs to too long a  
history of confrontation and mili-  
tarisation, not to mention sheer  
brutality. They have been ab-

sorbed into a system which sees | Â©

itself as above the law and whose  
role it is to subdue the people by

force. Would-be reformers have =

as much chance of instilling a

new ethos as a novice would | -  
have in introducing free sex into | . = -

a nunnery.

For the sake of both society as  
a whole and of those who genu-  
inely want to become police-  
men/women we need to disman-  
tle the present paramilitary ap-  
paratus and build a police force  
whose members would be no  
more and no less than the paid  
servants of the public, to whom  
they would be accountable. Then

little children might not be | -  
frightened when they offer to |

open their cold drinks for them.

The Government has

secured a drought

package to help  
devastated rural  
communities. A Daily

News Correspondent  
reports from Pretoria.

HE Government is to

~~ provide devastated rural com-  
- Munities and farmers with a  
- massive R469-million emer-  
. gency aid package to help  
. overcome a second year of di-  
- sastrous drought brought on

by the EI Nino weather pat-

- tern.

Agriculture Minister Kraai van  
Niekerk said in Pretoria yester-

| day that while the money â\200\224 to

become available to the agricul-  
tural industry, rural communities  
and independent states on August  
25 â\200\224 may not be enough, it is the  
most the country can afford at  
the present time.

Targets for help include black  
rural communities, summer crop  
areas, districts hit by water prob-  
lems, and the sugar industry.

The South African Agricultural  
Union yesterday welcomed the  
package. '

!n a statement in Pretoria,  
union president Boet Fourie said  
although the amount was -consid-

Bid to fight effects of El Nino

o fight effects of El Nino  
Massive drought  
aid package

erably less than the union requested and would not meet total requirements, it was understood that the Government had to find the money from a budget that was already under enormous pressure.

Mr Fourie said the aid would not only bring immediate relief, but would have a positive longer-term effect in the recovery and maintenance of the production potential, the continued employment of labour and the recovery of maintenance of export potential.

The latest package is one of several helplines thrown out in recent months. The Government wiped off R2,4 billion from farmers' drought debts to the Land Bank, Operation Hunger was given R2,3 million by the Government, Japan contributed R619 000 for drought relief, and the Maize Board paid out a R3,30 a ton disaster payment to producers to assist with their costs.

Mr van Niekerk yesterday forecast a deepening of the disaster circumstances for an unforeseen second consecutive year which is certain to bring unprecedented hardship to rural communities and the national economy.

Although near normal and well distributed rain caused a

substantial improvement in the summer crop areas, dire circumstances are being experienced in the Eastern Cape, the Central

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Karoo, the far northern Transvaal and along the east coast

from Ciskei to KwaZulu, Mr van

Niekerk said.

The overall result of El Nino 9 had been an escalation in unemployment, socio-economic decay

and a threat to rural infrastructure.

The most important purpose is to safeguard thousands of employment opportunities and stabilise the food security of the total

population, Mr van Niekerk said.

The additional funds are being allocated to supplement existing assistance schemes and to finance new schemes.

Aid has been allocated as follows:

establishment of long-term crops

(R45 million); continued assistance to self-governing territories

and stock farmers in extensive grazing areas (R81 million); interest subsidies on re-estates and TBVC states (R133 million).

Assistance to the sugar industry (R20 million); low-interest production loans to stock farmers in drought stricken extensive grazing areas (R50 million); aid to areas with emergency water shortages (R52 million).

Replenishment of Agricultural Credit Account for debt consolidation and facilitating buying out water rights at Sterkfontein scheme (R88 million).

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. The AWB appears to be in a dilemma  
" about South Africa's new right-wing

~ right-wing movement got off the ground in 1984 and that only then would the organisation  
\200\231s

- Pretoria on Friday 19/05/84 but already the AWB, aims be laid Out :  
. the most important player in the field, is not R R

Organsatmn unsure how to handle new right wing groupmg  
Day News 10-6 -

WB's alliance dilemma

General Viljoen, who had with four other retired  
generals been locked in right-wing unity talks for  
almost three weeks, said in answer to questions -  
that the AVF would not at this stage be seeking  
a seat at the constitutional negotiation table. Mem-

{ bers of the AVF such as Cosag, the Conservative =  
- Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie, already partici- =~ -  
part in gtae negotiations.

e added that a further meeting on M

OUTH Afrlca s fledgling multi-party would ratify decisions taken at Frgldays ril}eelt? iA«

alliance. This report from Norman  
Chandler in Pretoria.

sure how to handle it.

. The organisation's military wing, the Wenkom- sl  
mando, attended the meeting in defiance of a - .  
. directive from the AWB's Ventersdorp headquar-  
. ters forbidding attendance and making derogatory  
-~ remarks about the new Afrikaner Volksfront. o  
Â© . The self-styled commandant-general of the Wen- -  
\_ kommando, former SADF colonel Servaas de Witt, -  
defiantly took his place on the podium along with  
\_ retired military and police generals, leaders of the . -~ -  
- Conservative Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party = ~ .~

Â» and top Afrikaner organisations.

~ in the founding meeting of the AVF. Yoo  
They heard the former chief of the SADF, Gener-â\200\230 N3  
- al Constand Viljoen, tell the news conference, at-

: Asked why, Colonel de Witt said: â\200\234We must be ST  
- represented.â\200\235 :

He added that he had not been able to reach  
AWB leader Eugene Terreâ\200\231Blanche to advise him = -  
of his (Colonel de Witt) attendance, and said that -



- if there were any disciplinary moves made against =  
. him, he would face them head-on. He did not be- . =

lieve that the AWB should not be present.  
full military dress, mingled with journalists in the

ters of the Transvaal Agricultural Union â\200\224 before  
a news conference.

About 130 representatives of right-wing groups Sates  
â\200\224 many of them also involved in commerce and in-  
took part

dustry; and in all-white labour unions â\200\224

tended by 72 representatives of the international

and local media, that Afrikaner unity was being . =~  
threatened and that the new group had been ' .  
formed in order to promote unity among Afrikan- Â° .,  
ers. There was no mention of whether English- -

. speaking South Africans would be welcome in the - >

7

Y garden outside the meeting venue â\200\224 the headquar-

e .

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Bld 0 corgitef' alleâ\200\230.

Proposed new po

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a3  
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unit is turned down

. The Police Commissioner has  
At least one other active member of the AWB, in . â\200\230 anbbed a pla}n to establish a  
-  
- new police unit. Andre Jurgens

| reports

ROUND-BREAKING police

proposals to establish a special unit to investigate cases of misconduct against the South African Police in the troubled Natal Midlands have been snubbed by Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe.

The proposed Police Investigation Unit

was created in response to claims of SAP misconduct in January this year at Mooi

River, Estcourt and Ezakheni near Ladysmith.

The plan was outlined in a memorandum before a Goldstone Commission sub-committee sitting in Westville yesterday and hailed by the African National Congress as a ground-breaking step showing a significant change of attitude to investigations into the force.

SAP legal representative Rod Callum said that while General van der Merwe agreed with the proposals in principle, he was, because of the Security Forces Board of Inquiry Act, not prepared to implement them at this stage.

The Act provides for similar investigation units, but is being discussed by the Government and the ANC and is not yet in operation.

ANC legal representative John Jeffrey accused the commissioner of "stalling" a

major initiative which had taken months to negotiate.

Allegations of police harassment and misconduct have been presented as evidence before the Goldstone Commission sub-committees.

ANC branches in Estcourt, Mooi River and Ezakheni township said police investi-

gations of complaints against their own

members were carried out with a "lack of enthusiasm".

Discussions, arising from previous Goldstone hearings, on curbing alleged unlawful police conduct bore fruit last week

when the SAP proposed the formation of the special unit to try to overcome misgivings in the three townships of the SAP's ability to investigate itself.

Police in Natal also proposed to set up :  
similar units in Durban, Pinetown, Port

i

Shepstone, Newcastle and Empangeni.

ANC de  
Ulundi: AS elect&n fever mounts,  
Ulundi, regarded by some as a â\200\234no-  
go areaâ\200\235 especially for political op-  
ponents such as the African Nation-  
al Congress, may be flooded by a  
kaleidoscope of colourful flags,  
ranging from the black, gold and  
green of the ANC to the â\200\234sunnyâ\200\235  
new National Party flag.

Confirming this, ANC spokesman  
Ronnie Mamoepa said his organisa-  
tion would go to every â\200\234nook and  
crannyâ\200\235 of the country â\200\224 â\200\234even in  
Ulundiâ\200\235 â\200\224 to campaign for the  
April 27 election.

ermined to campai

â\200\234Like everywhere else in the  
country, we have divided Natal  
into sub-regions and if the need  
is for us to establish an office in  
Ulundi we will do so,â\200\235 said Mr Ma-  
moepa.

â\200\234That is why the question of free  
political activity is critical,â\200\235 he  
said.

Not to be left out is the National

Party, says the director of infor-

mation and Ladysmith MP, Jacko  
Maree.

â\200\234We are going to solicit support  
throughout Natalâ\200\235, said Mr Maree.

He said as part of the build-up to  
the election, President F.W. de  
Klerk would â\200\234ask for an audienceâ\200\235  
with the Zulu monarch Zwelithini  
Bhekuzulu so as to have access to  
all the traditional leaders.

Democratic Party leader Zach

de Beer has revealed that his party had already been allocated an office in Ulundi.

Responding to the possible influx into their territory, IFP spokesman Ed Tillett said his organisation believed in free political activity for all parties, including the ANC.

The Pan Africanist Congress, Azapo, and now lately the National Party, had always recruited within what was regarded as IFP territories, said Mr Tillett.

He, however, expressed his concern about what he referred to as the history of violent persuasion the ANC has acquired for itself. That, according to Mr Tillett, might lead to violence in IFP areas.

The Transkei authorities are gearing themselves up, possibly with the help of the ANC, to stamp

out Hecton m Ul

/ Plans for joint Mandela-Buthelezi rallies as

out random shooting in and around Umtata, particularly at night. The Minister of Police, Colonel Washington Ndzwayiba, said his department would form a special unit to deal with the situation. A special telephone number will be announced and any person who hears shooting can telephone that number, he said. Colonel Ndzwayiba claimed that some policemen were responsible for the random shootings. Daily News Reporter, Daily News Correspondent

violence intensifies

rive

## Massive peace

It is hard to talk of peace when people  
are mourning violence victims, but the  
Government, the ANC and the IFP are  
trying to do just that. Daily News  
Political Staff report.

Plans are afoot for joint Mandela-

. Buthelezi peace rallies, and ANC and IFP  
. youth leaders in southern Natal are pre-  
paring to meet in Durban tomorrow to  
~ discuss how they can contribute towards  
. halting the violence. :  
.. Worsening carnage in Natal has also  
'~ sprouted a further peace drive with signa-  
" tories to the National Peace Accord meeting  
\* in Durban today and at the weekend to thrash  
~ out problems in implementing the pact..

7 >N S D1 3 ' /- , 2%  
: s bl >t el

- on how the violence sweeping the East Rand should  
be handled. .1

On the East Rand, thousands of extra police  
and troops have been deployed in one of the largest  
. Imobilisations yet staged in South Africa and De-  
fence Force armour was last night rumbling to-  
| wards the violence-ridden region.

] Last night the Witwatersrand regional police  
commissioner, Lieutenant-General Koos Calitz, an-  
nounced that more than 2 000 additional policemen | a

, had been deployed on the East Rand yesterday af-  
ternoon.

a

## Armoured units

And an SADF spokesman confirmed that ar-  
moured units from Lohatla and the Army Bat-  
tle School in Bloemfontein had left their bases  
and were expected to arrive on the East Rand  
today. :

Ratels and Rooikats armoured vehicles = a

equipped with heavy-calibre machine-guns are about peace, reconci

It is not easy to talk

ing every day, as you are.

m(glllllâ\200\230?l?l% urgzd I}Ã@atleyhong residents to make  
| friends with hostel dwellers a  
" the ANC, giving IFP supporters "2  
" onâ\200\235. The crowd booed this suggestion.

P ST =7 5 o

to patrol the townships from today as part of an  
effort to stabilise 4+ 2rea, where at least 137 |  
people have been killed since Saturday.

Four hours of talk. between President de Klerk  
and Nelson Matidela ended in Pretoria last night  
with their failing to resolve significant differences

Fod

joint ANC-  
area, but

cause they claimed to

said the ANC.  
Mr Mandela visited the East Rand and made

dusty Huntersfield um,  
porters to work for reconciliation.

. joint tour of East Rand |  
~ IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi. :  
" Mr Mandela acknowledged: â\200\234It is not easy in .~ -  
situation such as that facing us now to talk &~ o

liation and political tolerance.  
about peace to people who are

An ANC statement said it was agreed 'tl'lat a  
Government delegation should visit the  
the Government delegates ba}llke(â\200\230iâ\200\230 at  
suggestion that it visit the area last night bg,-  
have other commitmentsâ\200\235,

plea for peace yesterday.

Addressing about 8000 people in Katlghongâ\200\231s  
; : d stadium, he urged his sup-

Joint tour

ld reporters that plans were afoot for a  
i Ly d townships by himself and

nd win them over to /  
â\200\234a shoulder to lean

i i 175 so  
national violence toll has soared to  
fa;r l:i~\201is week â\200\224 the highest recorded for a sqvertl-  
day period this year, according the Human Rights  
â\200\230 ission. t ;  
Coï~\201lmlill:tal the toll was 23. Most gieaths ' (el.ght) oc(-i  
curred in the Northern Natal region. 'lâ\200\234hlS mclpde

â\200\234 Ezakheni, near Ladysmith, an grlcaa which eontinues  
Â° aged by internecine violence.

" gg{r&\{leg peo%le were killed in the Durban Func(i  
â\200\230 tional Region, two on the Ngtal South. (;oagt artnl  
four in the Midlands, including an official in the

region.

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â\200\234Row b

The Pope is expected  
2 to restate the Catholic

\_ Churchâ\200\231s traditional

\* authoritarian line on

~ ~ morality. Andrew

- Brown reports from  
- Rome.

ROMAN Catholics in

- Europe are bracing them-  
- selves for an uncompromis-  
ing restatement of the  
Catholic Churchâ\200\231s tradition-  
ally authoritarian teaching

on morality from Pope

John Paul II.

The document is expected,  
among other things, to reaf-  
firm the ban on artificial con-  
traception, which caused a cri-  
sis in the Roman Catholic  
| Church in the developed world  
when restated 25 years ago in  
the encyclical Humanae Vitae.

According to reports in the  
- Italian Press, the encyclical  
Veritatis Splendor (the Splen-  
| dour of the Truth) has been  
completed after a long gesta-  
tion period, and will be pub-  
lished at the end of this month.

Sections of an earlier draft  
were published in Italian  
papers at the weekend and

~ suggested that the encyclical

will take a very hard line on  
the issue of papal authority,  
which many Roman Catholics  
believe has damaged the papa-  
cy far more than what is ac-  
tually taught.

The Catholic World Report,  
a right-wing Catholic news  
magazine with an excellent

â\200\234record for accuracy, published  
in its latest issue an account of  
the encyclical letter suggest-

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rewm over moralit

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AUTHORITARIAN: Pope John Paul II taking a strict line.

ing that it is largely aimed at clamping down on moral theologians and philosophers.

Well-placed observers within the English Catholic Church suggested that the encyclical is not expected to concentrate on sexual morality. Rather, it restates the papal claim to a supernatural discernment in matters of morality generally. As such, it is likely to cause greater ructions among the celibate clergy.

In crude terms, the battle lines are being drawn between an "objective morality" and "ac-

cording to which certain acts such as abortion are always and intrinsically wrong" and a "subjective morality", which enables liberal moralists, by taking into account motivation, circumstances, and likely results of an act, to conclude that it was not so harmful after all.

The Catholic World Report claims that the argument of the encyclical concludes with the assertion that "moral theologians must teach the doc-

trines of the Church and not

their own personal theories".

However, in most of Western Europe and North America, it is almost impossible to find a Catholic moral philosopher who privately believes in the ban on artificial birth control. It is certainly difficult to find any Catholic lay people who do, and the birth rate among middle-class Catholics is exactly the same as among middle-class agnostics.

John Wilkins, the editor of the Tablet, an English weekly

Catholic news magazine, says that it is reactionary teaching on authority, rather than on particular sexual practices,

Church. In the developed coun-

tries, lay people resent being |

talked down to, but even in

the developing countries, what they want is evidence that -

they are being listened to. The account in the Catholic

World Report says that the ° real enemy of Catholic truth is

a doctrine of liberty now

taught in many Catholic col- |

leges and seminaries, which exalts conscience above Church teachings.

However, the encyclical is reported to argue that the Law of God and man's true freedom cannot be in conflict, since both are ordained and desired by God.

The Church does not deny the freedom of the Christian conscience. But the conscience must be properly formed, free from ignorance and error, according to the Catholic World Report.

There has been speculation in this country and elsewhere that the encyclical has been deliberately leaked in order to discredit it before publication. Independent News Service

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| e Dk. » xj N1 | 23-~3 52

Letters

Donâ\200\231t let  
king be

~ruled by

which has really harmed the |

Buthelezi

SIR â\200\224 Your editorial needs to be heeded by all those South Africans (especially Inkatha leaders), who want a peaceful transition (July 13). It is a pity that as sure as the sun rises from the east every morning, you, Mr Editor, are going to receive pages and pages of defensive and meaningless political rhetoric from Ulundi for the serious views you expressed in your editorial.

First the people of Natal must know that it is not really the king of the Zulus who is making all these threats of war. The king is forced to speak through the mouth of Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government. His speeches are written by Chief Butheleziâ\200\231s department. The least non-Inkatha Zulus can do is appeal to the king to now put his foot down and refuse to be manipulated by Butheleziâ\200\231s department that pays the kingâ\200\231s salary and builds palaces for him.

Second, the recent Imbizo was not a gathering of â\200\234Zulusâ\200\235 as the Press billed it. A real gathering of Zulus cannot attract only 60000 people â\200\224 or whatever the number was. This was a gathering of Inkatha and those Zulus who support that party all over South Africa. If it was

'~ not an Inkatha gathering, and if the king was act-

ing independently of Inkatha, he would have asked Zulus who are ANC, PAC DP and NP

tlation process.

members also to come and brief hlm on the nego-

Finally, not a single party in the negotiation process has ever stated that post-apartheid South Africa will lead to the destruction of the Zulu klngdom Instead, virtually all the parties support the view that the Zulu kingâ\200\231s position and status will remain intact. What all parties, including In-

. katha, are saying is that homeland governments - established under the apartheid laws of 1951 dand

. 1971 will disappear. These governments obviously - include the KwaZulu Government headed by - Chief Buthelezi, and not the KwaZulu kingdom . headed by the kmg

Chief Buthelezi should not deliberately confuse his role as the Chief Minister of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly (which will disappear) and the

king's role as head of the Zulu kingdom (which will not disappear).

Whose battle is the king being forced to fight?

Surely it is Chief Buthelezi's battles.

CONCERNED ZULU

Mandini

To

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b4 e N R ATy  
UL ST ERE S, I8

apâ\200\224

rage on the East Rand.  
Daily News  
Correspondents report  
from Johannesburg.

IMMERING conflict on  
the East Rand has blown up  
into warfare as ANC leaders  
push, with cautious govern-  
ment support, for the forma-  
tion of a joint peace-keeping  
force within weeks.

Police said today at least 87  
people had been killed on the

East Rand since Saturday after-  
noon and the toll was expected to

1 rise as -morg - bodies-were - disco- |  
vered.

Deaths in, those townships since  
July 3 have shot up to at least 665.

ANC president Nelson Mandela  
said today in Kuala Lumpur he was  
planning to talk to President de  
Klerk later today about the raging  
violence. He would be asking â\200\234what  
the police are doing about the vio-  
lenceâ\200\235.

The ANC leader spoke to the ANCâ\200\231s  
secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa,  
in Johannesburg early today for a  
briefing on the violence.

Reiterating ANC demands for joint  
control of the security forces, Mr Ra-  
maphosa said yesterday the situation  
called for the urgent establishment of

a joint peace-keeping force.

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[he. Dauty News

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' Bllddy battles continueto |

" Call for joint security

>3 /â\200\2243147(/5'11 /(7?3

hips a

a joint policing force with credibility.  
We are duty-bound to install a peace-  
keeping force within a matter of  
weeks. That will send a ray of hope  
through this country.â\200\235.

Mr Ramaphosa said a peace-keep-  
ing force could be drawn from all  
armed formations that had members  
with rudimentary training. He envi-  
saged a brief period of joint retrain-  
ing for members from across the  
spectrum of the official security  
forces, private militias and st called  
liberation armies, and then deploy-  
ment within a month. i

The matter was referred to the

planning committee, which will today  
try to formulate action on measures  
\_necessary to control violence.  
. \ANC PWYV chairman Tokyo Sex-  
wale said last night the structure and  
functions of the corps should be  
agreed by next month.

IFP MP Hennie Becker expressed  
concern that the ANCâ\200\231s armed wing,  
Umkhonto we Sizwe, would be over-  
represented on the corps. He pointed  
out that the IFP did not have an  
army equivalent to MK. While IFP  
members could turn to the KwaZulu  
Police for protection while in Natal,  
they were almost defenceless outside

the province.

â\200\234This council rï¬\201ust Bring into being

â\200\234The Dcw\\_f

future

- Johannesburg: If sanctions are
- lifted next month â\200\224 as Nelson
- Mandela suggested at the
- weekend â\200\224 which foreign
- ~ firms would invest in South
- . Africa?

Conventional wisdom says  
y(;ry few, but the ANC is bull-  
ish.

The ANC'â\200\231s optimism follow-  
ing Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s recent fund-  
raising trip to the US is infec-  
tious, but the reality is that the  
instruments for foreign invest-  
ment are sadly lacking â\200\224 no  
matter how willing the partici-  
pants, observers said yester-  
day.

â\200\234Though there is widespread  
talk of direct investment by  
Americans after elections on  
April 27 â\200\224 among them Apple,  
Pepsi, Heinz and Sara-Lee,  
after major deals were put on  
hold last year â\200\224 few have  
done so, apart from computer  
companies Digital Equipment

Corp and Lotus.â\200\235

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News aa-o3-93

Investment)

Financial Staff

e

force to stop bloodbaths

t war

Other companies said to be  
high on a list of possibles in-  
clude Fortune 500 company



Proctor & Gamble and ham:  
burger giant McDonaldâ\200\231s  
whose presence is always :  
positive rubber stamp.

A McDonaldâ\200\231s â\200\230spokesman,  
said yesterday that there were

no plans to open in South Afri- -\D

ca â\200\234at the momentâ\200\235, though  
that didnâ\200\231t rule out a future |

entry. N

Yet several multi-nationals, \  
who disinvested in 1987 after  
negotiating â\200\234buy-backa  
clausesâ\200\235, are said to be anx-  
ious to return. 1

American Chamber of Com- Ã©  
merceâ\200\231s Michelle Cohen says 2  
US companies are holding

back because theyâ\200\231reâ\200\231 afraid 3

3;

they will come in at the poli-  
tically incorrect time and then  
face flak from their sharehold-  
ers.â\200\224Financial Correspondent

st draft of the  
constitution |  
strictly secr

ntil Monday

Daily News Correspondent

Johannesburg: The eagerly-a\yait'ed  
first draft of an interim constitution  
for the new South Africa has been  
distributed in the Negotiating Council  
sitting at Kempton Parkâ\200\231s World  
Trade Centre â\200\224 but negotiators want  
to keep its contents from the public  
until Monday. :

The 61-page report has been strict-  
ly embargoed until it is discussed in  
the council on Monday afternoon.

At this stage all the media may say  
about the vital report is that it deals  
in detail with constitution-making,  
the legislature and regions, and, ac-  
cording to a source close to the team  
of specialists who drew up the draft,  
it is detailed enough for everyone to  
know what kind of constitution South  
Africa could end up with.

Negotiators say the embargo has

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DO T 3

;"f\ers Nujoma

Mangosuthu Buthelezi

J coming South African

f the President, an invite-

â\200\230 sources said was part of

been placed to give negotiating  
groups an opportunity to study the  
draft. it

Tt will also allow the negotiations  
technical committee, which drafted  
it, a chance to explain it to the coun-  
cil on Monday. :

Â«\* < | South Africa.â\200\224Sapa

~ | The Foreign Affairs

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â\200\224 osmpanying, Dote 0  
- In an-accompanying e  
titutitional issuesâ\200\231,

R cil has  
the media 1S told the counal it

tions not to dis-  
t publicly on  
pefore it is Â°

â\200\234combined report of the

committee on cons

decided â\200\234to implore and appe  
participating organisa  
cuss in public or commen  
the Combined Report

. presented on Monday.

|  
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Action would be taken against jour- .,=~ -

nalists breaking the embargo.

Windhoek: Inkatha  
Freedom Party leader

flew into Namibia yes-  
terday for talks with  
â\200\230Namibian President  
Sam Nujoma on forth-

elections and ways to  
\* - | manage trapsition.

Dr Buthelezi was in  
Windhoek as a guest:of  
tion government  
Namibiaâ\200\231s growing role  
as â\200\234honest brokerâ\200\235.

Ministry said Namibia  
-~ | was extremely con-  
| cerned at the lack of  
unity between libera-  
tion movements in

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v S

M okaba â\200\230ir

NP

Delegates to the  
Natal NP congress  
interrupted  
proceedings to

-vent their anger at  
inflammatory  
remarks by a

| prominent ANC  
leader. Martin

â\200\230Challenor reports.

PETER MOKABA  
v Funeral address \*

call by the African National Congress  
- youth leader Peter Mokaba would be on  
the hands of Nelson Mandela, the Nation-  
al Party in Natal said today in joining the  
outcry at his words.  
And the South African Agricultural Union

today urged prosecution of Mr Mokaba forth-  
with. .  
Proposing a motion criticising Mr Mokaba, Klip

River MP Jaco Maree asked what would hap-  
pen if a National Party member said bullets should

NY blood flowing from the war |

be saved for Mr Mandela ok it AR1 5  
T BorE D derens B i s R0 el Swart said today the

Vlt1ng FWS murderâ\200\231  
\Bk Bâ\200\234 o Q(Qg \\\ogos\ @\j

rage over  
10lence call

Mr Mokaba said at a funeral in Tembisa yes-  
terday that people should save their bullets for  
President de Klerk, drive security forces out of the

townships and continue that drive into the white areas of South Africa.

Barbie Maree, wife of the MP, said Mr Mokaba's words were an invitation to murder Mr de Klerk. Somebody who heard them would definitely be mad enough to take up the call.

We are trying to find a dispensation that is

fair and just and in return for that he calls upon

people to take the war to the white areas. It is racist in the extreme, Mrs Maree said.

Umlazi MP Piet Matthee said any blood that flowed would be on the hands of Mr Mandela and other ANC leaders if they do not immediately act against Peter Mokaba and expel him from the ANC.

Umbhlatuzana MP Johan Steenkamp said ANC leaders were making a mockery of peace initiatives with this kind of action. The millions of rands spent on peace and the time devoted to peace by volunteers on more than 100 local peace committees would be in vain if the ANC continues talking with two tongues, he said.

In its reaction, the National Peace Committee said such utterances, if accurately reported, would clearly constitute a breach of the National

S . Peace Accord and  
| would have to be han-  
-- > | dled by our executive,

RO and if necessary, re-  
~ . | ferred to adjudication.  
N SAAU director Piet

e ie Rt i i charge his- union had  
Â© 4. | laid against Mr Mokaba

When Mr Mandela came home from the United States recently looking very buoyant and indicating that the United States would be backing South Africa in the future, he needed only to look at the history books to know that this declaration was tantamount to the kiss of death, as, with very few exceptions, any country or regime that the United States has backed has gone down the tubes.

S backlmg 1S

(Dâ\200\234.â\200\230J

i:he â\200\230klss of deathâ\200\231

smack in the face for the Is-  
lamic people of South Africa.

The recent long-range acts  
of aggression perpetrated by  
the United States on Iraq were  
not only cowardly but hypocri-  
tical in the extreme as they  
could not be defended â\200\234consti-  
tutionallyâ\200\235.

What the United States is  
once more telling the world is  
that one set of principles ap-  
plies within the United States  
and a totally different set ex-

In addition, Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s ternally. S ' :NDELA  
~ recent wooing of Bill Clinton G.B. NORTON NELLS%':Oy;]t  
and the Umed States was a gfamerwewz SR  
â\200\234The me 03 â\200\224 o8~ 73 e e

kill the farmerâ\200\235 slogan

â\200\224 had not yet been  
served on him in spite  
of the unionâ\200\231s lawyers  
continually pursuing the |  
matter. i

Mr Swart said Mr  
Mokaba was, by his ut-  
terances, encouraging  
violence, contravening  
the Internal Security  
Act, the Intimidation |  
Act and the Riotous As- |~  
semblies Act. â\200\234The Gov- |-  
ernment owes the pub-  
lic an explanation why |.  
these three laws have [  
not been applied to Mr !  
Mokaba after many  
months,â\200\235 he said.

TOP DOGS: The top negotiators at the World Trade Centre.

" Donâ\200\231t ignore the wants of the minorities

â\200\230| â\200\224 on his â\200\234kill the boer,  
SOL R e S

' SIR â\200\224 The leaders at the World Trade Centre  
~ are negotiating a settlement on behalf of all  
. ) South Africans and not just themselves. They  
' must remember that and also note that South  
. Africa is made up of a number of minority  
- groups.

They cannot afford to ignore the request of

the IFP and the CP for the right to self deter-  
mination. They do so at the risk of a civil war

and the lives of innocent South Africans.

The National Party rule is a classic exam-  
ple of the failure of central government in this  
country. The ANC must not make the same mis-  
take as the NP. Forced integration is not the an-  
swer to apartheid.

DINK NOU  
Hillary

New p

by three major initiatives. Political

bayi settlement outside Durban, three

have helped restore hopes for a cessation  
of hostilities. ]

mittee.

al Association of Democractic Lawyers in Dur-

political players and the almost immediate i  
) instal-

::)t;g; of a peace-keeping force was vital if the

o y were going to deal effectively with vio-

B Hopes for peace on the East Rand

G als -

ceived a boost yesterday when members o? tlilee

tc\ilâ\200\230\1li(Ã©/sst?Clz/trade lÃ©nions alliance met East Rand

uctures and self-defence uni i

: ;')I?;ce e units to establish

e meeting was the result of ANC preside

Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s call for peace when h% vilsitgg

the troul?lgd East Rand townships last week.

A decision was taken at the meeting to set up

a central command structure in the townships in

Reporter Vasantha Angamuthu reports.

major peace initiatives over the weekend ~

New peace hopes have been sparked |

R/ ESPITE further outbreaks of po-  
litical violence on the Reef and the Bam-

B At a 12-hour meeting of the sou :

Natal regions of the ANC gyouth leagu<Â\$h:xl13 .

the IFP youth brigade, local leaders pledged

to work towards peace and committed them-

selves to the formation of a joint liaison com- Âf

B At a peace summit organised by the Nation- :

' ban, signatories and non-signatories t i :

; o the Natio; 3

Peace Accord agreed that an urgent meetingnï~\201i :

orQer to control the self-defence units.

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z ', especially the right wing.

At the Durban meeting of the two youth leagues, the joint liaison committee proposed will be composed of five members from each side.

The two delegations, led by ANC youth leader Cyril Xaba and IFP youth organiser Otto Kunene, said the meeting had been conducted in a â\200\234good spiritâ\200\235.

Expressed outrage

In their joint declaration, the organisations ex-

â\202¬acCe

A NMuGust &z

pressed outrage at the carnage; acknowledged that the present violence had, in some cases, been used by criminals to camouflage their activities as political violence; and recommitted themselves to the June 23 agreement of Mr Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The youth structures urged their leaders and members to desist from uttering provocative statements and vilification.

â\200\234We call upon religious and civil structures to co-operate with us in promoting peace by developing programmes that will inculcate a spirit and power of non-violence in the minds of youth.

â\200\234We stand committed to the youthâ\200\231s right to education. To this end, we unequivocally commit ourselves to inculcating and promoting the culture of teaching and learning.

Â«Therefore we call on our members and the youth in general to remain in classes in order to derive the maximum benefit from education, for our country needs them educated,â\200\235 the joint statement from the two organisations read.

At the peace summit organised by Nadel, the participants placed the National Peace Accord under intense scrutiny in a bid to work out why violence continued unabated.

Some harsh criticism was voiced about the effectiveness of the accord and there was consensus that it needed â\200\234more teethâ\200\235 for it to work.

Criticism was also levelled at the Government for not having the will to use its security mechanisms to deal with the perpetrators of violence,

' explicitly linked

Three initiatives bringing together the Government and the Opposition to the  
3 July - 1997

the News

ESIDENT De Klerk's weekend warning to radical -

extremists of Left and Right was both timely and

astute and timely because the broad centre needs

. reassurance that events are not being dictated by the

because the hint of kragdadigheid was.

to maintaining the momentum of the negotiating process and moving as swiftly as possible toward an elected government of national unity. These are objectives which would be supported by anybody who is serious about achieving a negotiated settlement and the African National Congress has wasted no time in

fringes and astute

. expressing support.

country would not be

Mr De Klerk's warning that the

' allowed to slide into a Bosnian-style civil war came after a-

week in which the extreme Left had embarked on a

' \_campaign of activism and disruption with huge potential " for polarising society (as if we were still in the P.W. Botha the & %

era and a negotiated settlement were not even on agenda) and in which the extreme Right began mobilising

for a turning back of the clock. These are the ingredients of another Bosnia.

But Mr de Klerk spoke with the knowledge of a <

significant breakthrough at the multi-party negotiations, which allows for an election date to be settled within four . weeks. While the fringes hang back, the broad centre moves forward. It is as if radical pyrotechnics to Left and Right - have forced the mainstream negotiators closer together.

In spite of activity on the fringes, the multi-party talks remain in place, the original spectrum of negotiators still - involved. It looks like a firming up of the broad centre, and the extremists gives it

Mr De Klerkâ\200\231s warning to expression.

It is the best bit of news South Africa has had for some - . time. ;

{

L AN . Y Z e â\200\231 2

ATIONAL Party wrath at the nasty, anti-Inkatha remarks of Natal MP Johan Steenkamp is entirely appropriate. While the swiftness of some MPs in rounding

Good news foy/\ijNSaying too much

. on their colleague' may have been prompted by looming embarrassment at an NP-IFP meeting at the it i to their credit that they denounced hixg. ey

Associating a political leader with a cornered rat is derogatory, inflammatory and unhelpful in the present volatile climate. Worse, accusing a political group of smuggling arms to shoot its own supporters and chargingâ\200\231 that it spears its adversaries, goes beyond reckless. Public representatives such as Dr Steenkamp should not be allowed to abuse the unfettered speech allowed in Parliament by issuing allegations without proof or context.

If supposedly responsible figures like MPs cannot govern the; râ\200\230 mouths and emotions, will there ever be an end to the political war of words which clearly incites people to acts of violence?



IFP members

S el N Âç

" to fight an el

The Inkatha Freedom Party has tied its negotiating opponents in knots. The other parties do not know what it is going to say or do next â\200\224 and itâ\200\231s all part of its political strategy. Daily News Political Correspondent Martin Challenor reports.

MEMBERS of the In-

katha Freedom Party are preparing for elections, not civil war.

They have an election committee in place and it is working day and night to come up with an election plan. At its recent annual congress in Ulundi, the IFP formed the Buthelezi Election Fund â\200\224 it did not call for volunteers to fight a civil war.

As one senior IFP member said, the party was committed to, and preparing for the election: â\200\234There is no question that we are not going to contest it. We cannot go to war; that is just not an option we have.â\200\235

Like all political parties and organisations, the IFP is involved in brinkmanship. At the moment the IFP and the Kwa Zulu Government are not attending the multi-party talks in Kempton Park. This has added fresh fuel to fears that somewhere down the line there will be war in South Africa.

The IFPâ\200\231s withdrawal raises the question of what would happen if it did not return.

It is most unlikely, however, that the IFP will boycott the talks indefinitely: â\200\234There is no intention to really stay out. For us to stay out would be a mis-

take,â\200\235 an IFP source said. â\200\234We  
will probably find a face-saving  
way of returning.â\200\235

- The IFP believes its absence  
from the table has not slowed the  
|| process. Senior members have

prepare  
& â\200\224J;\i-\201"i-\202

ectio

TO FLY OR NOT TO FLY: Wil Inkatha fly its colours in the  
coming election?

explained that their current po-  
litical strategy has two main  
aims. They are pushing as hard  
as they can at the negotiations  
table for a federal constitution,  
trying to win as many conces-  
sions as they can from their op-  
ponents.

At the same time, the IFP  
wants to distance itself as much  
as possible from the National  
Party, and do its best to push the  
NP and the African National  
Congress together in a bid to  
weaken both.

Tried hard

An IFP member said: â\200\234The  
IFP has tried very hard to.put  
distance between itself and the  
NP. If you think back about a  
year, we were painted in the  
same corner as the NP. We think  
we have been quite successful in  
turning that around, and painting  
the NP in the same corner as the  
ANC: We propose to carry on  
with this.â\200\235

Like other parties, the IFP  
knows it is unlikely to get its own  
way on everything, including the  
kind of federation it wants. What  
the IFP does not win at the ne-  
gotiating table, it is planning and  
hoping to win at the polls.

If the final constitution does  
not go as far along federal lines

as the IFP would want, the IFP  
would turn this into an election  
issue. It would treat the per-  
ceived shortfalls as wonderful

election fodder, presenting itself

HaY,

as the only party campaigning  
for true federalism.

Pointing out the dangers of a  
strong central government that  
could be misused, IFP election  
posters would read: "Who do you  
want to rule you, Shell House or  
your City Hall?"

The IFP intends to use its  
strength at the polls to further  
develop the federal aspects of  
South Africa's new constitution.

In the present political cir-  
cumstances, it looks as if the IFP  
and Conservative Party are al-  
most friendly. But this is part of  
IFP brinkmanship to put  
pressure on the negotiators.

The CP should, therefore, pre-  
pare itself to be abandoned. If  
the CP stays out of the election,  
asking all their supporters to  
vote IFP, then the two parties  
will stay almost friendly. But if  
the CP enters the fray, it and the  
IFP will be election opponents.

"Once we get into an election,  
we will drop the CP most defini-  
tely," an IFP source said. "In  
an election we would be fighting  
for different things from the  
CR

The IFP wanted the same sort  
of things other major parties  
want in a new South Africa -  
such as democracy, one-person,  
one-vote, and a Bill of Rights. "In  
terms of the big picture, we do  
not differ with other parties. We  
just differ on the way to get  
there.

"The CP are totally different.  
They want some sort of self-de-  
termination for whites. That is  
totally at odds with everybody  
else," an IFP member said.

With its eyes on a federation  
and the polls, and determined to  
control its own political course,  
the IFP is coming across as  
bloody-minded and sulky. It is  
catching a great deal of flack,  
but believes the concessions it is

winning for federalism and the  
supporters it is attracting in

.+ standing up to the ANC and NP .  
~ . arewell worth the criticism.



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Prisoners help bt

WHEN South Africans go to  
the polls next April many will  
cast their votes in brand new  
polling booths â\200\224 built by pris-

Â£

UNDER CONSTRUGCTION: A prisoner at Pretoria Central Prison building a polling booth  
or next yearâ\200\231s general electjon; \_\_ .

\ ) @3S

â\200\230

white South Africans are used  
to in that they are triangular  
and not the old square version.

Constructed of locally-

' toria Central, Zonderwater,

oners and staff of the Depart-  
ment of Correctional Services.

grown saligna timber and  
hardboard, the new booths for

the: New South Africa fold

The tender for the construc-  
tion of 5500 booths.is fast  
nearing completion at Pre-

Leeuwkop and Kroonstad pris-  
ons.

The booths differ from those ished product.

down into compact units for  
easy storage and transport.

A Correctional Services  
spokesman said each cost R112

- and took about 14 hours from  
cutting timber to size to fin-

d booths

The bulk of the booths, 2 200,  
are being built at Pretoria  
Central with Zonderwater,  
Leeuwkop and Kroonstad each  
building 1 100.

It is likely the new booths  
will be used in rural polling  
stations because they are easy  
to transport with the remain-  
ing 7 000 polling stations need-  
ed for the election coming  
from old stock held by the De-  
partment of Home Affairs.

' A LEADING business figure  
(not from Natal) suggested to me  
recently that we are unlikely to

- get a constitutional settlement  
unless Natal/KwaZulu is

' afforded some sort of â\200\234Quebecâ\200\235  
status within the greater South

â\200\230| Africa â\200\224 recognition of its

| distinctive character and

political needs.

His thinking was that, whether  
they support the ANC or the IFP,  
' Zulus wish to preserve a strong  
degree of national/ethnic

\_ identity, rallying behind their  
\_ king as they so readily do; that

\*. the mainly English-speaking  
whites of the region have a  
similar tradition in their own  
\_ sphere; and that when the large  
Indian community is taken into  
account, Natal/KwaZulu does  
indeed have an ethnic, language  
and cultural distinctiveness. The  
mix is found nowhere else in  
South Africa. It might require  
. different treatment.

Given the current exercise in  
brinkmanship between the IFP  
. and the negotiators at Kempton  
. Park, one wonders whether some  
.kind of Quebec status might  
indeed cut through the impasse  
. â\200\224 an acceptance in advance that,  
whatever might happen in the  
rest of the country, ;  
Natal/KwaZuluâ\200\231s relationship .  
~\_ with central government will

Quebec-style stat  
s DS KIS s  
might suit

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LINSCOTF Â¥  
AT LARGE

Natal

Quebec is French Canada, a part of the greater whole but distinct and jealous of its distinctiveness. Several times it has flirted with leaving the Canadian confederation altogether but has always pulled back.

The possible parallels with Natal/KwaZulu are interesting but not exact, largely because the issues driving Quebec separatism are language and culture, which are almost non-issues in our case. Also, all the Canadian provinces already enjoy considerable autonomy. Quebec differs from the others mainly in that it collects federal taxes at source, as well as provincial. It also has some control over immigration, encouraging French-speaking settlers from anywhere in the world.

However, that is not the whole story. Quebecâ\200\231s constitutional status was supposed to have differed markedly.

Quebec failed to ratify the countryâ\200\231s â\200\234repatriatedâ\200\235 constitution of 1980 (drafted in Canada instead of Britain), partly because it gave the courts jurisdiction over language issues instead of the Quebec legislature. â\200\234But a reconciliation was effected. Quebec would come back into the | mainstream so long as it

â\200\234distinct societyâ\200\235; it was given a greater role in immigration; it was given a role in Supreme Court appointments; there would be limitations on federal spending power; and it would have a veto over constitutional amendments.

These far-reaching changes \ (What would Chief Buthelezi not give for something similar?) were in fact agreed to by the federal Prime Minister and every Â\$ provincial premier. But the : ; : whole thing caved in on a : - technicality because the governments changed in two of 2 the English provinces and their B legislatures failed to ratify the agreement within the stipulated time limit.

Quebec is therefore in a limbo, a â\200\234distinct societyâ\200\235 without | constitutional definition.

Economic concerns appear to i have temporarily stifled the [ separatist impulse at provincial | level. Yet the cause has been taken up again within the federal parliament by a new grouping of MPs calling themselves the Bloc Quebecois.  
The South African Government

\_is said to have given the IFP â\200\234an offer they canâ\200\231t refuseâ\200\235. It will be interesting to see whether this : involves any kind of Quebec-style = special status for the

require special definition.

received recognition as a

Natal/KwaZulu region.

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Â\$ j\'\' | \v S N, NS '\; ;\'(lâ\200\230\,w  
Pakistan lifts sanctionsâ\200\231

on South Africa

that all remaining sanctions had

{ Johannesburg: Pakistan has lifted trade and other sanctions, which have been in force for years

against South Africa.

The possibility of exchanging diplomatic representatives is under discussion.

The trade decision follows a ground-breaking visit to Islamabad

by the director-general of Foreign Affairs, Rusty Evans.

Mr Evans, who is en route to South Africa after holding talks with the Pakistan Government, said that in discussions it had been indicated to him that the Pakistanis were keen to promote trade with South Africa and

been lifted.

Import/export permits were now being issued to businessmen, and it was expected by Pakistan and South Africa that this would pave the way for substantial trade between the two countries.

Daily News Correspondent

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The Daily

â\2027) FOUNDED IN 1878

Al Qo(goSâ\200\230\â\200\230& G\E

foes to agree

T will come as little comfort to those still dabbling at

their tears of loss, but emerging from the grief and

despair of Bambayi, Ezakheni, Umbumbulu and numerous other Natal flashpoints is a political consensus containing a thread of hope for this torn province.

The awful toll has spurred talk of peace from correct,

platitudinous mouthings into action. Foes are now meeting, discussing how they can contribute to a momentum that has been building lately towards halting the violence. Local and regional political figures seem to have spurned the notion of waiting for a cue from their national leaders, or head of-office approval, and are pressing on with initiatives of their own to douse the flames.

} From the corpses and ashes, therefore, arises: a meeting of ANC and IFP youth leaders who agreed to a cessation of hostilities and to forming a joint liaison c.ommitt'ee; a multi-lateral call by National Peace Accord signatories for an urgent meeting of political players and the soonest installation of a peace-keeping force; a meeting of ANC and IFP women next week; and a multi-lateral youth summit in Umlazi on Friday.

Add these to the Joint Operations Co-ordinating Centres agreed by the ANC and IFP, the recent Malukazi peace accord, and a trend becomes discernible: the enormity of the tragedy, and the widespread realisation among pqhtlclanÂ\$ that there is not the faintest chance of a free or fair election in the present atmosphere, are focusing all

effqrts on peace and forcing political opponents to mesh on the issue.

Negotiating peace, and forging pacts with opponents, are

reasons for optimism. They are, however, not enough. They have to be effectively implemented to alleviate the unrelenting misery in those troublespots.

Violence forces

News | Grim

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News

Cape Town: ANC tax adviser Professor  
Dennis Davis has come up with a whole  
new bagful of tricks, which the ANC is con-  
- sidering to redistribute money.

At a conference in Cape Town this week,  
hosted by legal firm Wilkinson, Joshua,  
Gihwala and Abercrombie, he said taxpay-

- ers could expect a social security tax, a  
multiple VAT rate, increased fuel levies, a  
land tax and a capital transfer tax.

Outraged tax experts said the proposals  
invoked the goose principle: â\200\234How many  
feathers can you pluck before the goose  
expires?â\200\235

They argued that tax was already penal  
and warned that a new government was  
laying itself open to revolution â\200\224 a tax  
revolution â\200\224 soon after coming to power.

Mr Davis said a social security tax was

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for taxpayers under

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Daily News Correspondent

the most direct way of relieving the de-  
mand by deprived communities for things  
such as housing and health. In the UK, de-  
ductions from employeesâ\200\231 salaries were  
matched by employersâ\200\231 contributions.

However, a social security tax should be  
reconciled with the income tax burden so  
as not to increase overall liability, he said.

Individual and company tax was unlikely to be increased because those who paid the major portion of income tax were union members in the middle-income tax bracket. ;

Mr Davis said a multiple VAT system, even though the IMF had cautioned against it, was likely because of inefficient poverty

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relief structures. Additional fuel levies 1520

might also be used to raise funds for the |  
proposed new regional governments. â\200\230

Of the four wealth taxes under consideration, a capital gains tax was unlikely because it would have to be inflation-linked

and would yield no more than R300m to |

R1b a year.  
â\200\234However, it is completely unacceptable that the present Government has reduced capital transfer tax to the extent where it brings in negligible revenue. J

â\200\234Used properly, with the maximum marginal rate of tax at 50% on larger

estates, such a tax could yield more than R1b a year.â\200\235

MrDavis said an amended Estate Duty :

Act at â\200\234rate of about 35% would be introduced in the near future.

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â\200\230to run the fire brigade?

ARDON me, but the Emperor  
seems a little scantily clad. Mr De Klerk  
speaks of bringing a federal deal to the  
regions but what has been produced so far  
at Kempton Park is less than impressive.

One hates to be curmudgeonly, but  
when you speak of federalism you -  
generally mean more powers for the  
regions (or states or provinces) than  
fire-fighting, town planning, water  
reticulation and electricity.

Who handles such matters right now?  
The municipalities' mainly, thatâ\200\231s who.  
Obviously there is a continuing tug-oâ\200\231-war  
going on at Kempton Park, the federalists  
doing their sweaty best to extract more  
and more powers for the regions. But  
regional powers so far spelled out fall far  
short of the powers our provincial  
councils had before they were abolished.  
What true federalist wants responsibility  
for casinos, horseracing, perhaps the  
dog-catching laws and not much else?

I thought perhaps my judgment was a  
little harsh so I phoned Professor Mervyn  
Frost, of the Politics Department at Natal  
University. He agreed with me thoroughly  
and suggested I get into print fast before  
people become altogether bamboozled.

â\200\234Real federalism is where the regions  
have the final say over certain matters,â\200\235  
he said. â\200\234Whether a system is token  
federalism or not depends on what is on  
that list. I would guess that the future  
struggle between the negotiators and the  
IFP will be over the length of that list.â\200\235

Yes, thatâ\200\231s much the way I have always  
understood things.

In some federations, the powers of the  
central (or federal) government are

'\_LINSCOTT  
AT LARGE

clearly defined. Usually they are defence, foreign affairs, macro-economics and finance, the post office, the railways and that kind of thing. The regions then have jurisdiction in everything else. They have a kind of internal sovereignty and can do anything that does not override central government powers or is not contrary to common law or a bill of rights.

In other federations the powers of the regions are clearly spelled out in advance and the central government does not have the authority to override them.

Always there will be powers and functions not defined in the constitution, and in some federations these go automatically to the central government and in others they go automatically to the regions.

Absolutely vital to any federal system is the power of the regions to raise their own taxes and set their own budgetary agenda. President De Klerk speaks of â\200\234complete access to tax resourcesâ\200\235, but it is by no means clear how this is to be achieved. The provinces did once raise Â° their own income taxes. Is such a system to be re-instated?

In federations certain functions of government are invariably assigned to the regions, partly for reasons of efficiency and partly because they are of a nature requiring a sensitivity to local needs. These include health services, education, policing and social welfare.

All are glaring omissions from the Kempton Park proposals so far â\200\224 and health services and education were once functions of the old provincial councils.

Bearing in mind all along that nothing is yet final and further regional powers are likely to come from the negotiating process, it is nevertheless surprising that education should not be an obvious function of regional government.

Authoritarians have an instinct for centralising education, but let us be charitable and say the reason in this case

is that black education especially needs so much to be uplifted that it cannot be achieved on a fragmented, regionalised pattern.

A reasonable argument. Except that, as most educationists will tell you, when P.W. Botha's government tried to centralise white education in Pretoria (even with its very limited numbers), it was the closest thing to disaster. How could any centralised education department expect to cope with the logistics of a pupil overload running into millions?

On the other hand, perhaps the federalists are wrong. Perhaps South Africa does require strong, centralised government to prevent disintegration. It might require a kind of hybrid along the lines of India.

But that is another argument altogether. If people are talking federalism, let them at least talk the real thing. Federation means more than the right to run the fire brigade.

As I say, more might emerge. The Emperor is not completely starkers. But

at present he doesn't have much more than figleaves.

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7SIR at I think we can be grateful to Dr Buthe-  
confronting the problem of  
lezlingo{aken at the multi-party talks, while th:z1  
5, IFP and KwaZulu were not present. We do nee

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MELISSA FLANAGAN/Y

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\_among the Zulu nation, which can rally the people

SIR â\200\224 The Daily News correspondent who covered the recent imbizo of the Zulu nation convened by King Goodwill Zwelithini on July 25 is up to political mischief when he refers to the Zulu people who had attended the imbizo as IFP supporters.

One is amazed at the low level of understanding of those who allowed such a flawed report to be published.

The IFP had nothing to do with izimbizo held both in Durban and Johannesburg.

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi is not only the leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party but he is also - the traditional Prime Minister of the Zulu nation. Apart from these two positions he is inkosi of the Buthelezi clan. It does not mean that whenever he addresses any gathering of black people, those people are then members of the Buthelezi tribe.

In the same token it does not mean that wherever you see Dr Buthelezi in the midst of black people that those people are then supporters of the IFP.

The IFP draws its support from all race groups the length and breath of South Africa and from all walks of life. IFP membership is a matter of individual choice while the Zulu nation is a question of one being born into it. â\200\230

It is common knowledge that there are eight million Zulus in South Africa whereas the IFP membership is over two million people of different race groups and ethnicity. ,

Dr Buthelezi has a specific role and definite position in the Zulu nation, which has nothing to do with his presidency of the IFP. His position |

as inkosi of the Buthelezi tribe does not necessarily change the whole tribe into card-carrying or supporters of the IFP. |

What The Daily News has done is to spread the propaganda of the ANC and the NP, both of whom are troubled by the position of Dr Buthelezi

Political mlschlef In

Maee Dotd D25

ulu imbizo report

MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI  
Has speomc role

of KwaZulu behlnd thelr kmg and kmgdom The maintenance of the unity of the Zulu people remains an obstacle to the designs to perpetrate the subjugation of the Zulu nation in a unitary system of Government.

One hopes that what I am complaining about here was a mistake on the part of The Daily News and that this will be understood and corrected accordingly.

VINCENT NGEMA

Member of the Central Committee â\200\224 IFP

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ANC must ac

against Mokaba

HE African National Congress has a problem. His

I name is Peter Mokaba, president of the movementâ\200\231s

youth league. Just when they have managed to get him to pipe down on his infamous â\200\234kill the boer, kill the farmerâ\200\235 chant, he unwraps new and far more dangerous political invective at a funeral in Tembisa yesterday.

The ANCâ\200\231s problem is that it must muzzle a man who speaks to the toyi-toying hotheads, a rabble-rouser who seems to command a potent component of the

~ organisationâ\200\231s constituency. How does it do that without appearing anti-revolutionary, without estranging that sector and losing it to a more radical group?

In the past, Mr Mokaba and officials at Shell House have tried unconvincingly to justify the inflammatory language. Mr Mokaba has sought to explain that â\200\234kill the boerâ\200\235 does not really mean what it says, that it is figurative and not to be taken literally. Now he might understand that, ANC leaders might understand that, and so may the more educated and sophisticated of our society. But there is no way that the often ill-educated, emotional crowds that he addresses comprehend that. Hardliners, no doubt, will not dismiss it as mere rhetoric.

All they heard in Tembisa yesterday, for instance, was him exhorting them to turn their guns on President de Klerk, declare war on security forces in the townships, and continue that offensive into the white areas. Heaven help South Africa if his comments are taken at face value. It is up to the ANCâ\200\231s damage control squads to see that Mr Mokabaâ\200\231s followers do not.

The countryâ\200\231s problem, apart from the grave consequences of his â\200\234political arsonâ\200\235, as the police have aptly dubbed it, is that Mr Mokaba is not the only one. Other leaders of extremist groups both on the left and right wings â\200\224 people who sway heavily-armed and, again, largely unsophisticated supporters â\200\224 also speak regularly of uprising and civil war.

. In a situation as volatile as ours, there should be no place for dangerous language such as this. Political leaders working for peace, who believe no election can be free and fair with the present level of violence, must give give substance to their words by gagging the unwanted voices promoting it.

Lessons for us

IGERIA once again teeters on the brink of disorder as

civil rights activists call for three days of protest

â\200\224â\200\224against the annulment of democratic elections. Once again,



4 the process toward multi-party democracy in Africa has a  
) setback. >

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<L results were mixed. A corrupt, authoritarian government

was thrown out in Zambia. A corrupt, authoritarian  
o) government held on in Kenya. And Malawi voted in a  
â\200\224 referendum to move from authoritarian one-party rule to  
multi-party democracy.

Angola has been the big setback with a return to civil  
war after one of the parties refused to accept the election  
wo outcome. Nigeria is in much the same category, though  
Q mercifully so far with nothing like the degree of conflict.

The military rulers simply refused to hand over power  
rafter manifestly fair (if unenthusiastic) elections.

-5. South Africa is also part of the process toward

Â£ multi-party democracy. We can learn from what went

/ wrong in countries such as Angola and Nigeria. In neither

did the election outcome fit with the reality of the power  
&Y configuration.

o) Constitutions and elections do not of themselves solve  
anything. Their outcomes have to be reasonably acceptable  
to a wide spread of interests. South Africaâ\200\231s commitment in

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advance to coalition government is therefore most wise.

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This process had begun to look fairly promising, though â\200\230

THE first Table Mountain massacre  
in March this year was relived in the  
Supreme Court, Pietermaritzburg, by  
a witness who escaped as his van was  
being raked with bullets.

He told the court yesterday that children were crying out while shots were being fired at their van on March 2.

Witness Mr Phikalithethywa Ngubane, who was the driver, said that one of the accused, Mr Jeremiah Zulu, 33, shot at him as he was escaping from the van but missed. Mr Zulu, he said, was one of about five men with rifles at the scene. Some of the men were wearing balaclava caps and some had on browns such as army uniforms.

Mr Ngubane told Mr Justice Combrink in the Supreme Court that as his van climbed up a hill a man appeared from the roadside and fired at the van.

Mr Ngubane and others poured out of the passenger door. He was trying to get away, and at the back corner of the van he saw accused Mr Jeremiah Zulu, who was not wearing a balaclava, and other armed men. He heard a bullet fired by Mr Zulu whiz past

him as he ran through a quarry into

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Table Mountain killing

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children relived |

BOB FREAN Pietermaritzburg Bureau

the bush where he hid. : ett

At the start of the trial yesterday, Mr Zulu and co-accused Mr Sibusiso Zulu, 19, pleaded not guilty to the | \* murder of six children, one aged nine | ' years, one of 10, one of 11, two of 12 and one of .18, and the attempted murder- of 14 other children and Mr Ngubane.

During earlier magistrateâ\200\231s court | -

appearances, statements that the accused were members of the African National Congress were made. ' Photographs of dead children handed in as exhibits showed two of the

children lying some distance from the  
van; one was lying under the van and |  
the others in the back of the van.  
Mr Justice Combrink said that a

witness called by the State had ren- {  
eged on a statement he had made to

the police, and Deputy Attorney-Gen-  
eral Mr Ross Stuart asked that the  
witness, Mr Vulyani Ndlovu, be de-

clared a hostile witness. Mr Stuart |

reserved his right to cross-examine  
Mr Ndlovu as he said that his evi-  
dence in court differed in part from a  
sworn statement he had made to the  
police and which was read back to  
him. â\200\224 7 3

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b proposals and return to the talks.  
Constitutional Development

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' | Meyer led the Government delegation. 1  
s 1Â¥ is understood that Mr Meyer had discussions | b  
last night with IFP national chairman Frank Md}a-

lose.

tral committee meeting at

Speaking

turn fully to the negotiations.  
â\200\234With that in mind,

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â\200\230negotiators " |  
3â\200\234\_\meet IFP and KwaZulu | |  
Political Correspondent \  
GOVERNMENT negotiators went into a top-levelâ\200\230 i  
bilateral meeting in Durban early today with the

s " Inkatha Freedom Party and the KquZulu Govern- i  
ment, hoping they would react positively to fresh |

is a bearing on the IFP cen-

o el ttgxe weekend where

| the IFP will decide whether to stay out :

. in the Durban City Hall last night, |  
President de Klerk said the Goveynment was criti-

cal of the IFP's style of negotiation and will con- =  
tinue to try to persuade it in bilateral talks tore =~ .

Minister Roelf -

of the talks.

we have recently put impor-  
tant and may I say constructive ; proposals to the  
IFP. I hope it will react positively.â\200\231

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"] No money to send in peace-keeping force for election

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- South Africa must hurry up and decide -

What role the United Nations will play in next April's general election, says a top official in the organisation. Keith Ross reports from Pietermaritzburg.

The United Nations is financially over-stretched and not in a position to meet requests for a peace-keeping force

in South Africa.

- This was disclosed in Pietermaritzburg yesterday by the deputy head of the UN's observer mission in South Africa, Ismat Steiner.

- He said the UN was cash-strapped because many major countries had not met their financial commitments to the organisation.

Mr Steiner spoke of the UN's financial constraints when addressing the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, on the present and future role of the organisation's mission in South Africa.

- He said the UN would be unable to meet the requests made by some to greatly expand its role in this country.

But the UN was still likely to respond positively to an appeal for more limited help. We must be

| realistic.

He said it was imperative, however, that those now involved in South Africa's multi-party negotiations should decide soon on what help they wanted from the UN during next year's general elections.

There was still no consensus among those parties about what role the UN should play.

The UN would await an invitation from South Africa before it would consider getting involved in the elections and it would then take the organisation at least six months to get the necessary structures in place.

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N unable to help

â\200\234I am ekprgssii\_lg concern that eight months before the election we still donâ\200\231t know what kind of

| role the UN is going to be called upon to play,â\200\235 Mr

Steiner said. Ty

[ . . .

And unless there is an international presence

here during the elections they will be open to ques- |

tion.â\200\235

He said that in spite of budgetary constraints the UN would have to do a thofoug[!;yjob of monitoring the elections.

â\200\234T!lrg is an absolute need to ensure that this election is seen to be free and fair if it is going to be accepted by all in this country and by the outside world.â\200\235

But the head of the UN mission in this country,

Angela King, said in Johannesburg that the unacceptably high level of violence and intolerance posed a serious threat to free and fair elections. \_ â\200\234Unless the violence issue is resolved with a spirit of tolerance and understanding, it will be difficult to see how free and fair elections can be held.â\200\235 . The UN identified the causes of violence as political rivalry between parties, allegations of security force involvement in violence, poor police-community relations and appalling socio-economic living conditions. o5 ;

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Nearly 1300 residents at the Vezunyawo squatter camp south of Stanger face eviction tomorrow after the landowner, Fivion Mthetwa, refused to postpone it any longer.

The eviction was postponed from July 31 after a meeting between residents and Mr Mthetwa.

The African National Congress's Groutville branch has accused the Inkatha Freedom Party of using Mr Mthetwa to remove

ANC support

ers

evicti

Daily News Reporter

IFP have strongly denied the claim.. ;

The ANC branch said: The landowner is an IFP supporter and it is believed that he is being used by the IFP and the KwaZulu Government to evict the people in order to destabilise the region and to eradicate the ANC support. . :

Earlier Stanger ANC chairman Riaz Meer said the IFP and KwaZulu Government were using the evictions to remove ANC supporters.

jon claims

aims denied

This was denied by Immanuel Khoza, an urban representative of the KwaZulu Government in the region. 2

The KwaZulu Government has nothing to do with this issue, it is a matter between Mr Mthetwa and the residents.

Mr Khoza accused the residents of displacing the original tenants of the area in March 1992.

These people are an unruly group of thugs who have been accused of stealing people's livestock. :

ANC supporters from the area, but the





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THE DAILY NEWS; FRIDAY, JULY 30, 1995

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Finance

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- ANC tax on wealt  
unlikely, says a

â\200\230There will be taxing times  
\_in the new South Africa,  
but it is unlikely that a  
wealth tax will be  
instituted. Des Parker  
reports.

EALTH taxes are  
unlikely to be levied in SA be-  
cause the country will be too  
busy meeting the increased  
tax burden of a federal sys-  
tem of government, accord-  
ing to an ANC economic ad-  
viser.

Dennis Davis, who is also  
director of the Centre for Ap-  
plied Legal Studies at Wits and  
sits on the Governmentâ\200\231s tax ad-  
visory committee, says all but  
three of the envisaged 10 region-  
al authorities in the post-April  
1994 SA will have inadequate tax  
| bases. Those with adequate bases  
| were the PWV, Eastern Trans-

vaal and Western Cape.  
| \_ Using the proposed tax base,

Natal would probably run an 8%  
budget deficit.

Addressing delegates at a se-  
minar on the preservation of  
wealth, Professor Davis said a  
land tax â\200\224 â\200\234an extremely useful  
means of dealing with the prob-  
lem of redistribution of landâ\200\235 â\200\224

was a far more likely revenue  
generator than the controversial  
reconstruction levy and asset  
tax.

How widespread the land tax net might be was not clear, but the proceeds would be used to make compensation where land was expropriated.

Professor Davis â\200\224 who be-

lieves it likely that Derek Keys will remain Finance Minister after next April â\200\224 said the recent proposal of â\200\234wealth taxesâ\200\235 by ANC deputy economic head Tito Mboweni had been aimed at stimulating debate. â\200\234He (Mboweni).said he made no mention of figures and had no idea where talk of a 5% asset tax and a 15% reconstruction levy had come from.

Capital tax

â\200\234Part of the thinking is very much in line with the mainstream belief that individual taxpayers â\200\224 particularly in the R20000-R80 000 a year income bracket, who pay 64% of all income tax â\200\224 bear too much of the burden and that some form of capital tax needs to be considered as a means of relieving this and of reducing fiscal drag.â\200\235

Professor Davis said considerable commonality of purpose on economic issues existed among groups at the constitutional negotiations and there was widespread belief that â\200\234wealth taxesâ\200\235 would be â\200\234disastrousâ\200\235 in SA for

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several reasons. These included a

lack of asset liquidity, the com-

plexity of administering and collecting the tax and the detrimental effect it would have on disposable income.

Professor Davis also poured cold water on widespread fears of a capital gains tax â\200\224 at least for the next three to five years. Like reconstruction tax, it would be overly complex and needed to be inflation-linked. In its most equitable form, it would yield no more than R300m to R1b a year.

Far more likely was the rejuvenation of capital transfer tax.

â\200\234Used properly with the maxi-

mum marginal rate of tax at 50% on larger estates, capital transfer tax can yield more than R1b a year. Indeed, such a tax would fit within the comparative international precedent. Many countries do levy a capital transfer tax at similar rates.

â\200\234It is likely that an amended Estate Duty Act ... at a rate of plus, minus 35% will be introduced in the near future.â\200\235

Professor Davis said he believed company tax, at 40% plus a 15% tax on distributions, was about as low as it was going to fall for the time being. He knocked the â\200\234ad-hocâ\200\235 introduction of the 15% secondary tax on

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companies (STC) but added it1  
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: Arnold  
Benjamin

new constitution

A BRIEF guide to the perplexed.  
A panel of experts answers your  
questions about the new draft  
constitution.

What'â\200\231s the difference between the  
TEC, the CMB, the SPRs, and NA?  
Not to mention the IGNU.

It may seem complicated but it's really quite simple. The Transitional Executive Council will materialise at Kempton Park next month, complete with many sub-councils, shortly before Parliament de-materialises. It will run the country until an Interim Government of National Unity is elected next April to draft a

constitution. This will also be known as the Constitution Making Body. QED?

— I thought drafting a constitution is what they've been doing for the last two years, but let that pass. Will

there still be a Parliament?

Yes, and even a Senate like

In the old days. And don't forget for DBMs. And

DBMs? Isn't that a new one?

We've just thought of it. Deadlock-breaking mechanisms. Anyway, the Senate will give special representation to the SPRs, or State/Provincial/Regional governments as soon as people decide what to call them. The SPRs, like the NA and S, or National Assembly and Senate, will be elected on a basis of

Does that mean proportional representation or public relations?

Both. They go together in a strangely symbiotic way. The whole thing will also be guided by checks, balances, a commission on the SPRs, three tiers, two transitional phases,

human rights and a constitutional court. ;

Will there still be elections?

Yes, frequently. Besides the one we hope to hold next April, there'll be another to adopt the final constitution and concurrent ones for the SPR governments. Vote early, vote often will be the credo.

What about the Zulus, the homelands and the Volkstaat?

Yes indeed, what about them?

Oh, never mind. But what does worry me is an occasional irrational longing for P.W. Botha's 1983 tricameral constitution. It all seemed so relatively simple then,

It's understandable. When you get  
that feeling, it's best to lie down,  
close your eyes, and think of Chris  
Heunis. It will soon pass over.

OO HOT from the Parktown graffiti  
wall is this neat shot in the abortion  
debate: "Keep your rosaries off my  
ovaries."

And this political profundity:  
"There's no government like no

government."

of non-consensus budgeting in  
SA.

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& DELEGATES to the Nati(\)'ngl NPâ\200\231s list of candida for the .. LAW and Order Minist  
er ' } i  
~ Partyâ\200\231s Nata] congress yester- April 27 election. - Hernus Krie] singled out  
day secured the political ca-  
  
reers of four of their rising  
stars.

In a predictable poll, delegates voted Danie Schutte in as provincial chairman, As his deputies the congress chose his wife, Alphia Schutte, Renjer - Schoeman and Bhadra Ram-

-, chosen, plucked from the civil service to be political head of the House of Delegates and Minister of Tourism,

While the NP cajls itself the New NP, in Natal at least control of the party is still mainly

- in the old white hands.

As provincial party bosses, these four political figures should now go on to secure positions close to the top of the

It is expected that 400 MPs | will be elected in a proportion-

al election poll.

Even if the NP gets just 259 | of the vote, it will return 100 MPs. ;

With about a quarter of the voters, the Natal/KwaZulu re-

gion will be important to all | / parties, so people high up in |.

the party in Natal can reason-

ably expect to sit in the new- | -

look Parliament next year.

There could be upsets when the NP puts its lists of candidates together but it is unlikely the party bosses will be shoved aside. The fourth depu-

ty chairman elected was Va- |

lentin Volker.

Harry Gwala, the Natal Mid-lands leader of the African National Congress, for Special

mention in an attack on the

ANC yesterday at the National

Party's Natal congress.

Mr Kriel said the aim of the

ANC and its . communist part-  
7 . her was the total discrediting  
~ of the South African Police,  
himself as Minister, and Police  
Commissioner General Johan  
van der Merwe,

The root cause of the violence was the political fight between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC. The ANC had not accepted responsibility for the action of its supporters. Instead, the ANC - - looked for excuses all the time

and found one in the police, Mr Kriel said.

Its military wing, Umkontho we Sizwe, the Pan Africanist Congress's Apla and, unfortunately, I have to say it, our

- friends in the Inkatha Free-

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46>

dom Party's were involved in

~ violence.

The ANC was not prepared

to act against a man like Harry Gwala's,

They can Say and do what



R s 3

you once they are in power?

HERNUS KRIEL

Natal is suffering

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weak to take action against  
Harry Gwala, and Natal and  
KwaZulu suffers because of it  
It\\s a shame.

The NP would tell sup-  
porters of these parties that  
the widows, widowers and or-  
phans in their communities  
were there because their lead-  
\\IS were not prepared to act  
against people like Mr Gwala.

Voters had to be assured  
through a voter education pro-  
gramme that nobody would  
know where they put their  
Cross on the ballot form, Mr  
Kriel said. \\If people intimi-  
date you to vote for them,  
what are they going to do to

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e latest constitutional draft at the  
gotiations in Kempton Park details  
owers of regional governments in  
new South Africa. Daily News

tical Staff report. .

A N ATAL/KWAZULU could decide  
for itself in the new South Africa whether

wants gambling and casinos. -

~ This is one of the powers envisaged for the  
\_countryâ\200\231s future regions, clearing the way for -  
regional choice on the issue, in a second draft  
| of the interim constitution specifying which  
level of goverment will run what. ;

~ The latest constitutional blueprint, which is gath-  
ering support as it is amended and refined, pro-  
poses also that the interim government will sit in  
the existing Parliament in Cape Town. â\200\231  
Negotiators at the World Trade Centre said at

| the tabling of the document yesterday they were  
- | generally encouraged by the draft. They noted that |  
| the inclusion of â\200\234â\200\230exclusiveâ\200\235 regional powers for the  
; first time significantly strengthened the federal  
character of a new constitution. â\200\230

~ The second draft also adds substantial deail to  
the constitutional framework of the first draft ta-  
- bled recently. Control over casinos, gaznbling and

onal powers

horse racing is one area clearly reserved for the jurisdiction of the future regions. :  
The draft said both the 400-member National Assembly, and the Senate made up of regional representatives would sit at the Houses of Parliament in Cape Town unless the Speaker of the assembly or the President of the Senate directs otherwise on the grounds of public interest, security or  
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original powers vested in SPRs (States/Provinces/Regions) which are derived from the constitution

the constitution itself  
& 2 3 - '[

able to proponents of strong regional government.

; .Y?cen. L : g !  
- In its report on the draft, the Technical Committee on Constitutional Matters said: Put simply, =

tution cannot be withdrawn by the national government, nor can they be changed without amending =

It said an SPR government shall have exclusive legislative competences, including all necessary ancillary powers in a variety of areas, including:

B The appropriation of SPR revenue and monies

gng financing the government and services of the

B SPR planning and development as well as town

planning, : .  
B Fire-fighting, ambulance services.  
c.ivil protection services. T e s e

language policy  
e SgP R'g policy and languages for official use  
B SPR cultural affairs  
s IS, traditional authorities and  
Â Delivery of wa :  
e eys : ter, electricity and other essential  
B SPR tourism and recreation  
roads and public transport. g  
] Casinos, racing and gambling.

It directs that Parliament will not legislate on these matters except when necessary for the setting of minimum standards, the maintenance of national standards or security, the promotion of

inter-SPR commerce and to prevent unreasonable  
action by one SPR against another.

But a top IFP negotiator said that while there  
has been some tokenism to meet some of our ob-  
jections, the second draft remained substantially  
the same as the first, tabled two weeks ago.

It retains the worst elements: the two-phased  
process, the deadlock-breaking mechanism, and no  
mechanism to ensure that the regions will have  
constitutions before elections. It also allows the  
constituent assembly to finalise the regions, he

said.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said  
the draft document was something to build on.

National Indian Congress negotiator Pravin Gord-  
han said the document should be totally accept-

Park talks

. central committee

" reconsider its

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to include casinos and racing

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return to  
Kempton

Martin Challenor

THE Inkatha Freedom  
Party's 60-member

meets on Saturday to

withdrawal from  
multi-party talks and is  
under strong pressure  
from the Government  
and the African  
National Congress to  
return to the World  
Trade Centre at  
Kempton Park next  
week.

Negotiating teams  
from the IFP and  
KwaZulu Government  
met in Ulundi last night  
to compare notes.  
Bilateral meetings be-  
tween the IFP and  
KwaZulu and other  
main parties are  
continuing.

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to discussâ\200\235!

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Three members of  
the African National  
Congress and three  
from the IFP were due  
to have a working  
group meeting in  
Johannesburg today.

A full bilateral  
meeting between the  
South African  
Government/National  
Party delegation and  
the IFP/KwaZulu team  
is to be held in Durban  
tomorrow morning.  
Durban was chosen as  
the venue because  
cabinet ministers will  
be in the city for the  
NPâ\200\231s provincial

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Roelf lleyer,  
Minister of  
Constitutional  
Development, will go  
straight from the  
meeting to address the  
congress on  
constitutional matters  
and would love to be :  
able to report the IFPâ\200\231s | -

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.V Spiralling violence in South Africa  
â\200\234has resulted in a growing lack of  
faith in the effectiveness of the  
National Peace Accord. Political  
Reporter Vasantha Angamuthu

writes. e bâ\200\230\;â\200\231\j NS

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HE question is no longer whether the  
National Peace Accord is working. Political  
observers point to the daily death tallies in  
South Africaâ\200\231s black townships as proof that it  
is not.

They are now asking why it is not working.

At a peace summit organised by the  
National Association of Democratic Lawyers  
in Durban over the weekend, Peace Accord  
officials tried to defend it.

They said that the accord has played a  
crucial role in certain areas where it has  
successfully brokered peace or has managed to  
set up local peace structures.



They said the accord was, at the very least, there as a bulwark against violence, that if it did not exist, the violence statistics would be far more frightening.

However, political analyst Eugene Nyathi said the â\200\234defensive restrain that things would be worse if neither body (the accord and the Goldstone Commission) existed was little more than a dishonest attempt to rationalise failureâ\200\235. i

Her said that neither the accord nor the Goldstone Commission had the capacity, mandate, or resources to accomplish their mission.

Bishop Stanley Mogoba said violence in South Africa has so far claimed more than 16 000 lives.

He quoted a report from the South African Institute of Race Relations, which showed that in the mid-1970s political violence claimed an average of 44 lives a month; a monthly average of 86 lives in the mid-1980s; and a monthly average of 250 lives in the 1990s.

Selby Dlamini, of the Umlazi Peace Committee, said the process of achieving

peace was both fragile and vulnerable with--

any negative development having an impact on its success.

This could include the death of a key person in the political or peace process or some event

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Why is  
the Peace  
- Accord

failing?

of national proportions, and the lack of  
authority for the accord to ensure that  
signatories adhere to its terms.

There was agreement on the part of peace  
workers that because participation in the  
structures of the accord was voluntary,  
attendance and commitment could be  
affected. ;

Another weakness identified by Mr Dlamini  
was the lack of resources.

He said the Umlazi Peace Committee  
needed two more fieldworkers to operate  
effectively and respond to emergencies;  
identify potential conflicts and initiate  
appropriate plans of action and follow-up.

The director of the Wits/Vaal Peace  
Committee, Peter Harris, said he was not sure  
whether there was any alternative to the  
accord.

Monitoring, which comprised about 30% of  
the peace structuresâ\200\231 work, had played a role  
in brokering agreements in areas where there  
was potential conflict.

it was pointed out at the conference that the  
accord had been most significant in ensuring  
police accountability.

Conflict resolution experts Phillip Visser

and David Bremner, who were involved in the

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Community Conflict Pilot Project â\200\224 to  
determine South African approaches to  
conflict resolution â\200\224 identified certain  
approaches of the accord that they said  
contributed to its deficiencies. These were:

O That it was presented as a finished product,  
ratified by national political leadership and  
â\200\234marketedâ\200\235 to communities. In the pilot  
project, conflict handling began with the  
community. .

O That it, by working on the assumption that  
the strong or prominent political organisations  
were the relevant parties to conflict and  
violence, entrenched positions and  
polarisation. The pilot project saw  
communities defining parties and issues with

many putting â\200\234community identityâ\200\235 ahead of  
â\200\234political identityâ\200\235.

O Local peace committees were structured  
like a typical top-down organisation with  
business-style meetings held on a weekly or  
even monthly basis.

O Peace accord structures were currently  
attempting to handle directly only so-called  
political violence rather than deep-rooted  
conflicts of which violence was a symptom.

O Communities relied on outside persons â\200\224  
chairmen from business and the Peace Accord  
structures. In the pilot project communities  
were empowered by creating their own  
resources and structures for handling conflict.

There was also general agreement at the  
conference that the accord had been borne out  
of a sense of urgency and seen as an almost  
instant cure to the violence sweeping the  
country at the time.

There were calls for the accord to be  
revisited with grassroots participation and  
involvement.

Transkei leader Major-General Bantu  
Holomisa said the signing of the accord should  
have been preceded by giving power to the  
disenfranchised, and after consensus on the  
constitution had been reached.

This, he said, would have included joint  
decision-making on security matters at the  
highest level to ensure that the  
recommendations of the accord would be  
given effect.

Another criticism of the structures was that  
the parties who were administering the peace  
process may themselves have blood on their  
hands. :

A proposals to remedy this was the  
installation of a board very similar to an  
elections commission to administer the peace  
process.

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Dr Zach de Beer

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esident de Klerk has  
promised :  
Natal/KwaZulu will  
largely govern itself.  
Political Correspondent

- Martin Challenor

reports..

ATAL/KwaZulu  
would get its own constitu-  
tion, entrenched powers  
and sources of taxation,  
President de Klerk pro-

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will get

B gl ) i  
mised in the Durban City  
Hall last night.

â\200\234You will get what you  
want,â\200\235 he told the 1100 people  
who turned out to hear him  
kick off the National Partyâ\200\231s  
Natal provincial congress and  
election campaign.

Several Cabinet Ministers  
were present. A feature of the  
meeting was that there was al-  
most no heckling and no show  
of force by opponents of the  
NP.

President de Klerk used the  
occasion to promise people in  
Natal and KwaZulu that they  
would largely govern them-

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selves in the new South Africa.

In a new and better South Africa there would be strong regional government, because that is what most South Africans want.

The new dispensation would include measures to help rule out abuse of power, protect minorities and regions, and ensure stability.

I say here tonight, ladies and gentlemen, you in this region will have your own regional legislature, your own regional government and your own regional constitution. You will get what you want.

hat you want  
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Regions in the future would enjoy a high degree of autonomy, own and adequate sources of taxation; meaningful functions on a wide range of matters; exclusive powers in some important functions; and security that all these things will not be taken away from you.

You, and all of the other regions and provinces, will get this, thanks to the National Party's tough and constructive bargaining, and not as a result of Inkatha's semantics about federalism, its walk-outs or its filibustering.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has pleaded for an end to

violence.

NKATHA Freedom  
Party leader Mangosuthu

1 Find common cause, urges

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P\ A1  
powerful call for an end to violence, and called on IFP members in the battle-scarred East Rand townships of Thokoza and Katlehong to find common

causeâ\200\231â\200\231 with their ANC counterparts.

But, reports Sapa, Dr Buthelezi also warned of possible

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Buthelezi yesterday made a

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tinued on their present course.

With six more bodies picked up on Tuesday night and yesterday in Katlehong, Thokoza and Tembisa, police said relative calm had returned to the East Rand where at least 220 people have died in the past 11 days. Houses were burning in Katlehong as Dr Buthelezi toured the East Rand townships.

Addressing about 5000 IFP supporters at the Thokoza Auditorium, he strongly condemned all forms of violence, and warned that pitting one ethnic group against another was like playing with fire that would â\200\234not be extinguishable by anyone of usâ\200\235.

Dr Buthelezi said now was



the time when a concerted effort spanning the political spectrum should be made to

" | put an end to the violence that

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hadâ\200\235 claimed thousands of lives.

In what must rank as his strongest call for peace ever, he called on his followers â\200\234to find common cause with ANC members and supportersâ\200\235 and implement agreements he reached in his June 23 meeting with ANC president Nelson Mandela.

He exhorted IFP members to translate the letters IFP into the slogan â\200\234Iâ\200\231'm For Peaceâ\200\235 and let it â\200\234blazon across the skiesâ\200\235, and to wear T-shirts on which the slogan would be written.

He also asked the private sector to finance the establishment of a peace centre in the East Rand â\200\234through which social reconstruction and development projects can be designed around priorities the people themselves set in their action for social stabilityâ\200\235.

accord â\200\224 both from the level of administration to its day-to-day

Mr Langa said that other inputs would take a broad view of peace initiatives because â\200\234we believe no stone should be left - unturned in the search for viable solutionsâ\200\235.

functions at grassroots level.

Nadel president Pius Langa said the response from those in- â\200\234Given the tragic upsurge in violence in the East Rand town-

Every signatory to the accord vited had been positive.

plus those organisations/parties which have not signed have been

invited.

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Secretariat, its outcome will

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play an important role in deter-  
, mining signatoriesâ\200\231 positions on  
. its implementation, the organ-  
isers said.

Organised by the National As-  
sociation of Democratic Law-  
yers, the peace summit is one  
of several new Natal-centered

\* initiatives aimed at strengthen-  
ing the structures of the accord.

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YButhele

SIR â\200\224 It is with regret that I have to write a letter objecting most strenuously to the content of the article, â\200\234Sick of Spoilersâ\200\235, in The Saturday News of August 7, 1993. I must object strongly not only to the content of the article by Hugh Robertson, but also to the prominence your newspaper gave the article on its leader page.

I say that I write with regret because I should never have to criticise your newspaper the way I am now obliged to do so.

The article as a whole is written in the vein of slick journalese in which analysis is precluded by language such as, â\200\234What they best understand, and respect, is power â\200\224 and the use of it. Ultimately, one senses, that is all they are going to bow to and the use of it is going to be the only way to waken them from their deadly intoxication of their ignorance and bigotry.â\200\235 This language is so vehement that it could not form part of an analystâ\200\231s thoughts.

The whole theme of the article is that the president of Inkatha Freedom Party, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, is seeking to secure at least some foothold in the emerging politics by seeking to ensconce himself in a regional power base in KwaZulu because he has no chance of achieving recognition in the polls to come. i

IFP during the year ending June 1993. Right now the IFP is simply not able to cope with the flood of new members from black society, and everywhere in the country whites are moving to join the IFP.

The IFP of all the political parties clamour most for a final constitution and general election at the latest by September 1994.

| The IFP has the most to prove that it has

widespread support, and of all the parties it will most confound the pundits who now talk so knowledgeable of relative strengths of different parties.

The IFP rejects delaying the final election under a definite constitution because the ANC and the Government do not want to go to the people on policy issues.

The whole article is written in astonish-

Over 130 000 new members joined the

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"parf\*â\200\230 of the solution "

--<SPECTRUM

he Government and the ANC must begin to call the biutt of the constitutional spoilers. argues Hugh Roberton from Kempton Park.

ITH every state:  
ent and petulant walk-out at  
e World Trade Centre it  
ems increasingly likely that  
Jouth Africa will not have a  
ansition to democracy with-  
President de Kierk and Nel-

ingly bad taste and amounts to one of the crudest exercises of â\200\234Buthelezi-bashingâ\200\235 that I have had the misfortune to read in recent months.

To talk about Dr Buthelezi, who is intent on finding a place in â\200\234... a small tribal fiefdom within the new constitution if the IFP is a national force capable of winning a broad spectrum of supportâ\200\235, is surely nothing but bigoted writing. Dr Buthelezi is fiercely struggling for the good of South Africa in his struggle for a federal system for the country.

Dr Buthelezi has more than any other national leader nailed his personal and political flag to the mast of sound and honoured constitutional principles. As the most principled of all the political leaders, he has paid prices bandwagon leaders and fly-by-night leaders never had to pay.

The IFP walked out of the Negotiating Chambers because of its commitment to democracy, and the act of walking out was in itself an act of democracy. When a negotiation process has gone so wrong that stalemates and deadlocks are unavoidable, democrats throughout the world have stepped out of the negotiating process to put right that which is wrong before returning to it. ;

Robert Mugabe did that in Switzerland

Showdown looms with Buthelezi and Co

Sick of the spoilers

and the success of the Lancaster House talks were direct consequences of that walkout. This has happened on numerous occasions in nuclear armament reduction negotiations, in Middle East negotiations and in constitutional negotiations in many parts of the world. :

Only Dr Buthelezi and the IFP has sufficient clout to stop the madness of the Government and the ANC attempting to drive South Africa in their direction through secret bilateral discussions and then by collusion and connivance in the negotiation process with whosoever will join them.  
~ For you, sir, to tolerate talk in your newspaper about President de Klerkâ\200\231s rec-

ognition of the power of Dr Buthelezi as a concession to which he â\200\234... nails triumphantly to the public record in a statement on television . ..â\200\235, is again nothing but bigotry.

Dr Buthelezi is part of the solution and he has the power to ensure the negotiations do take South Africa in the right direction. He will yet be honoured beyond all others in his own lifetime as the man who made the greatest contribution to the final emergence of democracy after apartheid.

DR F.T. MDLALOSE  
NATIONAL CHAIRMAN  
Inkatha Freedom Party

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EGOTIATORS involved in bilateral talks between

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-party talks. Both sides have so

the South African and KwaZulu Governments meet

again today in an effort to draw Dr Man

Buthelezi back to the multi

The essence of Dr Buthelezi's grievance seems to be his feeling of exclusion. He senses that the government and

ANC are conspiratorially overlooking the KwaZulu

He argues that a sufficient consensus mechanism by which decisions are made at the World

Klerk indicated in Durban yesterday that the differences were bridgeable.

Trade Centre, is insufficient without KwaZulu

Government/IFP assent. Progress is not possible without them, he asserts, turning to the Supreme Court in a bid to

Government and IFP, brushing aside their objections and make the point. This is a dire move,

far reported progress in their dealings a President de reservations in a crucial period of decision-

crunch politics,

showing the degree of frustration and distrust th

ere is in

Dr Buthelezi should have been heartened, therefore, at Mr de Klerk's assurance in their meeting at King's House yesterday that no constitution would be implemented

The effect of this publicly-made undertaking is that Mr de Klerk does not believe a sufficient consensus is possible, in the final analysis, without Dr Buthelezi. Perhaps this

bottom line from Mr de Klerk will enhance chances of success in the bilateral talks, enabling Dr Buthelezi's teams

to return to Kempton Park to pursue the case for

the negotiations. Indeed, for one negotiating party to take federalism a and to withdraw their court action.

the others to court is a complete breach of faith. without IFP support. The NP leader said he would not even

contemplate pressing on without IFP backing.





08, 04 g

Cosatu secretary general Jay Naidoo warns against sitting back after the country's first democratic elections and expecting things to happen.

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TODAY, exactly nine months before next year's election, Cosatu launches its campaign of worker voter education, to ensure that our democracy is born healthy and timeously.

Why, people ask, are the trade unions so concerned about the introduction of democratic government? Aren't all governments inherently untrustworthy, wasteful and ineffective at improving the lives of working people and the poor?

Cosatu believes that, at this critical time in our history, the whole of society must actively ensure that government is accountable to people, and not vice versa.

While this democratic culture has been systematically destroyed by successive National Party governments, the seeds of a new democracy have been planted by many grassroots organisations, such as trade unions.

They have tried to nurture a culture of.

mandates and accountability to ensure ordinary people can play a meaningful role in shaping their own destinies.

Democratic government can enhance this capacity enormously but it will depend on popular involvement in government through representative democracy (mandating parliamentary representatives) and through the direct involvement of organs of civil society (non-government bodies) in the democratic process.

If our proposal for a national programme of reconstruction and development is to succeed, we have to put ordinary people at the centre of the process.

Millions of South Africans will have to involve themselves directly in programmes to build houses, create jobs, restructure our industries, develop the land, and so on.

The most dangerous thing that could happen would be for people to sit back after

ade union:

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â\200\234T'o be successful  
we have to put  
ordinary people

at the centre  
of the processâ\200\231

the elections and say: â\200\234Now that we have  
elected our government, it will deliver all  
our needs to us.â\200\235

If this mindset takes hold, our new  
democracy will fail.

Equally, a democratically elected  
government that is unable to govern, would  
be a disaster.

There are two potential dangers. First, if  
the new- government is crippled by minority  
vetoes and is unable to rule from the centre,  
because the country has been carved up into  
federal fiefdoms.

This double-pronged â\200\234lame duckâ\200\235 solution,  
which the NP is promoting in an attempt to  
protect existing interests, would be an  
economic and political disaster for our  
country, which would disintegrate into a

Lebanon-type scenario.

The other threat to democracy would be  
the entrenchment of existing apartheid  
institutions and the bureaucracy which  
serves them. Apartheid institutions â\200\224  
designed to oppress the majority, to operate  
in secrecy without public control, and to  
service a minority in the community â\200\224 will  
be incapable of implementing a programme  
of reconstruction and development.

Agreements which prevented a new  
government from restructuring state  
institutions, or replacing personnel, would  
render that government incapable of  
effecting meaningful change.

Thus a key element of the reconstruction  
programme proposed by Cosatu is a  
â\200\230 democratic political solution which permits

stake in democracy

At this critical time in our history, the whole of society must actively ensure that government is accountable to people, and not vice versa.

the democratisation of state institutions geared towards serving people's needs, not those of a bureaucracy.

Democratic elections to a sovereign

effective government and

constituent assembly are the first important step to the creation of effective, democratic and accountable government. x

Until the end of the century, a three-phase programme of restructuring and : democratising the apartheid state needs to be put in place, unfolding in the TEC phase, the constituent assembly phase, and the government of national unity and reconstruction phase.

This should include the following 10-point plan: :

O An end to unilateral restructuring | PLARR s aimed at undermining the democratic: @ 2 i o= o LA B Sa T - process. S Baat v e

[J Rationalisation of the civil service, [Sei# oo = = 5 = S uuii including the bantustans.

O A study of the personnel and structures required for a democratic state to function effectively, eliminate wastage, and implement reconstruction programmes.

O A programme of training, retraining and recruitment, in a single integrated training system, to reorientate the civil service to address effectively people's needs, and to address progressively the skewed (white, male) bias which currently exists.

O An enforceable code of conduct for the civil service.

O Bargaining forums and legislation to give public sector workers full trade union rights and involve them in the restructuring process. This should aim to enable workers to protect and advance their rights. i

O Introduce mechanisms to ensure public ' = accountability and transparency â\200\224 including =~ an ombudsmanâ\200\231s office, an independent audit .

commission to monitor State expenditure, a  
commission into corruption, and legislation - = =  
to ensure wide-ranging access to |,  
information. o

O A public and transparent budgeting | =  
process strongly guided by agreements [~  
reached at multiparty negotiations forums. |

O The involvement of labour, civics and |  
other constituencies in civil society in the -  
formulation and implementation of policy. LR R

O A single police force, and a vastly =~ -~  
reduced defence force, under the authorityof =~ -~  
Parliament, to change these forces from | .  
agents of repression to effective servants of =~ =  
the community. 3

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FORWARD PLANNING: Par  
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leziâ\200\231s old house outside Mahlaba-  
tini and listening to his mother  
singing some of the traditional  
songs of the Zulu people.

She had a beautiful voice and

s sang with great feeling about

Zulu history. We returned many  
times, ignoring official govern-  
ment demands that we get a per-  
mit to go into the â\200\234Native Re-

Nick Steele progressed  
through the Natal Parks Board  
ranks and was often vilified for

| his friendship with Dr Buthelezi,

The value of such an associa-  
tion in the difficult and tortuous  
years of wildlife conservation in  
Zululand escaped his detractors.

public because he knew the  
power of the spoken word, He  
learned by studying the Zulu peo-  
ple who are natural orators from  
a young age.

In the 1970s he was forbidden  
for political reasons to travel to  
America with Dr Buthelezi. It  
was a bad blow and wildlife his-  
torians will have to look at the  
serious repercussions that fol-

. lowed.

Nick Steeleâ\200\231s fortitude and his  
integrity and faith in the wilder-  
ness concept enabled him to get  
over a most difficult period in  
his life, and he emerged stronger  
and even more determined. His  
enemies took him on at their

director of the bureau, but Nick

Steele makes it clear to everyone that without the support of the Chief Minister, Dr Buthelezi, he could never have survived.

It has always been a team effort of the Chief Minister and his colleagues and all of us in the bureau," Nick says. "We are proud to have a wonderful team of black and white officers, all dedicated to serving the Zulu nation and the last remaining wild places. We are defenders of the land for future generations."

At a ceremony in Ulundi recently, Dr Buthelezi gave Nick Steele a merit award for his long and dedicated service to conser-

Perhaps a solution to all the delays would be to put a list of rules such as listen to each other and do not go to

g ] peril. vation in KwaZulu.  
5 They totally underestimated He had been through far too Whatever one's politics may  
& Nick Steele's doggedness, courage in his life to be fazed by happen to be, all  
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2 i Th tal f B pediency was never a word in KwaZulu Bul\_’eau of Natural Re- S  
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News

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University students in Natal-KwaZulu are angry over threats and attacks on their leaders, writes Education Reporter Susan Miller.

LARGE group of tertiary -level students from many parts of Natal/KwaZulu marched through Durban yesterday in protest against what they perceive as suppression of free speech and political activity in the region.

The group gathered at the city campus of Natal Technikon and marched down West Street to the Receiver of Revenueâ\200\231s office where a list of their demands was handed to representatives of the Department of Education and Training.

Spokesmen for the group stressed that the DET had until August 20 to respond to their demands and said failure to do so would only â\200\234exacerbate the crisis and provoke more angerâ\200\235.

In a statement, the joint Studentsâ\200\231 Representative Councils in Natal, the South African Studentsâ\200\231 Congress and the National Education Co-ordinating Committee condemned the continued slayings and harassment of progressive student leaders in this region.

They said the harassment of student leaders had been epitomised by the murder of Khulekane Mhlongo, the University of Zululand SRC president.

Ms Mahlengi Bhengu, national general-secretary of the

South African Studentsâ\200\231 Con-

gress, said even after Mr -

Mhlongoâ\200\231s death other student leaders were receiving death threats and there was massive interference in student and political partiesâ\200\231 rights to operate.

Sbu Sithole, regional organiser of the congress, said there was a campaign to murder student and youth leaders and said certain students had been paid to spy on other students.

The joint SRCs are from the University of Natal, Durban and Pietermaritzburg campuses, the University of Durban-Westville, the University of Zululand, Empangeni and Umlazi campuses, Natal Technikon, M.L. Sultan Technikon, Adams College and the Endumiso College of Education in

' Pietermaritzburg.

The organisations said they viewed KwaZulu as an apartheid creation that could not be seen in isolation from other â\200\230â\200\234oppressive homelands like Bophuthatswana and the Ciskeiâ\200\235 and insisted the central government could not be absolved from its responsibility to exercise their power in â\200\234pressurisingâ\200\235 KwaZulu rule.

List of demands presented to Government r%p(e, sentamves

r\\(kâ\200\230\\(â\200\230 (\\Â«(â\200\224â\200\230)

' Students protest in 01ty

Picture: STEVEN NAIDOO

POLICEMEN with dogs outside the Receiver of Revenueâ\200\231s office in West Street keep an eye on a .

R

large group of students from Natal/KwaZulu who marched through Durban yesterday.





Is the draft constitution a bastion of liberty or instrument of strife and oppression? Farouk

5 Cassim, MP, member of the Central Committee and of the Inkatha Freedom Party's negotiating team, argues the latter.

il CHAPTER 5 of the Draft Constitution empowers The National Assembly and the Senate, sitting

in joint session, to constitute

| themselves into the Constitution

Making Body or CBM. Its func-

tion? A total revision of the con-

.| stitution which is now being drafted.

| The CBM is the National Party's

palliative for a CA (Constituent As

sembly). Thus clause 1 of chapter 5,

subsection 2 of the draft constitution

reads: "The CBM shall undertake a

~ | total revision of this constitution and

adopt a new constitutional text in ac-

. | cordance with the provisions and procedures of this chapter."

How can enshrined principles be

left untouched in a "total" revision of

|| the constitution? To me it is a contra-

diction in terms.

The following clause is also unsettling: "During the course of undertaking the total revision and the drafting of the new constitutional text, any constitutional proposal pertaining to

such revision and drafting may be re-

ferred to the Constitutional Court by the chairperson after being petitioned by one third of the members of the

Constitution Making Body to do so, in  
order to obtain an opinion from the- :  
~ court as to whether such proposal, if it  
adopted, would conform with the con-  
stitutional principles.â\200\235

The chairman is not bound to  
oblige the petitioners even though  
they are one third of the members.  
He â\200\234mayâ\200\235 refer a matter of dispute  
to the Constitutional Court. Minori-  
ties will not be protected. Proponents  
of proportional representation and an  
all-inclusive democracy must also be  
worried about this. Py  
The National Party and' theÃ© ANC

\_propose that the CBM should sit from  
&prll 1994 to April 1996. Its main  
nction will be to revise the consti-  
tion. This is unbelievable. gl

Clause 4 of Chapter 5 makes th  
following provision: â\200\234A total revision  
of this constitution shall be undertak

~\_en by the CBM, and a new constltu-  
tional text shall be adopted within

two years from the commencement  
of the first session of Parliament.â\200\235  
The IFP pleads that this is totally  
unnecessary. Let us take the present  
opportunity to embody in this consti-  
tution the maximum guarantees of  
freedom for the individual and origi-  
nal powers for the regions. If we do  
this right; and to the satisfaction of  
all, everyone ought to be happy.  
Should a ship which has come out  
of a perilous storm and into harbour,  
leave that haven and head into the  
teeth of a still bigger storm? It is  
gross irresponsibility for anyone to  
propose clause 4 above.

TR U

ressionâ\200\231

In the event of the revised constitu-  
tion being not approved by a two-  
thirds majority at the end of two  
years of wrangling, the constitution

will go to a panel of five experts.

These five experts will have thirty

days to reach unanimity on amendments to make the constitution acceptable to at least two thirds of the CBM.

If they cannot, the constitution will go back to the CBM for adoption. At this stage a referendum will be held in which a majority of 60% has to be

achieved for the constitution to pass

into law. Should the referendum be lost the State President will dissolve Parliament.

In 1996, South Africans will again participate in an election days after a referendum. The second parliament will within a year be able to adopt the constitution by a simple majority.

Three years of constitutional uncertainty is the essence of this draft con-

- stitution.

Let us also not forget that the elections to be fought next year will be the costliest that this country has known. Almost a billion rands will be committed by various parties. The

IFP does not have millions in reserve

to fight a referendum and a second election in another two years.

We want an end to violence and we want guarantees like those given to Namibians where their parliament may never ever diminish their rights and guarantees. South Africa cannot

\* bear further uncertainty.

The facts are inescapable. The national debt in May of this year stood at a staggering 9% of GDP. With the current drought, escalating violence

FAROUK CASSIM

Guarantees needed

(often mindless), lack of political settlement and the longest economic downturn we have known, our national debt is going to soar beyond 9% to extremely dangerous levels.

This country will then be perpetually in a debt trap. Let us then follow the American example and have an indestructible union comprising indestructible regional states with their own constitutions. Let us emulate the

â\200\230German Constitutional Court and

protect our constitutional rights.

Are we asking for too much? When freedom of the individual is not constricted, consensus is easy to find. Prisoners about to be given their freedom will never delay their release. People about to be empowered in their freedom will never wilfully impede the instrument of their freedom.

The IFP requires that the constitution instantly empower us in our individual and collective freedom. It should not merely be an instrument which passes power from those who oppressed to those who will now oppress in partnership with them.

Chapter 5 of the present draft con-

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The State President  
made his first election  
speech at the opening  
of the National Party's  
Natal Congress in  
Durban last night.  
Political Correspondent  
Martin Challenor  
reports.

RESIDENT de Klerk  
last night offered Mangos-  
uthu Buthelezi and the In-  
katha Freedom Party a  
choice: the National Party's  
hand of friendship or a for-  
midable adversary.

at the start of the NP's Natal  
Congress. The NP saw the con-

gress as the beginning of the  
election campaign, he said.

While Mr de Klerk gave the  
IFP the choice, he had only  
condemnation for the African  
National Congress. The ANC  
was a dangerous and untrust-  
worthy party, he said. It  
must be cut down to size in the  
election. The voters of South  
Africa have the power to do so  
and they are going to do so.

President de Klerk said the  
IFP and Democratic Party  
stood much nearer to the NP.

He therefore find it strange  
that they spend so much en-  
ergy on denigrating and fight-  
ing the NP, instead of joining  
to fight our natural opponent  
from a philosophical point of  
view, namely the ANC.

President de Klerk said NP

and IFP policies are close to one another, even though IFP propaganda purports that it is otherwise. They sometimes differed on procedures.

The NP considers it counter-productive to withdraw from the process every time one does not get one's way completely.

«Therefore, we are critical of the IFP's style of negotiation and will continue to try to persuade it in bilateral talks to return fully to the negotiations.

The biggest problem was the IFP's attitude to the NP. The IFP had to get rid of its unjustified and incorrect suspicion

that the NP was conniving

PICTURE: John Woodroof

PRESIDENT de Klerk signs autographs for supporters at the start of the National Party's election campaign in the Durban City Hall last night as the party's Natal leader, George

with the ANC behind the IFP's back. The IFP's unjustified suspicion and mistrust led to skewed IFP propaganda against the NP. This created a completely false picture.

The NP was tired of this kind of propaganda, President de Klerk said, pointing out that the ANC would be the NP's main opponent in the election.

The NP leader said he would continue to remove obstacles to better co-operation between

the NP and the IFP. On behalf of the NP, therefore, I extend the hand of friendship anew tonight. We can and must work together on the many issues on which we agree.

Bartlett, looks on.

When the NP and IFP differed, they should be constructive and responsible and the IFP should not make unjustified deductions nor create illusions.

In as much as the democratic process makes Opponents of us, the IFP needs to know that it will have to deal in the NP with a formidable adversary, President de Klerk said.

Slamming the ANC, he said it was bad news for the ordinary, hard-working South African.

More often than not, the ANC damaged the best interests of the man in the street.

President de Klerk said it

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was still impossible to determine who the real ANC was. | Too many divergent approaches were forced under the same umbrella.

«Confusing and diverging statements and points of view too often create the impression of a hotch-potch party it is difficult to trust.

The ANC did not display the courage or the guts to distance itself from communism and continued to allow the SACP, with its failed and discredited ideology, to fill key positions of leadership. There was a huge gulf between the utterances of ANC leaders and the actions of grass-roots members.

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Buthelezi gives nothing away

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W hopeful of  
IFP getting  
back to talks

President F.W. de Klerk  
and Dr Mangosuthu  
Buthelezi spent four  
hours in Durban  
yesterday trying to  
resolve the impasse at  
the negotiating table.  
Political Correspondent  
Martin Challenor  
reports.

RESIDENT F.W. de  
Klerk came away from his  
talks with Inkatha Freedom  
Party leader Dr Mangos-  
uthu Buthelezi yesterday  
confident and hopeful that  
the current impasse at the  
negotiating table could be  
overcome.

Dr Buthelezi, however, was  
giving nothing away. He did  
not budge on the absence of  
KwaZulu and IFP negotiators  
from the Kempton Park multi-  
party talks, and is pushing  
ahead with the KwaZulu Gov-  
ernment court case in the  
Transvaal Supreme Court,

Security was tight at Kingâ\200\231s  
House, Durban, for the meet-  
ing that lasted four hours.

Mr George Bartlett, Natal  
leader of the National Party,  
was in on the meeting, as were  
Natal provincial chairman Mr  
Danie Schutte and the Minister  
of Regional and Land Affairs  
Mr Andre Fourie. IFP national  
chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose  
and negotiators Mr Joe Matth-  
ews and Chief Simon Gumede  
were also present.

The only thing the two dele-  
gations seemed to agree on  
was the seriousness of political  
violence. Mr de Klerk said the  
violence â\200\234cannot continue like  
this; we have reached a mo-

ment of truthâ\200\235. He said he was talking to other political leaders about the violence, â\200\234and I may take some sort of initiative in this regard in the not too distant futureâ\200\235.

Dr Buthelezi said he â\200\234cannot see any way forwardâ\200\235 if the level of violence continued.

But there their points of agreement ended. The two sides will continue to try to sort out their differences in bilateral talks. A meeting is expected to take place in Johannesburg today.

As yesterdayâ\200\231s meeting took place, the KwaZulu Government lodged an action in the Transvaal Supreme Court. KwaZulu wants the court to rule on what was meant by â\200\234sufficient consensusâ\200\235, and

wants a halt to planning for the April 27 election until this is sorted out.

Dr Buthelezi said he did not know what sufficient consensus meant. Decisions had been taken at the multi-party talks while the IFP and KwaZulu

were not present. Sufficient

consensus exercised this way was confusing and â\200\234it is futile for usâ\200\235 to go back to the talks.

Dr Buthelezi said he had â\200\234tried to explain to Mr de Klerk why our team withdrew from Kempton Parkâ\200\235.

Mr de Klerk gave the impression that he conveyed some home truths to the IFP team yesterday. He said they discussed where South Africa should go and the substance of the constitutional future â\200\234of the country and of KwaZuluâ\200\235.

Mr de Klerk said he did not request Dr Buthelezi to return to the talks.

â\200\234I remain hopeful that the problems on sufficient consensus as well as federalism and the constitution are bridgeable.â\200\235 He was confident that yesterdayâ\200\231s discussions would lead to fruitful bilateral discussions.

Mr de Klerk did assure Dr }

Buthelezi, however, that no new constitution would be implemented without the support of the IFP.

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NO SMILES: President F.W. de Klerk and Dr Mangosythu Buthelezi pictured together at King's House after flying to Durban : yesterday for fo

ur hours of talks.

Preside

YOU can prove anything with statistics. And President F.W. de Klerk set out to prove in his speech in the Durban City Hall last night that the new National Party could win the biggest slice of the cake in next year's election.

Still looking vigorous and sounding optimistic after the past four turbulent years, mathematician Mr de Klerk explained his theorem: If every person who said that he or she intends to vote for the National Party starts working now to convince only two other non-committed voters to vote for the NP, then it will be

%

t de Klerk's theorem:

TERRY McELLIGOTT

the biggest party in South Africa.

It is so achievable. It is within our grasp. Let's do it.

He suggested, however, that party supporters aim to win over four or five non-committed people so as to allow for drop-outs and make doubly sure. QED.

Simple, isn't it?

Mr de Klerk, who was welcomed to the meeting as the man who brought yesterday's welcome rains to drought-hit Durban set out to chase away the

clouds of despondency about a

widely-predicted ANC election victory and to breathe new life into the NP in the run-up to the election.

Only 37 weeks to go, he

warned. It's time to get cracking.

After his hour-long speech, Mr de Klerk stayed on to sign dozens of autographs and to press the flesh. He was clearly pleased with the reception he received from the multiracial audience in what used to be the last outpost of the empire.

But it's a very different Natal today and Mr de Klerk is leading a very different National Party.

See Page 17

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Picture: JOHN WOODROOF

HANDS OF FRIENDSHIP President k: W de Klerk L, warmly welcomed on stage last night at the Durban Cnty Hall.

Â« J b ,:DÃ©mocratic Party has predicted  
- | that the national teacher strike  
~ planned for Monday will have

-~ disastrous results. A Daily News

- Correspondent reports from Cape :  
| Town. |

HE African National Congress is  
to make a last-ditch attempt to avert the  
national teachersâ\200\231 strike due to start  
on Monday.

Regional ANC secretary Tony Yengeni  
said yesterday the movement had resolved at

- a general council meeting at the weekend to  
support the strike called by the South African  
Democratic Teachersâ\200\231 Union. i

The right of teachers to strike was also  
acknowledged. .

~ But delegates had instructed the ANC re-  
gional executive committee to meet the  
unionâ\200\231s leadership to â\200\234discuss last-minute  
measures to avoid the strike and for Sadtu  
. to give us a definite plan of actionâ\200\235.  
~ Mr Yengeni told a news conference the

= ANC would also discuss a campaign to in-

- form the community about the strike.

The Democratic Party says it â\200\234strongly  
condemnsâ\200\235 the strike.

Teacher union condemned

for mass action plans  
She \\30\) NE=S â\200\231C

avert strike

The union should present its grievances to

the National Education and Training Forum,  
said DP Western Cape education desk con-  
vener Richard van der Ross.

The unionâ\200\231s â\200\234double agendaâ\200\235 of using out-

side leverage was a total rejection of the negotiation principle. It was inappropriate for Sadtu to plan a strike during attempts to solve the country's education crisis, he said.

The strike would have disastrous results, he predicted. ;

Pupils would not be able to meet the requirements for their final exams. This would

lead to the adjustment or doctoring of marks to secure passes on paper.

This would only lead to failure further down the line, he said.

Pupils could not be expected to develop a culture of learning or a respect for work if they saw their teachers, their role models, refuse to teach.

The DP accepted the right of workers to strive to improve their conditions of service but believed essential services, such as education, should not be impaired.

Parents should insist that their children were taught. Parents paid taxes so that their children could be educated and were entitled to demand that teachers remained in their classes, he said.

The Pan Africanist Student Organisation yesterday expressed its disappointment at the union's decision to strike, saying this action would impede the learning process.

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CAPE TOWN â\200\224 Police investigators made an important breakthrough in Sundayâ\200\231s church massacre investigations yesterday when they traced a car they believe the killers used to get away after the attack.

Police confirmed that blood was found inside the vehicle and said it seemed there was a bullet hole in the bonnet of the stolen vehicle.

1974 Datsun 260C was stolen in Guguletu just before the shooting, they recovered the car next to a scrapyard in

- | Ottery, about 25km from ! â\200\230Cape Town.

" The car was stolen in Gu-

owner was stopped and attacked by four men who sped off in his car â\200\224 less than an â\200\230hour before the attack on the | St James Church congregation which left 11 dead and | more than 50 injured.

The investigating team â\200\230mobilised 300 policemen yesterday to search for the car.

for fingerprints and other

car will be examined.

'On Tuesday night police staked out a truck-shop in

long-distance lorry driver that three men had asked for a lift to Port Elizabeth saying they were in trouble and ) had to get out of Cape Town..

ille

After establishing that a | ,guletu on Sunday when the |

| Yesterday afternoon forensic . | specialists were searching

clues, and blood found in the |

Epping after a tip-off from a |

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EIâ\200\230S car

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'Chureh massgcre breakthrough as Cape Town' prays for peace

A pohce spokesman said  
the driver told the police  
that the men looked like the  
identikit sketches which had  
appeared in newspapers.

They approached him at  
the truck-shop at about  
10.30 pm on Tuesday and  
said they would return at

\_about midnight to inquire

about a lift. Police staked.

out the truck-shop, but they Â\$

did not return.  
Indiscriminate

A link between the church .  
attack and the shooting

Stakes restaurant, aboufi}  
1,5km away, on Decembe e  
26 is being investigated. i

In the restaurant attack,

owner Malcolm Visser (34) |

was injured in the leg when

gunmen barged in and fired |

at diners indiscriminately.  
No attempt was made to

Calls for people to wear a |

white ribbon for peace today  
have been enthusiastically  
supported by political, civic,  
business, sport and enter-  
tainment personalities and

~ the public.

Democratic Party western |

Cape chairman Jasper  
Walsh said yesterday that  
the church tragedy and other  
vicious acts of terrorism had  
struck at the heart of peace-  
loving citizens.

He urged South Africans

to unite in their efforts to  
stop the violence and to | \_

work for peace under a new,  
democratic constitution.  
â\200\234May this despicable act

â\200\234hasten us to achieve this ob- |  
jective,â\200\235 he said. â\200\224 Sapa,  
| Own Correspondent.

N

e ol

rob the customers in the Bel- | -  
vedere Road restaurant.  
The Azanian Peopleâ\200\231s Lib-

eration Army claimed re- |  
sponsibility for the restau-  
rant attack and a R10 000 re- | ;  
ward is still on offer for in- |

formation leading to the con-  
viction of the gunmen. An

Apla spokesman in Tanzania |  
has denied responsibility for  
the church attack.  
As the hunt for the church

killers intensified, Capeton-  
ians prepared for a day of  
mourning today.

An inter-faith service will  
take place in the City Hall at  
1pm, followed by a gather-  
ing on the Grand Parade

where people will link hands |  
ina circle of peace ;

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~ HE DAILY NEWS, MONDAY, AUGUST 9, 1903 @

News

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There are fears that the proposals on internal borders have been rushed. This report

from Martin Challenor, Political Correspondent.

RANSKEI military lead-

. er Major-General Bantu Holo-

misa is not giving up Transkei's northern border claims and has bluntly told Natal, 'East Griqualand is our land'.

Negotiators at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park today debated the new-look internal borders.

There are fears in some political

e . -

camps that simply not enough time has been allocated to discussing the map proposed by the borders commission, and that the proposals are being rushed through.

Agreement on internal borders is crucial to prevent land disputes in later years. :

The Democratic Party, Inkatha Freedom Party and National Party are all opposed to incorporating East Griqualand, including the towns of Kokstad, Matatiele and Cedarville, into the Eastern Cape/Kei region.

However, General Holomisa said in an interview with The Daily News, 'Hast Griqualand is our land'.

The position of boundaries could not be made final before the issue of land claims and the form of state

{ New boundaries undeâ\200\230r dispute  
Holomisa not -  
iving up land

were settled, General Holomisa said.  
Black people had been forcibly re-  
moved from the area and now lived  
in Transkei. He asked what would  
happen to their legitimate land  
claims â\200\234if you cede that areaâ\200\235?

General Holomisa said political  
agreements last century and the 1910  
Union put East Griqualand into the  
Cape. The noises people were making  
now â\200\234is based on boundaries drawn  
by the National Party for political  
expediencyâ\200\235.

However, General Holomisa is pre-  
pared to negotiate the borders. The  
commissionâ\200\231s proposals should be  
used to start consultations between  
people living in the area, rather than  
as a reason for â\200\234attacking, accusing  
and complainingâ\200\235.

No rain predicted  
for next few days

Daily News Reporter

WEATHER conditions are expected  
to clear over Durban and the Natal  
region later today and no further  
rainfall is expected in the next few -  
â\200\230days.

A spokesman for the weather  
bureau said Durban and the South

Coast had each received 6mm of rain

yesterday and the North Coast up to  
Richards Bay received 34,5mm.

He said conditions were expected  
to be cloudy and mild over the entire  
region and while there would be fog

patches over the interior, this did not

indicate further rainfall.

Hotel opening delay s

Cape Town: Cape Townâ\200\231s elegant five-star Mount Nelson Hotel, which was ravaged by a fire in June, will reopen in December, three months later than expected.

Initial plans to reopen in September had to be revised.

A hotel spokesman said unexpected :

damage to the lounge ceiling became evident only weeks after the fire when sections of the moulded panels, damaged by water, began to fall.â\200\224Sapa

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. THE DAILY NEWS, TUESDAY, AUGUST 10, 1993

News

CASUALTY OF WAR: A wounded Bambayi resident lies on the ground during the fighting that erupted in shackland on Sunday.

Turmoil in the eye of a camera

Richard Shorey, a photographer for The Daily News, revealed his experiences when he went to take pictures in battle-torn Bambayi on Sunday â\200\224 a day on which eight people died. He spoke to Daily News Reporter Ido Lekota.

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HE frightening thing is you do not S

see the people who are firing at you as they hide themselves in a sea of shacks,â\200\235 said Shorey, of his experience in the violence-racked Bambayi, where 200 people have died this year.

Shoreyâ\200\231s introduction to the â\200\234war-zoneâ\200\235 started when he decided to follow IFP supporters who were marching back to their homes in Bambayiâ\200\231s IFP-supporting Greens territory.

He said that as the marchers were about to enter what is essentially the territory of the ANC-supporting Reds faction, they were fired upon from neighbouring shacks.

Â«I then decided to stick with the security forces for safety,â\200\235 said Shorey.

The shooting forced the marchers to duck among the shacks while the police moved in. The marchers set at least three shacks alight. This drew more attacks from the Reds.

As the marchers proceeded, under police escort, on their way to their Greens territory, other armed Reds tried to intercept them.

â\200\234Only the intervention of the police managed to keep the two factions apart,â\200\235 said Shorey. In turn, snipers fired on the police from all sides.

â\200\234More firepower came from the community centre and the police moved in to flush out the snipers,â\200\235 he said. It was already dark when the police managed to flush out the snipers from



the community centre, and Shorey was taken out  
of the area in a Hippo.

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.';AÃ@qweg Ul Ã©jedguÃ© qliM se|leq Bujuuni 8yl Bulinp epeIWod  
painful Siy 03 Pl SNl

Reconstructzon row simmers on

Rlddle

of ANC  
- policy

Stanley Uys argues  
that certainty about the  
country's economy is  
unlikely to emerge in  
the foreseeable future.

Is the row over the  
reconstruction levy has  
subsided or has it?

It all started when Tito  
Mboweni, acting deputy head  
of the ANC's economic plan-  
ning department, proposed the  
introduction of a levy on both  
the income and assets of those  
who could afford it, meaning  
of course a redistribution of  
wealth from whites to blacks.  
The white business community  
exploded in wrath.

In a subsequent article, Mr  
Mboweni said the alternative  
to a reconstruction levy was to  
increase either the tax burden  
or the budget deficit. He ex-  
plained that he was expressing  
only his personal view, not  
ANC policy.

In an interview with Die  
Beeld (, July 21), the ANC's in-

Silico

A recent television  
programme that  
showed 'American' -  
women suffering  
alleged after-effects of  
silicone breast implants  
has caused hysteria  
among local women  
who have had the  
operation. Medical

filed this report.

Reporter Asha Weir J

formation chief, Dr Pallo Jor-  
dan, said the reconstruction  
levy was not ANC policy, but

just a thought that has been

raised as one of the many

ways of financing a corporate  
levy. So far, so good.

But then Mr Mboweni came  
to London where, before an as-  
sembly of attentive bankers  
and businessmen, he repeated  
the proposal for a reconstruc-  
tion levy almost word for  
word. Only this time he did not  
say he was speaking in his pri-  
vate capacity, and in his care-  
fully prepared speech, he  
made it quite clear that it was  
absolutely necessary that po-  
litical change be accompanied  
by serious restructuring, en-  
compassing the transforma-  
tion of the institutional struc-  
ture of the economy.

The assembled businessmen  
were not to be blamed for  
leaving the forum convinced  
that if not a reconstruction  
levy, then something equally  
radical is in the ANC's pipe-  
line.

As Anglo American's Mr Mi-  
chael Spicer told a similar  
gathering in London three  
weeks later, rhetoric has its  
consequences. Mr Mboweni,

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TITO MBOWENI: can his personal views on the reconstruc-

tion levy be construed as official ANC policy?

after all, is acting deputy head

of the ANC's economic plan-  
ning department. At what  
point do his private musings  
become potentially official  
ANC policy?

Mr Spicer, group public af-  
fairs consultant to Anglo  
American and De Beers and  
adviser to Anglo's chairman,  
made several points. One was  
that he agreed that business-  
men should not react with  
knee-jerk hostility to every  
idea floated by the ANC.

But, he added, there were

just too many ideas in free-fall around the ANC corridors. One cannot go on indefinitely discussing new ideas, said Mr Spicer. At some point, there must be certainty.

This, of course, is what all potential investors want, whether they live in South Africa or abroad: They need to

know what they are letting themselves in for if they are going to invest in South Africa.

But if Mr Spicer expects the ANC to respond with equal frankness, I fear he will wait in vain. The ANC cannot give businessmen the certainty they want on economic policy for the simple reason that an internal debate on that certainty would tear the ANC apart â\200\224 on the eve of elections from which the ANC expects to emerge as the dominant party.

Certainty? I cannot see it emerging in the foreseeable future, and investors will have to bite this bullet. Either they will decide to walk away, or they will have to walk to the edge of the murky South African economic pond, shut their eyes, close their noses, and â\200\224 jump in.

B SRERS

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Is the draft constitution a  
bastion of liberty or  
instrument of strife and  
oppression? Farouk  
Cassim, MP, member of  
the Central Committee and  
of the Inkatha Freedom

Party's negotiating team,  
argues the latter.

| CHAPTER 5 of the Draft Con-  
stitution empowers The National  
Assembly and the Senate, sitting  
| in joint session, to constitute  
| themselves into the Constitution

Making Body or CBM. Its func-  
tion? A total revision of the con-  
stitution which is now being  
drafted.

The CBM is the National Party's  
a palliative for a CA (Constituent As-

sembly). Thus clause 1 of chapter 5,  
subsection 2 of' the draft constitution  
reads: 'The CBM shall undertake a  
total revision of this constitution and  
adopt a new constitutional text in ac-  
cordance with the provisions and pro-  
cedures of this chapter.'

How can enshrined principles be  
left untouched in a total revision of  
the constitution? To me it is a contra-  
diction in terms.

During the course of undertak-  
ing the total revision and the drafting  
of the new constitutional text, any  
constitutional proposal pertaining to

such revision and drafting may be re-

The following clause is also unset-

As

ferred to the Constitutional Court by  
the chairperson after being petitioned  
by one third of the members of the  
Constitution Making Body to do so, in  
order to obtain an opinion from the

court as to whether such proposal, if  
adopted, would conform with the con-  
stitutional principles.

The chairman is not bound to

oblige the petitioners even though

they are one third of the members.  
He â\200\234mayâ\200\235 refer a matter of dispute  
to the Constitutional Court. Minori-

ties will not be protected. Proponents

of proportional representation and an  
all-inclusive democracy must also be  
worried about this. 2

The National Party and the ANC  
propose that the CBM should sit from  
April 1994 to April 1996. Its main  
function will be to revise the consti-  
tution. This is unbelievable. e

Clause 4 of Chapter 5 makes the  
following provision: â\200\234A total revision  
of this constitution shall be undertak-  
en by the CBM, and a new constitu-  
tional text shall be adopted within  
two years from the commencement  
of the first session of Parliament.â\200\235 .

The IFP pleads that this is totally  
unnecessary. Let us take the present  
opportunity to embody in this consti-

tution the maximum guarantees of

freedom for the individual and origi-  
nal powers for the regions. If we do  
this right; and to the satisfaction of  
all, everyone ought to be happy. "

Should a ship which has come out  
of a perilous storm and into harbour,  
leave that haven and head into the  
teeth of a still bigger storm? It is  
gross irresponsibility for anyone to  
propose clause 4 above.

(Draft constitution a recipe

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for strife and oppression

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In the event of the revised constitu-  
tion being not approved by a two-  
thirds majority at the end of two  
years of wrangling, the constitution  
will go to a panel of five experts.  
These five experts will have thirty  
days to reach unanimity on amend-  
ments to make the constitution ac-  
ceptable to at least two thirds of the  
CBM.

If they cannot, the constitution will  
80 back to the CBM for adoption. At

this stage a referendum will be held

in which a majority of 60% has to be  
achieved for the constitution to pass

into law. Should the referendum be lost the State President will dissolve Parliament.

In 1996, South Africans will again participate in an election days after a referendum. The second parliament will within a year be able to adopt the constitution by a simple majority. Three years of constitutional uncertainty is the essence of this draft constitution.

Let us also not forget that the elections to be fought next year will be the costliest that this country has known. Almost a billion rands will be committed by various parties. The IFP does not have millions in reserve to fight a referendum and a second election in another two years.

We want an end to violence and we want guarantees like those given to Namibians where their parliament

\* I may never ever diminish their rights

and guarantees. South Africa cannot bear further uncertainty.

The facts are inescapable. The national debt in May of this year stood at a staggering 9% of GDP. With the current drought, escalating violence

FAROUK CASSIM

â\200\230Guarantees needed

(often mindless), lack of political settlement and the longest economic downturn we have known, our national debt is going to soar beyond 9% to extremely dangerous levels.

This country will then be perpetually in a debt trap. Let us then follow the American example and have an indestructible union comprising indestructible regional states with their own constitutions. Let us emulate the German Constitutional Court and protect our constitutional rights.

Are we asking for too much? When freedom of the individual is not constricted, consensus is easy to find. Prisoners about to be given their freedom will never delay their release. People about to be empowered in their freedom will never wilfully impede the instrument of their freedom.

The IFP requires that the constitution instantly empower us in our indi-

vidual and collective freedom. It should not merely be an instrument which passes power from those who

oppressed to those who will now op-

press in partnership with them.

Chapter 5 of the present draft constitution is a certain recipe for strife.

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