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in 201 priests remain neutral in politics?

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By FATHER S'MANGALISO MKHATSHWA

The unbanning of peoples' organisations coupled with the release of political leadership, the return of exiles and the drive for political unity have prompted many religious believers to ask: What is the social responsibility of the church today? With that emerged another question: Dare priests be identified with any political party?

Many people take it for granted that the church has a public and social responsibility as well. To the best of my knowledge- the church has never been totally neutral in its intervention in human affairs.

Jesus was crucified by the Roman fascists. They accused him of stirring up trouble, by inciting

the people to rebel against Roman .

imperialism.

When Constantine, the Roman Emperor, Fourth Century, he and his successors effectively coopted the church..

Then followed colonialist expansionism, which was given pastoral ministry by the church.

In World War 2 the church took sides in the conflict.

In the Vietnam war chaplains

ministered to the Marines. In

South Africa chaplains ministered

. to the SADF, whose reason for existence was to market the apartheid monster through violence.

Fairness

â\200\234In fairness to the church though, it is not directly responsible for all the actions of the governments concerned.

â\200\230 The church intervenes in the | affairs of people morally and materially. Salvation is another word for the total liberation of . people.

Church leaders know they cannot achieve that liberation by preaching hell and thunder sermons only. Life itself is a struggle. The quest for a life free of all oppression, repression and

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-.exploitation-is Jliteralty â\200\230a life and .

was baptised in the

death struggle.

The role of the church in society is largely determined by the felt needs of the community. Needless to say the mission of the church transcends the immediate material necessities of life.

The church is the servant of the people.

Against this backdrop one must therefore conclude that:

â\202-a) The church in collaboration with democratic forces should continue the struggle against apartheid till it is dismantled.

(b) The church must support those social elements which promote democracy, justice and unity among our people.

(c) The church should be seen to'be for the truth in season and out of season.

(d) To avoid the impression that the functioning of the church is to lecture, moralise or comfort the victims of oppression, Christians must actively participate in the popular struggles of the

- people.

Transform

(e) It is impossible to transform social structures without active involvement in those structures. There are topics which are seldom discussed calmly or

without emotion. They include money, sex, religion and politics.

Precisely because of this, in-

Father Smangaliso
Mkhatswa

is usually sacrificed on the altar of expediency or irrational emotionalism.

During the past two weeks church leaders have had calls on whether ordained clergy should be permitted to join political parties. The media are partly to blame for this hysteria.

To clear the air, we need to

_ define our terminology.

People equate politics with 'dirty party politics'. They uncritically conclude that anyone who has any association with a political organisation wants power, influence, money etc.

There is another way of using the word 'politics'. That is, political morality, philosophy or values upon which every state

- intelligent debate on these subjects -- should be built. According to 'the

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anging society -

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classic separation of church and state the function of institutional church lies in the latter.

It is not a rival political party, although there is nothing wrong for the church to prefer one among several political options. It is a cliché to say that politics af-

- fects every aspect of our lives.

Another misunderstood word is church. This can mean the institutional church with its official policies, traditions and official leadership. In this sense there are many churches or congregations in South Africa. We have, for example, the mainline English speaking missionary churches as well as thousands of African independent churches.

There is no single church, even though all churches have certain

beliefs and traditions in common.

The word *church* also refers to the people, the believers, worshippers.

Very often the concept of church is associated with the pulpit, hell fire sermons often * punctuated by a promise of salvation. It is a community of fellowship and reconciliation.

Poverty

The church does preach about poverty, injustice, repression and landlessness. But the average per-

son is pleasantly shocked when the preachers say something about economic empowerment, political and other struggles, peoples education, redistribution of wealth, resources, etc. :

The priest is supposed to be a kindly, sweet old man who hugs, prays and blesses his people without a care in the world.

Priests or ministers are ex-

- pected to be spiritual and moral trouble-shooters.

*Due to space limitations today, this article will be continued in Sowetan

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'COMMENT Â\$

Telephone: (011) 474-0128

Bloody
political
fighting
must be
stopped

HE African National Con-
Tgress and Inkatha must do

much more than denounce
the violence that seems to sprmg
from their supporters.

Four people died in Kagiso at the
weekend and rumours of attacks
and counter-attacks continue.

This violence has claimed thou-
sands of lives in Natal and is now
spreading to other areas.

The first step to be taken as a
matter of urgency is for Chief

Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nel-
son Mandela, accompanied by their
lieutenants, to meet, with peace the
only item on the agenda.

It no longer matters who started
the fight. What is important is that
it must be stopped.

Indeed, pressure is on the ANC
to initiate such meetings even if it
has done so in the past.

The ANC, which enjoys wide sup-
port for the sterling work it has

"done, and the sacrifices made by its
leaders, must now move fast to
make peace.

While we understand its leaders
accusing the police of a seeming tar-
diness to end the violence, the ANC
must show its strength by stopping
it from spreading.

The ANC leadership stresses dis-
cipline. This must be implanted in

all organisational structures. The same must be said of Inkatha.

Acts of thuggery by members of political organisations besmirch their leaders's reputations.

C.

EDUCATION must be the new weapon in the liberation struggle in South Africa, Mrs Adelaide Tambo, wife of ANC president Oliver Tambo, said yesterday.

Speaking at ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela's house in Orlando West, Soweto, Tambo, who arrived earlier in the day after 30 years in exile, said generations of oppressed people had waited for the day which was about to dawn.

Right track

For decades we have tried to bring this Government to the table for talks. Now at last South Africa is on the right

track. She said the future was in the hands of the children.

Educational

Ow\m\

new weapon

| 996

Mrs Tamb8<

If they are not educated, the years of struggle will be jeopardised. Education is the new weapon in the liberation struggle and our youth must arm themselves with books.

Speaking of the women's role in the struggle, Tambo said without women the defiance campaign would never have got off the ground.

Comrades

Sitting around her were former comrades who had taken risks when they launched the first consumer boycotts in the Vaal area and burnt their passes.

Each phase of the struggle needs a different strategy. Today there are the talks, tomorrow we will construct a new non-racial and democratic South Africa

for all the people. - Sapa.

A PR

Tuesday 7 August 1990 C/7/2EN

- Kagiso toll
- is 10: police
arrest 57 1~

By Sapa and wounded and another distributed a circular in
Cobus Oosthuizen slightly injured when the township on Friday
THE death:oll in the, ;:P0oe fited shotguns after . sieECiedesiie Nt e

tearsmoke and rubber

Inkatha rally to be held

faction fighting Inka- p,uers failed to have an ~ on Sunday.

tha and an alliance of effect on a group of He said the circular,
other groups believed people who rushed at the ~ Which had been signed by
to be sympathetic to police during an illegal â\200\230â\200\234concerned Kagiso resi-
the ANC, in the Kagi- â\200\230gathering at the Kagiso dentsâ\200\235 warned people
so township near Kru- Hostel,â\200\235 Lt Bester said. ~ about the Inkatha rally.

gersdorp, has risen to
10.

Passenger transport
came to a standstill yes-
terday morning, and ten-
sions were growing fol-
lowing the death of four
people during a skirmish
between feuding factions

She said a sixth body
was found in the vicinity
of the hostel later. It had
several stab wounds.

Police blocked off
roads and no traffic had
been allowed into the
township.

After the arrival of
police enforcements 57

The businessmen said
that while Inkatha mem-
bers attended their rally
on Sunday, ANC mem-
bers had held another ral-
ly â\200\234for non-Zulu hostel
residents in an effort to
polarise the situationâ\200\235.

â\200\234This brought the situ-
ation to a flashpoint,â\200\235 he

â\200\234atahostel in'the township people were arrested on said. .
~onv3unday night. = Charges of public viol-{ He added that ANC
est Rand police liai- ence. members had _allegedly
son officer, Lieutenant A" yyyoercdorp busi{ gone around the township
b Henriette Bester, said a nessman who did not\ on Sunday night trying to
police patrol team report- want to be identified told] raise support for non-

ed sporadic incidents of
stone-throwing in the

area yesterday morning.
A Kagiso resident who
telephoned Sapa early
yesterday alleged that
several Inkatha hostel-
dwellers had mobilised in
the vicinity of a menâ\200\231s
hostel (where four men

The Citizen in a tele-
phone call yesterday that
according to some of his
employees who lived in
Kagiso. ANC members

Zulu residents who had
allegedly been evicted
from the hostel. They stir-
red antagonism towards
Inkatha members.

Arm with books: Mrs Tambex

:ieghret) ?;â\200\230Lï¬\202pfli¬\201ï¬\201f:?gf z EDUCATION must be in the liberation stru-
ggle, Much has changed and the Congress of SA Trade

raid on the township. the new weapons in the and our youth must arm again not much has Uni-
ons (Cosatu).

Another resident said liberation struggle in themselves with books.â\200\235 changed.â
\200\235

rumours were doing the South Africa, Adelaide Speaking of = the Mrs Tambo is primarily | 7
rounds that Inkatha mem.. - L2mb0,.-wife. of ANC womenâ\200\231s role in the strug- here
to relaunch the ANC

bers had- given instruc- - President Oliver Tambo, - gle, Mrs Tambo said with- ~ Womenâ\200
\231s League i Dur-

tions for a work ang Said yesterday afternoon. out women the defiance ban on Thursday on a
nat-

school stay-away yester- Speaking in the sitting campaign would never ional front, to coin-
cide

day, aimed at preparing Â°Â°â\204¢ of the Mandela have got off the ground. with Internatio-
nal

â\200\230the ground for a raid on

Kagiso residents.

Sunday nightâ\200\231s fighting

mansion in Orlando
West, Soweto, Mrs Tam-
bo said generations of op-

Mrs Tambo arrived at
Jan Smuts yesterday and
joined scores of ANC

Women'â\200\231s Day.
The decision to launch
the Womenâ\200\231s League was

between Ink > pressed people had wait- supporters in singing taken by the ANC lead-
bers :z?l opr;â\200\2310z:â\200\230t::ts r:lfÃ@g_ ed for the day about to Nkosi Sikelele A
frica. ership in exile after con-
edly broke out after a dawn. She gave a clenched fist ~ sultations with the Feder-

group of Inkatha mem-
-bers returned from a rally
in Soweto.

- Yesterday afternoon Lt -
six more Å°
people had died violently

Bester said

in clashes during the day.
She said the bodies of
four men who had been
shot were found in the
township at about 9 am.
â\200\234A man was fatally

â\200\234For decades we have
tried to bring this govern-
ment to the table for
talks. Now at last South
Africa is on the right
track.â\200\235

She said the future was
in the hands of the chil-
dren.

â\200\234If they are not educat-
ed the years of struggle

~ will be jeopardised. Edu-
cation is the new weapon

salute. Flanking her was
Winnie Mandela, wife of
ANC deputy president
Mr Nelson Mandela, and
UDF Co-president Alber-
tina Sisulu.

â\200\234I feel so totally emo-
tional as I stand here this
morning. I last saw my
country 30 years ago.

ation of = Transvaal
Women (Fedtraw)..

It is also aimed at ab-
sorbing members of
womenâ\200\231s groups from the
United Democratic Front
(UDF), the SA Youth
Congress (Sayco), the SA
Studentsâ\200\231 Congress
(Sansco) and well as from

THE CITIZEN

7/ &/90

â\200\230spÃ©

SOUTH African actor,
Gavin van den Bergh,

and four others had
been arrested on Fri-
He also said that in all
probability Mr Van den

separately as would Mr

Mr Dean Vermaak (26).
of Umgaza Road, Gallo
Manor, Mrs Penelope
Kennedy (38), of Killar-
ney Road, Sandhurst,
and Mr Michael Voges
(33), of Houts Bay.
They will all appear in
court again on October
1,

Actor appears
in court on
drug charge

who played a leading
role in Ballade vir jn :

Bergh would stand trial

Gavin van den Bergh
Bail of R300, granted

to the accused after
their arrest, was extend-
ed. ;

By Don Wilkinson

; GOLD advanced in world

precious metals markets
yesterday, closing
- \$382/382,50 an ounce in
London and in Zurich at

| \$381/384 after a peak

\$384,50 which caused
some profit-taking.
While the continued

| uncertainty in the Gulf

played a part in the met-

major influence was the
renewed weakness in the
US dollar.

Dealers feel that the
US currency has lost
much of its safe haven
status following a number
of official statistics indi-
cating the strong possibili-
ty that the US economy is
faced with recession.

Towards the close of
currency trading in

Koreans swim

~ 38 die
SEOUL. Thirty-eight
people drowned at the
weekend when nearly a
quarter of South Korea's
population of 42 million
thronged river banks and
beaches to escape a heat
wave, police said. Sapa-

Reuter.

Europe the dollar was
hovering around its re-

cord closing low level

German mark, reached at the end of 1987, when it was DM1,5680/700 to the dollar. Yesterday it briefly touched DM1,5668 before a finish of DM1,5733/40.

London dealers feel.

| however, that gold's re-
' cent

/ performance has been somewhat disappointing in view of the steep rise in oil prices. Additionally, the Gulf crisis does not appear to have caused any marked

Wall |

al's move above \$380, a

against the bellwether

Gold surges,
shares tumble

buying of gold by Middle
- Eastern countries.

Early reports from
street indicated a fall in the Dow Jones index of over 100 points and this impacted on the London market.

Both centres clawed back some, of their earlier losses, but remained nervously weak.

With the major markets in some turmoil, share prices on a nervous Johannesburg Stock Exchange also sought lower levels, although the all-gold index lost only nine points on Friday's finish, to close at 1638 after a mid-day improvement to 1 655.

Industrials came under pressure, however, leading stock Barlows finishing 90c off at R37,35, and the index ended at 3028 compared to Friday's 3073, helping to move the overall index 43

points lower to 3 167.

The dollar's international weakness helped the rand to move modestly higher at R2,5810/25 to the dollar against Friday's close of R2 5945/60.

But it failed again to make ground against the European majors, sterling moving up to R4,8445/95, while there was a sharp fall in the finrand to R3,96/98 from

Friday's R3,87/90 close.

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25 years as voters,

WASHINGTON â\200\224 Looking back
25 d{enrs, Roy Terry recalls vi-
vidly the one thing that separat-
. .ed him from the white students
at Atlantaâ\200\231s Morehouse College.

They could vote. He, like 75 per-
cent of Americaâ\200\231s blacks, could not.

But on August 6 1965, President
Lyndon Johnson signed the Voting
Rights Act, which banned literacy
tests, poll taxes and other measures
used to discourage blacks from en-
tering the polling booths.

The Act guaranteed the right to
vote, especially in the South where
few blacks could cast their ballots.

â\200\234The thing we have gained from
the Voting Rights Act is more lever-
age, more elected black officials,â\200\235
said Benjamin Hooks, executive
director of the National Association
for the Advancement of Coloured
People.

Mr Terry, now a clothing manu--

facturer, was one to benefit. Not
only could he vote but his family
gained from special programmes
established in the wake of the Act to

offer greater opportunities to mi- |
norities. 3

Violence

Helped by government contracts
to make military camouflage and
firefightersâ\200\231 uniforms, Mr Terryâ\200\231s
family firm raised its annual reve-
nue from about \$100 000 in 1963 to
more than \$12 million now.

â\200\234Minority purchasing goals ...
that we participated in have been a
benefit of the Voting Rights Act,â\200\235
Mr Terry said.

On the 25th anniversary of the
Voting Rights Act, more than 7 000
elected black officials were serv-
ing in local, state or federal offices,
but the votes that put them there
were often difficult to cast.

Enthusiastic blacks travelled long distances to register, only to encounter violence.

â\200\234There was resentment that black people could participate in the process,â\200\235 said former Representative Shirley Chisholm of New York, the

c. 1998

Blacks in the United States yesterday marked the 25th anniversary of the Voting Rights Act, which guaranteed their right to vote. LORRIE GRANT reports.

President Lyndon Johnson (top right) signed the Voting Rights Act in August 1965. â\200\234â\200\230There was resentment that black people could participate in the process,â\200\235 says Shirley Chisholm (left), the first black .woman in Congress. President Bush (bottom right) has taken note of black sensitivities and his party is trying to win their support.

â\200\234There was always a battle about colour, making sure appropriations would be allocated fairly,â\200\235 Ms Chisholm said.

â\200\234Practically every piece of legis-

first black woman in Congress.

â\200\234Battles emerged at voting places, especially in the South, and often polls were not located so that they were accessible for everyone,â\200\235

she said.

Ms Chisholm was elected to the House of Representatives in 1969 and served New York State until

lation required an amendment to specifically include women and blacks. It seemed ironic that in a democracy we had to put in amend-

1982. She remembers the early days ments to see that blacks and women when Congress was run by â\200\234old-line, wouldnâ\200\231t get left out.â\200\235 â\200\230 ; die-hard, white Southernersâ\200\235. But slowly and steadily,

~candidates for elected office, especially in the South, came to grips with the realities of blacks using

| 'their political rights.

"~ Blacks stood as candidates for

i elected office and if they didn't win

the time to decide who would, =

.. But years after the Voting

Rights Act became law, many blacks still think it has not taken them far enough.

780, historians and political scientists

5 %blacks do not feel totally at

] in the established Republican or Democratic parties, preferring in many cases to place their faith in politicians. :

» Frances Berry, a member

~ of the US Commission on Civil Rights,

says this attitude could be

white

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tial number of deathsâ\200\235
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BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday, August 7 1990

COMMENT |
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OR the past six months, many South Africans used only to . fatalistic pessimism have lived in a more optimistic mood than they had thought possible. That optimism continued during yesterday's talks between government and the ANC in Pretoria, but sooner or later we may all have to face a less rosy reality.

~ We had no details, at the time of going to press, on whether the degree of agreement matched the advance billing. If it did, that is a source for joy and, inevitably, for further optimism. It would be as well to remember that the Pretoria meeting, like the one in Cape Town in May, was designed to remove obstacles to the real negotiations which lie ahead. It is there that the crunch may come. '

The obstacles - the definition and release of political prisoners, the repeal of security laws, the return of exiles, the ANC's commitment to armed struggle, the continuing emergency in Natal and the level of violence there and elsewhere - will be removed, however many meetings it takes. They must be, or there will be no negotiations, and both sides have their sights firmly set on getting to the negotiating table. Hence the determination to succeed and the commendable readiness for compromise shown by government and the ANC.

Those qualities, and far-sighted political leadership, will be needed more than ever once the present obstacles have been overcome, for the road to negotiations will not have been cleared of all-obstruc-

B g

' RIVATISATION is likely to stay on the back-burner while

the new South Africa and its

- economic policies evolve, but

one of its benefits (from the private enterprise point of view) is shown in the latest public sector employment

figures produced by the Central Sta-

tistical Service. Though Iscor employees may not have been public servants in the true sense, privatisation of the steel corporation has taken 37 000 jobs firmly into the private sector, reducing the overall employment figures of public corporations by more than 21%. ;

While government, despite its decision to rationalise, still battles to contain the growth of the central bureaucracy, the streamlining of SA Transport Services into Transnet and its other

hills await-

Tough

tions. When the talk is about negotiations, rather than what is preventing them, decisions will have to be taken on who else is to be invited, whether under their own banner or that of the two main protagonists. The shape of the table two-sided as the ANC wants, with all newcomers ranged behind government or the ANC, or round, with each party representing a separate viewpoint is not a minor issue. It will have a crucial effect on the outcome of what is discussed.

Even then, the decks will not be cleared. Are the key elements of a

- new constitution, including govern-

ment hope for a minority role for itself and minority protection for those it represents, to be negotiated around that table or decided by a constituent assembly elected by universal franchise? This will determine when the NP hands over power, as it has promised to do, and its own role in the future South - Africa it has pledged to bring into

being. |

These, too, are not minor issues. Removing obstacles only brings closer the tough bargaining, the battle of nerve and wit backed by threats, grand-standing and prophecies of doom, and the compromises

essential for ultimate agreement.
So far, bar a bump or two, it's all
been downhill. The uphill part is
when the nation and its leaders will
truly be tested.

The main reason for optimism
then is that those leaders have so
far shown that they mean to reach
agreement. That, in the end, may
prove decisive.

task

conversion into a commercial or-
ganisation has also brought a sub-
stantial reduction in the number of
public sector jobs. Post and Tele-
communications is showing the
same trend. â\200\230

The argument that this is a good
thing because more efficient use is
being made of the country's human
resources will carry little weight
with people who perhaps don't even
have jobs, and look for manna from
political change. The huge task of
free market protagonists is to show
that the experience in other coun-
tries can be repeated here, and that
privatisation is the best way to pro-
duce the economic growth that will
not only expand the job market but
provide better social services for

the disadvantaged.

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3 1 By Ormande Poliook Politicalâ\200\231 Gumispondem

PRETORIAâ\200\224The ANCâ\200\231s 30-year armed strug-
gle was formalily suspended last night ave
iny the way for peace in South Africal"1 j

The good news, came inÂ® g

by Preagldent de:Rlerk andâ\200\231 gh?Ã© ANC'S Deputy {

President, Mr Nelson Mandela, some â\200\23015 hours
after the !_feace talks started atithe P fdencys
i Pretoria yeaterday oy ;_ ' 9

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Their joint statement' i ;â\200\235iâ\200\230.beâ\200\230
also disclosed thatâ\200\231 the*%twÃ©â\200\230{â\200\231pï¬\202rï¬\202es&ha
agreement on the release of political pï¬\202soners ana
the return of exlles; two of t.he majorâ\200\231 roblems con--
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But, the most dramatic. part-ofythe e.8 entâ\200\231
came on the second p dge in deanng witlm thâ\200\231e""Ã©nd â\200\230of.
the armed struggle and & commitmeant by both par-
ties to work towards end;mg the.violence.in' Natal.

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ANC announced that. it was nowJisus gendl%g \
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Both delegationsâ\200\231als
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normalisationâ\200\235and stabilizston oEtHeR b
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said the statement g

The Government in
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to consider libeng*meâ\200\230*
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Questioned at the
Press conference about |
what â\200\230was the ttitudeâ\200\230
of members ol the
S8ACP to the agreement:

% end the armed strug- â\200\230 :
gje, Mr Mandela told a

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who were members of |
the ANC were bound by
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Mr de Klerk ss.id the;

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â\200\230SA agreement

sets scene for

talks on new

constitution

WHEN Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk met yesterday they were tying their futures inextricably to the demise of white rule in South Africa. The latest round of talks between the ANC and the government went on into the evening; until the two sides hammered out terms for the release of political prisoners, the dismantling of certain security laws and, finally, 2 suspension of the ANC armed struggle with immediate effect.

Mr Mandela had said earlier that he expected to be able to put the military side of the anti-apartheid campaign on hold, without formally abandoning it, if agreement on his stated â\200\234obstaclesâ\200\235 (of full negotiations were reached, While the broad outline of the agreement was set out by a joint working group, the two sides still had to settle on issues such as the definition of political prisoners, The government was also demanding that the ANC should speak out publicly against strikes and boycotts by blacks, which are seen as a symbolic substitute for violence.

The meeting marked a breakthrough in removing the obstacles Mr Mandela identified. Looking on a future constitution, and reinforced the growing trust with Mr

te Klerk, The ANC has said the lifting of the armed struggle is tied to the irreversibility of the trek away from white rule. The abandonment of the military option demonstrates the confidence of Mr Mandela, if not all of his colleagues, that the process of change is set. But the coming battles may prove tougher than what has gone before,

Full talks on a new constitution are tentatively set for next year, after the ANC holds a congress in December to decide finally the system it favours and the nature of any incoming administration. Along the way, sanctions may start to dissolve, especially if key apartheid legislation, such as the Group Areas Act and, crucially, the Population Registration Act, which defines the races, is abolished,

Mr Mandela has repeatedly

From Chris McGreal
in Johannesburg

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Mandela: confident of change

spoken out in favour of a constituent assembly, a position it will be hard to back away from if strongly endorsed by the ANC congress. Direct election of the architects of a new constitution would probably mean a constituent assembly dominated by the ANC, with white representation in a minority - less a form of electoral pact were worked out with the ruling National Party.

The government backs direct

negotiations between the various parties, with at least the black and white races given equal representation. The resulting constitution would then be put to a national referendum.

At least nine people were killed in clashes between traditional Zulus and residents of Kugise township yesterday, while Mr Mandela and President de Klerk talked peace, Reuters re-

ports.

Police said that nine people had
been killed in the township
clashes, but a spokesman for the
United Democratic Front, allied
to the African National Congress,
said the death toll was at least 12,

Residents said workers in the
Clive Magothe Buthelee's
Dikhathe movement split out of
factory hostels swinging sticks and
hatchets, looking for ANC
sympathisers, Repoders said pos
sible were protesting in town,

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ANC says'

armed
struggle
suspended

From Ray Kenney
IN JOHANNESBURG

IN A landmark decision reached
after 15 hours of talks, the African
National Congress announced late

last night that it was suspending | |

immediately its 29-year armed
struggle against South Africa's
minority white government.

A joint statement from the ANC
and the government said: "In the
interest of moving as speedily as
possible towards a negotiated
peaceful political settlement and
in the context of the agreement
reached the ANC announced that
it was suspending all armed
actions with immediate effect.

"As a result of this no further
armed actions and related activ-
ities by the ANC and its military
wing Umkonto we Sizwe (Spear of
the Nation) will take place."

The statement appeared to clear
the way for formal negotiations on
ending apartheid and granting full
political rights to the voiceless
black majority,

The nine-point agreement was
hammered out by five member
delegations led by Nelson
Mandela, the ANC deputy leader,
and President de Klerk at talks at a

government mansion in the cap-
ital, Pretoria.

The two sides adopted a pro-
gramme for the phased release of
political prisoners according to an
agreed definition of political of-
fences. "The further release of
prisoners which can be dealt with
administratively will start on

September 1, 1990." the statement

said.

INKRATHA

It said all releases of political prisoners would be carried out by April 30, 1991. In a matching concession the government pledged to review the state of emergency in Natal province as early as possible and to consider repealing parts of the Internal Security Act, which restricts the political freedom of government opponents. :

The crucial talks, which were broadly expected to lead to a breakthrough for meaningful negotiations, had begun under a cloud of almost obsessive security in Pretoria.

Mr Mandela rolled up at the presidency in his fire-engine red Mercedes Benz which was presented to him two weeks ago. Behind was Joe Slovo, secretary general of the South African Communist Party whose inclusion in the ANC's negotiating team had almost derailed the talks.

Government sources yesterday | were more reserved about the outcome of the talks than optimistic weekend reports had indicated. A senior government figure said: "Once this phase is negotiated discussions can start with those parties who are ready to negotiate. The next obvious phase is on securing the negotiations. :

"We are ready to proceed with the next round and we are in agreement that time is of the essence but it is important that we proceed on a step-by-step

basis." he added.

reality

Through his own life and
there is little that he will
achieve.

I for one sees BC as

Mandela:

Time to face

Sir - It is high time that Tpese are the very people
each and every onÂ¢ of US (o claim o be striving
bec(?mes bold and faces tirelessly towards achiev-
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Earlier,

A key issue was the

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However,

briefed the meeting on
yesterdayâ\200\231s talks between

the ANC and the Govern-
ment and attempts by

what he called â\200\230â\200\230various
warlordsâ\200\231â\200\231 to extend the

violence outside Natal.
call for a meeting on Na-
tal with State President

Mr FW de Klerk. - Sapa.

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The conference advo-
cated a comprehensive

delegates acknowledged dem
programme to reconstruct

mounting poverty and un-
employment affecting the
African population in Na-
tal were also-contributing

to the tensions

region.
with the co-operation of

the shattered communities
the Government, the chur-

. He alleged the con-
tinuing abuse of tradi-
Zulu values and

The meeting declared
unanimously the deploy-

tional
suance of its political

agenda was a contributory
factor.
ment of the 32 Battalion

fr_om Namibia had con-
tributed to the worsening

culture by Inkatha in pur-
of the violence.

SOWETAN
Correspondent
Durban at the weekend.

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Mr Harry =

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reportedly
The ANCâ\200\231
through ethnic

interim leadership core

More
delegates

gathered at the Upiversity
of Durban-Westville for
the consultative confer-
ence, opened by ANC
deputy president Mr Nel-
son Mandela.

cause of the violence was
the Governmentâ\200\231s attempt
to â\200\230â\200\230balkaniseâ\200\231â\200\231 the coun-

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THE Government

" Gwala, stressed the root
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both groups share the

ANC for the unrest in

Natal

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: The attack is contained
in a statement issued by
the ANC, which together

with Cosatu, the South

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extra-parliamentary

organisations took part in
a peace conference in

and Inkatha have
come under strong
blame for the violence
African Communist
Party, UDF and other

in the province.

It is very painful and scientific goals
blacks.

traumatic when it comes
to the loss of lives of hu-
man beings.

What I suggest that
we select a team. which
will be the. most powerful
and well disciplined one.
that would tackle the
relevant _ political | issues
for the benefit of the op-
pressed and exploited
people of this country?

Black people in partic-
ular are dying in great
numbers and still some
people claim to be in the
forefront of bringing
peace and stability in our
country, while teaming up
with the forces of repres-

sion.

One cannot deny that
but looking into it
thoroughly with another
political telescope, you
will find that the so-called
leaders have opened the
doors to let in the monster
{0 destroy and assassinate
members of the oppressed
and exploited community.

On the other hand.

cipline. 1
people lack political con-
sciousness while men at
the top continue to brag
about massive numbers of
followers.

for us he only philosophy that
has the interest of the op-
pressed and exploited at
heart and whereby the life
of a black man is sure to
be secured.

Our leaders are dying
mysteriously daily and
yet there are still people
who are by virtue of
hatred towards others going
as far as harassing the

bereaved families.

On the part of dis-
think some

Black Consciousness
is gradually being
shadowed and not by the
powers that be alone.

| foresee a situation
whereby a black man will
pay the highest price

Slogan is seen
in bad light

violently ~ against our
people. and got no bullets.
I now realise that all
these bullets reserved for
every settler have missed
the target (rightwingers).
" The slogan provides

Mbulelo Bonono
Eastern Cape

Sir - I have been a reader
of Sowetan for more than
six months.

I am now convinced.
that the slogan, "one
settler, one bullet," is
nonsensical for a
**revolutionary move-

is a political or tactical
mistake to use in the

some politically bankrupt
and out of order groups !
within the black community.

community have vowed that I am saying this because
continue harassing their - because it has failed in prac-
tice own black brothers and friends.

isters and even going o~ This failure is evident
the extent of killing if from the fact that

they deem it necessary. rightwingers have acted

pamphlets and on its T-

approach.

PACâ\200\231s Bamey Desai

. once attacked it in a

â\200\234wecekly newspaper and

- said. â\200\234*This slogan has no

> place in our organisation

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(i, 1990~
police - ANC /
Political Stafi

At the news conference President de
Klerk and Nelson Mandela clashed
over alleged police violence:.

â\200\234Until the Government! bus temed
the police, we will continue to be wssa-
tisfied,â\200\235 Mr Mandela said.

Mr de Klerk responded that the Gov-
ernment and ANC had had long discus-
sions on the police. â\200\230

He said the Government's view was
that police should act even-handedly.
The Government would take firm
steps, as it had in the past, against
transgressors of this policy if evidence
or proof was submitted. K

â\200\234We are not satisfied with the reply |
just given by the State Presidentâ\200\231 Mr !
Mandela retorted. _

â\200\234Actions of the police indicate o us
that the Government has not succeededâ\200\230fied
in restraining police activity. The Gov-
ernment has either lost control of the
police, or the police are doing what the
Government wants.â\200\235

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IS Veais uvopess,
-naive. She believes black politicians
must consider not just the black
vote, but the interests of all their
_ constituents. s

Forcing change

â\200\234Many blacks thought the prob-
lems of race, economics and social
conditions would be solved with the

vote,â\200\235 said Ms Berry. â\200\234But when the
kingdom was still closed after peo-
ple got the key, they said: â\200\230Doesnâ\200\231t
that mean we shouldnâ\200\231t vote?â\200\231 â\200\235

Ms Berry said more effort might
be focused on peaceful protests to
force change, repeating successful
demonstrations like those that
forced several US companies to di-
vest their industrial and commer-
cial holdings in South Africa.

Politicians /say there are signs
that the process begun 25 years ago
will continue to gather strength.

President Bush has taken note of
black sensitivity on the question of
South Africa and his Republican
Party is campaigning to win the
support of more African-Americans.

â\200\234We are united in our opposition
to apartheid,â\200\235 Mr Bush told the
Magazine Publishers of America re-
cently.

â\200\234And we have an African-Ameri-
can population here that feels fer-

vently (about that).â\200\235 â\200\224 Reuter.

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will be granted 22 from 1 October 1990. This process will be completed not later than the end of 1990. .

Â® In all cases where the body or bodies to be constituted according to paragraph 8.2 of the Report of the Working Group will have to consider cases on an individual basis, the process will be expedited as much as possible.

It is hoped that this process will be completed within six months, but the latest date envi-

saged for the completion of the total task in terms of the Report of the Working Group is not later than 30 April 1991.

This programme will be implemented on the basis of the Report of the Working Group.

3. In the interest of moving as speedily as possible towards a negotiated peaceful political settlement, and in the context of the agreements reached, the ANC announced that it was now

suspending all armed actions
A o PR A Vb s 1] SN o &

peaceful solution as quickly as possible. .-

4. Both delegations expressed serious concern about the general level of violence, intimidation and unrest in the country, especially in Natal.

They agreed that in the context of the common search for peace and stability, it was vital that understanding should grow among all sections of the South African population that problems can and should be solv

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through negotiations. . . Both parties committed themselves to undertake steps and measures to promote and expedite the normalisation and stabilisation of the situation in line with the spirit of mutual trust obtaining among the Aeagert involved.- SRR T

5. With due cognizance of the interest, role and" involvergent

of other parties, the delegations consider it necessary, that what-

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tain persons; (d) provide for an amount to be deposited before a newspaper may be registered.

Convinced

The Government will continue

, reviewing security legislation

and its application in order to ensure free political activity and with the view to introducing amending legislation at the next session of Parliament. The Minister of Justice will issue a statement in this regard, inter alia, calling for comments and proposals.

8. We are convinced that what we have agreed upon today can become a milestone on the road to true peace and prosperity for our country.

In this we do not pretend to be the only parties involved in the process of shaping the new South Africa. We know there are other parties committed to peaceful progress.

All of us henceforth walk that road in consultation and co-op-

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eration with each other. We call

with immediate effect. As a re-

sult of this, no further armed ac- -

tions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe will take place.

It was agreed that a working group will be established to resolve all outstanding questions arising out of this decision to re-

port by September 15 1990. Both
sides once more committed
themselves to do everything in
their power to bring about a

10 5 DT v B AR o ok

communication are needed
should be developed at local, re-
gional and national levels. This
should enable public grievances
to be addressed peacefully and
in good time, avoiding conflict.

6. The Government has under-
taken to consider the lifting of
the state of emergency in Ngta
as early as possible in the light
of positive consequences that
should result from this accord.

7. In view of the new circum-
stances now emerging, there
will be an ongoing review of se-
curity legislation.

The Government will give im-
mediate consideration to repeal-
ing all provisions of the Internal
Security Act that (a) refer to
communism or the furthering
thereof; (b) provide for a conso-
lidated list; (c) provide for a pro-
hibition on the publication of
statements or writings of cer-

be held soon. .

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upon all those who have not yet
committed themselves to peace-
ful negotiations to do so now.

9. Against this background, the
way is now open to proceed to-
wards negotiations on a new
constitution. Exploratory talks
in this regard will be held be-
fore the next meeting which will

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August 7:1990

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| NEWS

The text of the Pretoria Minute is as follows:

Pretoria Minute

The Government and the ANC have held discussions at the Presidency, Pretoria, today August 6 1990.

1. The Government and the ANC have again committed themselves to the Groote Schuur Minute.

2. The final report of the Working Group on political offences dated 21 May 1990, as amended, was accepted by both parties. The guidelines to be formulated in terms of the Report will be applied in a phased manner.

The Report makes provision for formulation of guidelines which will be applied in dealing with members of all organisations, groupings or institutions, governmental or otherwise, who committed offences on the assumption that a particular cause was being served or opposed.

Dates agreed

The meeting has instructed the Working Group to draw up a plan for the release of ANC-related prisoners and the granting of indemnity to people in a phased manner and to report before the end of August. The following target dates have in the meantime been agreed upon:

â® The body or bodies referred to in paragraph 8.2 of the Report of the Working Group will be constituted by 31 August 1990.

â® The further release of prisoners which can be dealt with administratively will start on 1 September 1990.

0 Indemnity which can be dealt

with in categories of persons and not on an individual basis

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â\200\230dgreement

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should act even-handedly.

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: By Kaizer Nyatsumba,
Political Staff

A mixed welcome has greeted
the midnight ceasefire.]

While many organisations
have congratulated the Govern-
ment and the ANC, the Conser-
vative Party (CP), and the Pan
Africanist Congress (PAC) have
criticised the agreement.

CP chief secretary A S

Beyers said it was quite clear |
that the Government had be+
trayed the South African Po- !

lice, and this constituted a vic-
tory for the ANC.

PAC spokesman Mark Shin-
ners .said the PAC was not
bound by the historic agree-
ment and would continue with
its armed struggle. ' -

Democratic Party (DP) co-
leader Dr Denis Worrall said
the Pretoria Minute was â\200\234a
very welcome developmentâ\200\235
which would bring real consti-

â\200\230 tutional negotiations evenâ\200\231
' closer. %

. _The Johannesburg-based

i: Five Freedoms Forum (FFF).
also hailed the Minute, saying it
. was made possible by conces-
,sions on both sides.

The chairman of the Minis-
,tersâ\200\231 Council in the House of
. Delegates, Dr JN Reddy, de-

Â« scribed the accord as a very
significant step towards peace
_and stability. . X

" "Archbishop Desmond Tutuâ\200\231

s\â\200\230gonm_\znded the ANC â\200\234very

â\200\230'warm."*.and warned the fiov.

~*ernment â\200\234very sharplyâ\200\235 tuat if
it did not control the police, the
prospects for a negotiated set-
tlement would be wrecked.

Unity (Az
Ntsie Moh

Azanian Natio

anyu) vice-pre
loai said it was not .

affected by the agreement.

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* " Shaking o "
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> | Nelson Mandela
of talks. The AN

is morning after 16 hours
A'soid it had suspended o:l

i . ,ainst the Government,
: GC'IO\ :G\ ; , 'O negotiations abqut the

ing th
PR end of apartheid.

@ Pretoria accord is a milestone

ANC agrees to lay down
AR - RA %) i

. Yes by the end of this :
. Political Correspondent 4 had to arm S

@ Constitutional talk

start soon

The committed offences on the assumption that a particular cause was being . Where cases had to be dealt with
on : s . . | served or opposed . . on an individual basis, the process
The ANC is a self-organising committee . The working group is to draw up a would, it was hoped, be co-ordinated
armed actions with immediate effect / plan for the release of ANC prisoners within six months but not later than

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effect, thus accelerating the
pace of negotiations by several
months.

The dramatic decision was announced early today in a joint
statement by the Government and
the ANC after marathon 15-hour
talks in Pretoria.

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, and the granting of indemnity to an

on August.

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No further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its
military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe
will take place, the statement said.

They two parties also announced
that ANC political prisoners would be

released and exiles granted indemnity from arrest in a phased processâ\200\231 beginning from September 1.

The agreement is to be known as the Pretoria Minute.

The ANC and the Government said that, as a result of the agreement, â\200\234the way is now open to proceed to negotiations on a new constitution. Exploratory talks in this regard will be held before the next meeting," which will be soon. :

â\200\234We are convinced that what we have agreed on today can become a milestone on the road to true peace and prosperity for our country.â\200\235

The meeting accepted the final report of a working group dealing with political prisoners and exiles â\200\234who

ANC as an obstacle to negotiations, the Government announced it would give immediate consideration to repealing all provisions of the Internal Security Act that:

@ Referred to communism or the furthering of communism.

@ Provided for a consolidated list.

@ Provided for a prohibition on the publication of statements or writings of certain persons.

@ Provided for a deposit before a newspaper may be registered.

The Government also promised to continue reviewing security legislation to ensure free political activity with a view to introducing amending legislation at the next session of Par-

the lifting of the state of emergency in Natal in the light of positive consequences from this accord.

On suspending the armed struggle, Mr Mandela said the ANC had made a â\200\234very significant concessionâ\200\235.

Dealing with the release of prisoners and return of exiles, the meeting agreed on certain target dates, most

of which should have been achieved

sexiles and will ,r.\epoâ\200\230r,_&before the end

~ ANC gives more than Govt

On security legislation seen by the *
liament, and undertook to consider
April 30 1991.

@ Pretoria Minute text â\200\224 Page 2.

Political Correspondent

The African National Congress
seems to have made more con-
cessions than, the Government at
yesterdayâ\200\231s talks in Pretoria. v s
The main.prize for the Govern-
ment was.the ANCâ\200\231s announce-
ment of an immediate ceasefire. "

For the ANC, the main achieve- :

ment-was the Governmentâ\200\231s deci-
sion to begin releasing its political

prisoners and detainees and in- -

demnifying its exiles and others
against arrest for political of-
fences. B Â¥

These two related issues forrged
the core of the agreement.

But this position represented a
â\200\234significant concessionâ\200\235 by the
ANC in the words of of deputy
president Nelson Mandela, leader
of the ANC delegation.

He said the ANC'â\200\231s official po-
sition had been that it would not
announce a ceasefire until the re-
moval of all the obstacles to nego-
tiations which it had identified.

â\200\234But we came to the meeting
having already decided we would

'*' significant concession.â\200\235

"< Apart from the question of pris-
oners and exiles, the two main ob-
stacles to negotiation as perceived

: by the ANC were the continuing
state of emergency in Natal and
what it called â\200\234repressiveâ\200\235 securi-

: ty legislation. ;

The Government did not lift the
. Natal emergency or give any firm
undertaking to do so.

It stated its familar position

that it would do so as early as possible in the light of positive consequences that should result from this accord.

Nor did the Government agree to a general moratorium on security legislation as Mr Mandela had said he would urge.

. It did agree to give immediate consideration to repealing certain anomalous or rather minor aspects of the Internal Security

Act.

It gave no firm undertaking on more contentious aspects such as detention without trial, but promised to continue reviewing security legislation to give more free-

dom to political activity.

Amending legislation would be introduced at the next session of Parliament.

Political observers noted that the ANC's position before yesterday had been that any ceasefire should be mutual. . !

But the Pretoria Minute makes clear that the ceasefire was agreed by the ANC unilaterally.

All in all, the Pretoria Minute seems rather one-sided. But it might not seem so on closer scrutiny of the ANC's ceasefire.

It is by no means clear what this allows or does not allow.

Police sources expressed concern last night that the ANC's ceasefire in the Pretoria Minute might not have included the formation of underground cells.

Another Government hope that was dashed was that the ANC would provide a firm commitment to suspending its campaign of mass mobilisation, which the Government considers disguised violence.

declare a ceasefire. This is a very

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Heavily armed Inkatha members perch on the roof of the Kagiso Hostel and watch ANC members being escorted away by police. Each side blames the other for the latest fighting, which started on Sunday night. Â® Picture by Herbert Mabuza.

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Death toll risin

By Stan Hlophe and
Craig Kotze

| At least 12 people hav^Â been killed, 16 injured and 57 arrested in Inkatha/ANC clashes which threaten to engulf the West Rand township of Kagiso in a bloody Natal-style conflict.

Informal sources put the death toll in the fighting as high as 30, although police could not confirm this.

The official death toll in the violence rose to 12 today after

police announced another body

had been found. The man had been shot.

Late yesterday the situation was still very tense, with heavily armed police separating the two feuding factions.

This morning, police reported widespread intimidation in the township, with one group preventing others from boarding taxis to go to work.

It's still very tense and we are patrolling intensively. & spokesman said.

Police said a man was shot dead and one wounded in Kagiso when a mob with pangas and knobkerries attacked a police vehicle at 4.45 am yesterday.

Tear gas and rubber bullets failed to disperse the mob and shotgun fire was used. Fifty-

AR R
seven men were arrested when police reinforcements arrived.

Sporadic outbreaks of stone-throwing and illegal gatherings were reported.

At 8.50 am, police came across the bodies of four men shot and hacked to death. At

12.30 pm, the body of a man stabbed to death was found.

A police spokesman said 15 men with stab wounds and one

with panga wounds had been admitted to hospital.

Both sides in the war-torn township have now adopted seemingly uncompromising attitudes.

Both sides blame each other for the latest fighting, which started on Sunday night and continued until yesterday morning. Both sides have refused to disarm and have declared war on each other.

There are fears the violence will spill over into other areas in the Reef, the Vaal Triangle and Pretoria.

A temporary truce was signed yesterday after intervention by the leaders of the two warring factions. This led to ANC supporters reluctantly agreeing to move out of their hostel under police escort.

The Kagiso clash is the latest

round in an escalating Inkatha/ANC war in the Transvaal. Last month 22 people died in clashes between the two in Sebokeng near Vereeniging.

The Star spoke to both heavily armed sides in the conflict.

ANC supporters say:

â\200\234We were attacked by a group of Zulus, who are all Inkatha members, for no apparent reason.

â\200\234They have told us in no uncertain terms that we are Xhosas and they will not be ruled by the Xhosas. We were told by the Zulus as early as last week that we are going to die.

â\200\234On our arrival at the hostel on Sunday night we were met with a strong impi and a war cry of â\200\230Usuthu! Usuthu! and they were all over us.

â\200\234We ran helter skelter to the nearest bushes for safety. There we spent the night. Now we have been forced out of the hostel by Inkatha members, but we shall return.â\200\235

Inkatha supporters say:

â\200\234We have done nothing wrong.
ANC supporters have been arm-
ing themselves and told us we
must join the ANC. They said
our chief (Mangosuthu Buthele-
zi) and king (Goodwill Zwelith-
ini) are puppets

â\200\234They bluntly told us to go
back to Natal. We were told we
would be forced to leave the
township like our colleagues
from Sebokeng.

â\200\234The ANC says there is only
one king and that is Mandela.
They said Inkatha had no right
to exist.â\200\235

The Inkatha West Rand Regional
secretary says:
â\200\234This is a propaganda war by
the ANC who are attempting to
isolate Inkatha and its people.
â\200\234Inkatha is a peaceful organi-
sation and is on record as hav-
ing called for peaceful negotia-
tions. The ANC is telling the
whole world that it is a demo-
cratic nonracial organisation -
while it is practising the oppo-
site.â\200\235

Issac Genu, convener of the ANC
West Rand Region, says:

â\200\234We are a disciplined organisa-
tion prepared to negotiate for
peace, but Inkatha is gearing it-
self for war.

â\200\234Its members would not agree
to be disarmed and so we will
not allow our people to be dis-
armed.

â\200\234The police have failed to
maintain law and order. Both
police and Inkatha should leave
the area and leave us in peace.â\200\235

g in war-torn Kagiso,

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NELSON MANDELA speaks with some justified feeling about a South African judiciary drawn from the ranks of the white minority sitting in judgment over the victims of apartheid. For 27 years he felt the lash of that system himself: he made that very point about being a black man in a white court, subject to laws made by a white parliament, at one of his pre-Rivonia trials in 1962.

It is sobering to remind oneself that nothing much has changed since then. The judiciary is still all-white; the laws emanate from a white-dominated parliament. Much is about to change, but Mr Mandela's central point about the judicial system remains valid. Even the new South Africa will have to live with the legacy of a largely white judiciary until the educational and legal systems have caught up with generations of inequality.

Blacks remembering the.

past record will find it difficult to trust white judges and magistrates even after the social and political systems have become nonracial. '

Mr Mandela cast severe strictures on the judiciary for

The Star
How apartheid has
tainted the law

(f,

its role during the Government's reign of terror. With rare exceptions, he said, the courts had enforced arbitrary detentions and suppressed liberties even where there was

â\200\230scope to act otherwise.

Again one must agree, although Mr Mandela might have acknowledged that judges do not make laws but apply them. He might also have given credit to the growing number of liberal, pro-active judges who have been exploring new ground in challenging oppressive laws. And it is true to say that before the Government changed course, it tended to close up legal loopholes almost as fast as they were discovered.

On one further point Mr Mandela spoke with unchallengeable personal knowledge. What happens before a trial, he said, often has an important bearing on its outcome. He cited the powers that rest in

the hands of the police, not

only through detention laws, and, pleaded for a more humanised prison system. Improvements in these areas donâ\200\231t need to await the advent of the new South Africa.