

' Freedom! â\200\224
then what?

N ELDOM has history unfurled at so

o breathless a pace. Even for a world
- Yaccustomed to rapid change, 1991
- P will stand out. It featured a full-
. scale international war; a handful of civil
- wars; the stirrings of a new political and
. economic giant in Western Europe; the re-
-~ turn of parts of Africa to basket-case sta-

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_ tus as the world grew weary of blind chari- -
ance â\200\224 in a final puff

~ ty; and the disappe ,
4 Â«fot"elrh'eto'ric â\200\224 of an entire empire, the
- USSR.

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" Closer to home, South Africa set itself on

an irreversible course to a new order and -
Codesa became an ugly codeword for a de-

sirable process: the designing of a demo-
cratic constitution for all South Africans.
â\200\230 If there was one word that echoed
_ through the year now ending it was â\200\234free-
dom!â\200\235. The exclamation mark is as im-
- portant as the word itself, for it signalled a
| {mood of exultancy among many â\200\224 and
= nervousness, perhaps even downright fear,
__among those who stood to lose their privi-
leges. The task of 1992 will be to turn

the slogan into meaningful practice. Itâ\200\231s
HotRqing tabe,casyy i or o B

mmuï-\201um;â\200\230â\200\234evenâ\200\234 leave their own trail
of disturbance. Crying â\200\234freÃ@domâ\200\235 does not
mean the same thing as getting it. Free-

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dom for many is not an adequate substi-

tute for freedom for all. A tyranny of the

majority is no more acceptable than a
. tyranny of the few. The world has not
. seen its last dictator nor even its last

revolution. Many countries stand pre-

cariouly between democratic stability and
chaos. One misstep and all could be lost.
1 That is as true for South Africa as it is
+for the former Soviet and Soviet-satellite

'states. Yet the imminent birth of 1992 sure-
â\200\234ly allows the indulgence of optimism.

Here at home Codesa â\200\224 the Conven-

_tion for a Democratic South Africa â\200\224 can -

. be expected to generate a life of its own.
~Such forums have a way of accelerating
dramatic change even as they appear to
i bog down inâ\200\230laborious detail. It would be a
Â»foolhardy prophet who would stake large
â\200\234sums on where this country will be 12
months hence. : :

__Only one thing is sure: it will be a very
.different place politically from the South
â\200\230Africa we know today. Codesa, we trust,
will help make it not only different but bet-
ter too. The mere fact that it exists at all
makes a grand start to the year ahead.

â\200\234Western Cape must produce

ty leadersâ\200\231

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council would begin a series of

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He said extra-

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leaders of the calibre of ANC

community, the absence of
secretary-general Mr Cyril Ra-
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â\200\234We have realised that urban

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â\200\230restructuring is going to be a

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who could mobilise their com-

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communities around them, accord-
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has failed to
organise.

THE extra-
movement in

Political Staff

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It is true the extra-
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reduced leadership

for the coloured vote between
of a Cyril Ramaphosa

with hostilities between
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the National Party
ANC on the other.

collaboration.

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But there were stumbling

blocks such as the

do not pre-
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swers or solutions. But we be-

believe that when we go to the
Cape Town stood for a non-

documents. They

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negotiating table we must be
intellectually armed.â\200\235

racial and democratic local au-
thority and was ready to start
negotiations on its future to-

morrow.

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f Cape Town, Mr Keegan
said the documents were
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Speaking at a press confer-
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4 a deeply di- communities can miobilise
vided extra-parliamentary said.

74 local authorties,

Once this has been done the

Cape Town, he said.

- Fight for peace

GILL LORD
Television Reporter

THE gloves were off â\200\224 but punches were traded evenly during last nightâ\200\231s live television debate between ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk and both contestants drew blood.

And in the end, the battle between South Africaâ\200\231s rival statesmen was a fight for peace.

The event was unprecedented: never in the history of this country have two leaders of this calibre faced each other in open public debate.

Filmed on TVlâ\200\231s Agenda, the debate took place at the Johannesburg Civic Theatre and was broadcast live nationally, on television and radio, and to the international community.

Electioneering was the obvious order of the day, with both parties out to score points.

Allegations of violence, corruption, inexperience and incompetence flew, but the two talented politicians each emphasised their commitment to peace and building a new South Africa.

Heated though their differences were, they admitted they needed each other.

The debate itself wasnâ\200\231t easy going.

Before the eyes of the world, eight questions were put to them by a team of four panelists â\200\224 Tim Modise of Radio Metro, Ferial Haffejee of SABC radio, SABCâ\200\231s political correspondent Lester Venter and the BBCâ\200\231s John Simpson.

Viewers got what they had been hoping for, with questions covering the central concerns of a nervous pre-election country.

And then the fight was on.

If it had been a heavy-weight title fight, it would have been a points decision.

A sometimes acrimonious Mr Mandela accused the National Party of inciting racial divisions with their disgraced comic book publication. :

He even had one with him, which he held up to the cameras.

â\200\234You should apologise,â\200\235 he demanded.

Mr De Klerk shot back: â\200\234I did!â\200\235

Mr Mandela countered: â\200\234Only because you knew you were coming to this debate.â\200\235

Later, when Mr Mandela announced that if he were State President he would cut his own salary, Mr De Klerk responded: â\200\234If he thinks he can save enough on the salaries of politicians . . . then he is in for a big surpriseâ\200\235.

But at the close, after the two leaders had grasped hands to underscore their joint commitment to the future, one had to concede it was a points decision â\200\224 for peace. :

(News by Gill Lord, of 122 St Goerge's Street, Cape Town) .

&

country with new Nat rap

DAVID BREIER
Weekend Argus Political Staff

VERWOERD and Vorster must now be spinning rapidly enough in their graves to generate enough electricity for Africa and P W Botha's head must be revolving just as fast out in the Wilderness.

For their grim, old whites-only National Party will be rolling through the town centre of coloured Mitchells Plain in Cape Town next Saturday, complete with marching girls, bands, motorcade, balloons, flags, stickers, T-shirts and enough political paraphernalia to contest an American presidential election with a couple of congressional contests thrown in.

The face featured on the T-shirts, buttons and other novelties will be that of the current

leader of the National Party, President F W de Klerk.

And F W will be there in person to wow the crowds with his special brand of new South African rap.

It will be the first mass rally organised in a non-white area by the Nats since they went nonracial about 18 months ago.

The rally represents the first real bid by the Nats to win mass support outside the white community since the NP opened its membership to all races in 1990.

The rally will dwarf anything the Nats have ever held in town.

Mr de Klerk's motor cavalcade, accompanied by drumming and marching bands, will enter one of South Africa's most crowded Saturday morn-

eir sedate white strong- -

ing shopping centres â\200\224 the
Mitchells Plain centre, which
serves the huge township, is es-
timated to have about 500 000
shoppers on a Saturday.

Mr de Klerkâ\200\231s roadshow
promises to be the biggest fun

litical event to hit the Cape.

at general-secretary Stoffel
van der Merwe assured news-
papermen that the Nats would
not take special toyi-toyi les-
sons at Arthur Murray for the
occasion. â\200\234Nor will there be
volksspele,â\200\235 he grinned.

Instead the Nats intend to
win the hearts and minds of
brown Capetonians by giving
them a good time.

Mr de Klerkâ\200\231s referendum
roadshow last month was ex-
clusively for whites, and now
Dr van der Merwe said it was
time to bring it to all South Af-
ricans â\200\224 with interest.

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F W roadshow set to rock

00 BACK TO THE FUTURE:
President De Klerk will
make a bid to win mass
support outside the white
community.

E is not as well
known as other
Umkhonto we Sizwe

luminaries such as Ashle
Forbes or Gordon Webster
â\200\224 it sounds as if he is a
new kid on the block.

But new chief-of-staff Siphiwe
Nyande is a fighting legend and
one of the fastest rising stars in
the ANC army.

His exploits, which include
sorties into Natal and Transvaal,
are still too sensitive to be dis-
cussed outside the MK inner
sanctum. So, too, are the many
attempts on his life.

The full story of Gebuza, as he
is known in MK, may be told
only when a democratic govern-
ment has been elected.

His appointment this week by
the ANC shadow cabinet â\200\224 to
succeed Chris Hani who asked to
be relieved of his duties after be-
ing elected SA Communist Party
secretary general â\200\224 can be re-
garded as a reward for the lead-
ing role he played in Operation
Vula,

â\200\234I knew in 1988 I was being
considered for a senior position.

v

S new boss

munis

The resignation of MK chief Chris Hani to take
tary eneral of

But I was preparing myself for
Vula and that had to wait,â\200\235 he
said.

He is the second member of
the 1976 school of guerrillas to
reach one of the most senior po-
sitions in MK. The first was
Timothy Makwana, who was ap-
pointed personnel chief in 1988.

This weekâ\200\231s announcement did
not surprise MK insiders,

ANC Western Cape secretary
Mr Tony Yengeni said: â\200\234Heâ\200\231s
been high up in the ranks of MK
for a long time and is one of the
most outstanding commanders

of the June 16 generation.â\200\235

Like his predecessor, Mr Nyande has a lot of combat experience and is also a leading SACP activist,

Chris Hanj was, to many, the heart and soul of MK and he commanded the respect of his men.

Mr Yengeni said: â\200\234He'll get MKâ\200\231s loyalty and support. But Chris was very popular ... heâ\200\231ll be missed.â\200\235

Born in Soweto on May 22, 1950, Mr Nyande was expelled by the University of Zululand, where he was studying for a science degree, and did a stint on the World newspaper as a sports reporter before leaving South Africa in 1976.

He returned several times to direct MK operations. One of his most daring exploits was his involvement in Operation Vula, one of the ANCâ\200\231s most ambitious schemes.

Such was the secrecy surrounding the project that only a select few in the ANC knew about its existence.

Mr Nyande and Mr Max Maharaj were Vulaâ\200\231s operational heads. To maintain the secrecy

and subterfuge ANC colleagues were led to believe that Mr Maharaj was in hospital in Eastern Europe, and Africa Confidential reported that Mr Nyande had grown disgruntled with the ANC and had gone to Moscow.

â\200\234They were so wrong. I stole into South Africa under disguise in July 1988 and remained un-

erground until I was arrested at a road block in July 1990.â\200\235

He said Vulaâ\200\231s aim was to establish a more direct leadership presence in South Africa.

His Vula code name was Joe â\200\224 a cover which led South African authorities to claim that former SACP secretary-general Mr Joe Slovo had been part of the Vula command structure.

He was indemnified in March

last year.

He said MK was preparing it-

self to be part of a new South African army,

â\200\234We have been an irregular army for decades. Now we are* transforming ourselves so that we have officers ready to take their place in a new army.â\200\235

He has visited MK camps in Tanzania â\200\224 he declined to name them â\200\224 with ANC national executive member Sidney Mafumadi to explain the changes taking place in South Africa.

â\200\234The morale is high, but our people are concerned about developments and their own future.â\200\235

He denied the ANC had any detention centres. â\200\234Like any army barracks we have people who have transgressed our military code. Their detention is not detention in the sense that we are holding spies . . . they have all been released.â\200\235

Married to MK soldier Sheila, he has experienced the agony of having his wife abducted from Swaziland and interrogated by the security police before being charged.

The Nyandeâ\200\231s have two children. :

Former OAU chairman Olusegun Obasanjo . . . a

post-apartheid SA could compete favour-
ably for capital with leading economies of the world. '

i B > il Plcture:AlfKuma_!o-â\200\230

Flogging the scapegoat

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continue flogging the scapegoat; the point
is that the Images, the assumptions, the -
; ideologicql implications in several letters

recall our formative colonial texts, in
which enlightened European settlers are
seen staving off Africa's savagery.
Possibly this remains a potent justi-
ficatory myth in the white national psy-
che. What a university education should
ensure, however, is a rational, critical in-
telligence preferably tempered by a
sense of justice and compassion. It re-
quires that sensitive issues in a complex
society be treated with circumspection
and flexibility. Whatever the rhetoric of
the press, therefore, Administration
should continue to investigate student
problems in a spirit of reconciliation. As
far as standards are concerned, academic
staff should continue to regard circum-

stances in South Africa as a challenge
to examine and, where necessary, to
modify aspects of both teaching and re-
search. In my own discipline, English, an
interesting result of accepting the chal-
lenge of Africa (to use a convenient
phrase) is the realisation that few of our
students white or black arrive at
university with the necessary skills of an-
alytic thought, with an adequate critical
vocabulary, or with an appreciation of
the nature and function of open-ended in-

quiry. Few have been exposed to the P

world of intellectual ideas or to an under-
standing of the society which has helped
shape their lives. This has necessitated a
thorough examination of our own teach-
ing practices in the light of local and in-
ternational research findings. We have
seen the value of both Western and Afri-

daily life of this volatile society. Such

our graduates. e |
What I hope is that students and gra-
duates from the University of Natal willp &

not be swayed by the emotionalism o
the moment, as has been the case .â\200\230.,4
als, but will translate their insights into.
valuable, democratic practices in tgï¬\201
idea, as reflected in the University of 5
Natal Mission Statement, is recognised

and respected by peer institutions my Â¥
other parts of the world.

Family
scarred

by blast

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By LARRY OLMSTEAD

FrÃ©diPress Africa Bureau

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i
MANZIMTOTTI, South Africa

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i the day before Christmas Eve

19Â°Â\$,5, Dean Prinsloo walked through

the crowds in the Sanlam Center and
into Elliottâ\200\231s Jewelry Store, where his
wife, Ansie, and her sister Aletta were
working. ;

(Prinsloo, with two-year-old son
Bx,â\200\230gdley, had gone to Kentucky Fried
Chicken to buy the women something
to eat. When he arrived at Elliottâ\200\231s, â\200\234I
Walked in and saw it was busy, so [just

Put it down on the counter and walked
out.â\200\235 '

n900n after Prinsloo left, Ansieâ\200\231s

mother, Christina Hogan, 42, and another
sister, Santie, 10, left the OK
Bazaar supermarket at the center and
peered into the window at Elliottâ\200\231s,
seeking inspiration for last-minute
Christmas shopping.

> Lacking the 20-cent piece needed
for Bradley to ride an electric kiddie
horse,
they way to their apartment building,
No more than 100 yards from the
entrance.

â\200\230That just walked in and the bomb
went off,â\200\235 Prinsloo said. â\200\234God, it was
loud. It sounded very much like thun-
der, I picked up the youngster and was
gone like a bullet.â\200\235 .

â\200\224 Shortly before 11 a.m. on

Prinsloo and the tot had made .

", Prinslooâ\200\231s anxiety was heightened

~ because he had learned a few days

earlier that his pregnant wife was
carrying triplets. He reached the long

-ramp leading from the center and

people were running out, screaming
and-shouting, he said. .

_:As I went down the ramp, my wife
came out, Prinsloo said. She was
holding a cloth to her neck. She told me
her: mom and them were still in there,
Prinsloo said. .

. Prinsloo left Bradley with an ac-
quaintance and hurried into the center.
As I walked past the bodies, I got to

~ the shop and saw her mom, he said.

Her mom and Santie were lucky to

- be.alive they had been standing

| about 10 yards from where the bomb
' exploded. Hogan's leg was filled with
shrapnel and she now cannot hear with
her, left ear. _

Santie had a leg ripped open and

| nerves damaged in her hip. Her shoul-
der;also was injured. When you buy a
baw! of ice cream, you know that first
~ sâ¢pop you take, the dent it leaves?Prinsloo said. That's what her shoul--
dex looks like. ! ,
~ Aletta, 16, was hit by flying glass
and shrapnel, but was less seriously
hurt. Ansie, 21, was dazed, but seemed
to,'; ,have suffered no more than a
scratch,]

.. Hogan and Santie each spent about
three months in the hospital, but con-
sidering that five people had died in the
explosion, the Prinsloos thought they
had been fortunate. .

Then on April 8, 1986, Ansie Prins-
log delivered her triplets three rponths
early. She said the premature birth
which is not unusual w'th triplets

was brought on by the trauma of the

explosion, but doctors have said it may
p a Ll

have been a natural oc ce. Two
babi _h,gnrgeville and Bronwyn, died
shortly after birth. Th Â«ï¬\201irï¬\201. Nicholas,
weighed 13 pounds and li
incubator for three months.

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Doctors later found Nicholas was

suffering from â\200\234retinopathy of imma--
turity,â\200\235 a common malady of prema-
ture babies. It means he can't see.

For many South Africans, particu-
larly whites, the highly publicized case
of the Prinsloo triplets have come to
symbolize the horror of the Amanzim-
toti bomb blast and similar bombings
by the African National Congress.

n the Prinsloos and Hogans, those
South Africans see innocent peo-
ple caught in the nationâ\200\231s political

turmoil.

A year after the tripletsâ\200\231 birth,

Prinsloo feels most of those sentiments
himself. Indiscriminate violence is
senseless, he said. â\200\234Thereâ\200\231s a 10-year-
old girl,â\200\235 he said, referring to Santie.
â\200\234What can she do? She canâ\200\231t vote.â\200\235

During an interview, Prinsloo was
nursing a beer on the veranda at the
Beach Hotel, a popular Amanzimtoti
hangout.

You can walk down to the sidewalk
along Beach Road and see almost all the
townâ\200\231s landmarks, the massive new

â\200\234Itâ\200\231s such a peaceful place,â\200\235 Prins-

~ â\200\234The wife, who was pregnant with

loo said. â\200\234This is not the place where triplets and a heart problem, had to
you fight a political war.â\200\235

Prinsloo pointed to several people

on the veranda, friends whose family

-members had been hurt in the blast.
â\200\234Theyâ\200\231ve all been touched, somehow
or other,â\200\235 he said. â\200\234Everybody has
their feelings about it. Theyâ\200\231ll never
forget it.â\200\235

The Prinsloos and the Hogans won't â\200\231t
forget. At the time of the explosion,
Christina Hogan, who is divorced, was
the caretaker of their apartment build-
ing, and all of them were living in her
subsidized apartment.

With Hogan in the hospital, Prins-
loo, who is a material control supervi-
sor for Toyota, the areaâ\200\231s biggest em-
ployer, and Ansie had to take on the job

- of running the building.

Ansie Prinsloo didn't want to work

' again in Sanlam Center, and Elliott's

was closed anyhow because its owner was going through a series of operations after the explosion. For the Prinsloos, money was getting tight and the worries were mounting. ..

Ansie Prinsloo has a slight heart irregularity; the Prinsloos were concerned about the stress of carrying the triplets and the trauma of the bombing. Ansie's mother and sister needed to be visited in the hospital, but the Prinsloos

- did not own a car and Ansie could not

drive. Dean Prinsloo would borrow cars or his wife would take public

. transportation.

apartment building, the Sanlam Center

rooftop parking lot, the modest apartment block in which the Prinsloos and Hogans live.

After the triplets' birth, the Prinsloos were faced with massive medical costs. The leading specialist for Nicholas

- his eye condition lives in Bloemfontein.

The Sanlam Center, an enclosed mall

dug into a hillside near the beach,

is still in business. Security guards now check all bags coming in, and illustrated signs are posted telling patrons to be

on the lookout for mines, grenades and AK47 assault rifles.

Prinsloo, 25, has a pleasant face, but his injury; they could not prove the premature birth resulted from the blast.

wears a mustache, and maintains a rugged build by playing rugby. He recognizes many of the patrons at the bar, sharing greetings or jokes.

tein, about 285 miles from Durban. Nicholas has had three operations and seen the specialist seven times besides regular checkups in Durban.

When the Prinsloos applied for government compensation as terrorist victims,

they were told- none would be

forthcoming. Ansie suffered no serious

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Congress guerilla
bomb. The reporte

take care of everything,â\200\235 Dean Prins-
loo said. â\200\234If it wasnâ\200\231t for the bomb, she
â\200\230wouldnâ\200\231t have had those pressures.â\200\235 i

| Â£

! Ithough publicity about their

case brought assistance from

! the community, that has not
erased the effects of the explosion.,

They cannot forget when the re-

â\200\230minders are ever present. On Nicholasâ\200\231
first birthday â\200\224 a gathering at the

apartment of Prinslooâ\200\231s mother-in-law
â\200\224 family members spoke with two
Journalists about the bombing.

Santie, blonde and reedy, missed a
year of school after the explosion. She
seems a bright, outgoing child, and said
in Afrikaans that her favorite subject
Was history. But her relatives said she
had changed since the explosion.,

â\200\234We used to send her to the shop,
and she'd pick up flowers and give

' them to people sheâ\200\231d see,â\200\235 Dean Prins- |
'loo said. -

- Now, she walks with a limp and has
deep scars on her legs. â\200\234Sheâ\200\231s con-

- cerned about people staring at her, and.
her school work has taken a bit of a
dive,â\200\235 he said. 2

- Ansie Prinsloo, trim and, aÃ©cord,ing

â\200\230to her husband, â\200\234always full of fun and
ideas,â\200\235 said she didnâ\200\231t fee] much like
talking about the blast because it was
the first anniversary of her other chil-
â\200\230drenâ\200\231s deaths. She and Bradley played
â\200\230with Nicholas, now a big baby but pale.

' Hogan was more outgoing, her head
ccocked so she could pick up conversa-

â\200\230tion with her right ear. â\200\234Itâ\200\231s the same
everywhere, terrorists trying to take
over the world,â\200\235 she said.

She said she felt no bitternegs. She
and her family were in the.wrong place

at the wrong time and now had to pick
up their lives and carry on, she said.

â\200\234Did you talk to Mrs. Zondo?â\200\235

Hogan asked, referring to the mother
of Andrew Zondo, the African National
who planted the|

T told her he had, v]

Far right, a woman returns from working in the fields of an ANC farm about 20 miles outside of Lusaka, Zambia. The ANC uses the farm to train South African refugees in agriculture. Right, a recently slaughtered cow is hauled away | to be used for food.

Refugees and Zambian farm laborers sack peanuts.

FW AND MANDELA
MEET SECRE

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. â\200\224
State President De
Klerk and ANC presi-
.dent Mr Nelson Man-

dela met in secret on
Monday, before a ma-
jor announcement to a
special joint meeting of
Parliament today by
Mr De Klerk. :

_ The two leaders are be-
lieved to have agreed on
action aimed at curbing
the spate of senseless kill-
ings.

This could affect the in-
clusion in the negotiation

process of the Pan Afri- |

canist Congress, whose
armed wing, the Azanian
Peopleâ\200\231s Liberation
Army, has claimed re-
sponsibility for many of
the attacks.

African National Con-

gress spokesman Carl
Niehaus confirmed that
Mr Mandela and Mr De
Klerk met near Johannes-
b'urg, for the first time
~since September.

TS AR

â\200\230Mr Niehaus said the
two leaders were joined
by ANC chief negotiator,
Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, and
his government counter-
part, Mr Roelf Meyer,
who have brokered a re-
turn = to multi-party
democracy talks on April
1 after months of dead-
lock.

â\200\234They reviewed the ne-
gotiation process and had
informal discussions
about negotiations, â\200\235 Mr
Niehaus told Reuter.

The Citizen learned re-
liably that the two leaders
held a substantial meeting
on Monday, but nobody
In government was pre-

pared to disclose the nature of the talks or the agenda. '

However, the State President's office announced last night that Mr De Klerk will address a joint sitting of Parliament at 4.45 pm today, followed by an international media conference at 6.15 pm. J

Earlier it was known that the full Cabinet will today discuss the APLA actions and therefore also the government's preparedness to permit the PAC to take part in negotiations while conducting

a campaign of terror.

The PAC is a member of the Patriotic Front, in which the ANC is a senior partner. It therefore seems likely that Mr De Klerk discussed the position of the PAC and APLA with Mr Mandela, before making any public announcement.

The private talks between the two leaders, and today's announcement by Mr De Klerk, will almost certainly have an impact on the renewed negotiation process, due to start at the World Trade Centre on April 1.

In terms of the ground rules that have been formulated for the new negotiations, the leaders of the participating organisations and parties were

only due to meet at a later stage to approve agreements reached in the working sessions.

It seems probable that Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela discussed the almost daily spate of recent attacks on innocent people, which has created public outrage and been condemned by all the negotiation partners, with the exception of the PAC and APLA.

Other political group-ings were last night unaware of today's joint meeting of Parliament, which was only announced after two of the three Houses had already adjourned for the day.

Dr Corne Mulder, a

Conservative Party spokesman* on constitu-

tional issues, expressed dissatisfaction that the leaders of the two parties should have met in secret.

At this point in the negotiations, with a negotiation forum already set up,

the CP asks why the National Party and ANC find it necessary to meet in secret.

Codesa failed because the NP and the ANC in a onesided manner attempted to manipulate the negotiations behind the scenes.

The CP would warn all parties which are par-

ticipating at present in the

multi-party negotiations that according to CP sources, bilateral agreements are again being made by the ANC and the NP.

What makes these meetings and agreements even more suspicious is that they take place in secret.

If the new attempt at multi-party negotiation is already being subjected to secret agreements, it will certainly fail, as Codesa failed. South Africa cannot afford that, said Dr Mulder. :

Mr Schalk Pienaar, CP law and order spokes-

man, called on the Cabinet at its meeting today not to hesitate in taking

action to restore law and order, stability and a climate for economic growth. ;

â\200\234The first essential step is the-â\202-Eabinet must take" is to end immediately all negotiations with terrorist organisations, and to suspend the negotiation process until a climate for negotiation is restored,â\200\235 said Mr Pienaar.

APLA and Umkhonto we Sizwe should be banned, and the security forces should be given instructions to resume both covert and overt intelligence actions.

The security force: should view APLA and MK as enemies whose terrorist abilities should be eliminated. Their leaders, commanders and members should be arrested, removed from society and prosecuted in terms of the security laws.

TLY-

Mr Pienaar said preventive action had become necessary to stop the plague of terrorism.

In the past five days, five heinous attacks had taken place, while four policemen had been killed in the past four days.

The horrible face of terrorism had now been through the Eastern Cape, Natal and Free State to the Transvaal.

â\200\234APLA has declared war and it is the governmentâ\200\231s responsibility to answer it with might and with force. :

â\200\234The blood of the victims and the damage to infrastructure and to personal property is on the account of â\200\230the govern-

The South KffiÃ©an â\200\230Communist

Partyâ\200\231s Secretary General, Joe Slovo, has begun to voice cautious

doubts about aspects of com-

munist i{l the wake of the collapse of socialist dictatorships in Europe. In this article, Michael Oâ\200\231Dowd, a director of Anglo American and Chairman of the Anglo American and De Beers Chairmanâ\200\231s Fund, looks at why socialist systems have failed. It is reprinted with the kind permission of Business Day.

OE Slovo, secretary-general of the SA Communist Party, asks â\200\234Has socialism failed?â\200\235 To answer his question, we

have to decide both what we mean by â\200\234socialismâ\200\235 and what we mean by â\200\234failedâ\200\235. (A

As to the first, it is perfectly clear from the excerpt of his gâ\200\230ager published in Business Day on February 8 that Slovo means the Marxist variety of socialism that used to be known as communism. The followers of this doctrine have always denied that the system practised by Harold Wilson or Francois Mitterrand was socialism, so for our present purpose we can leave that out of account. It has failed as well but that, as Kipling would say, is another story.

Social systems do not fail in an absolute sense as a bridge might fail; for practical purposes a system fails in competition with alternatives. If the huge majority of those who have experienced a system wish to change it, not just in general terms but for an available alternative, then it has most certainly failed.

n that sense, slavery failed and apartheid has failed and Marxist socialism has failed.

Slovo sets out most of the recent evidence of this fact, but the rejection of socialism by those who have experienced it is not a sudden event of the last few months. It was not for fun that from their first inception

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capitalism

â\200\230communist governments denied

genuine elections to their people.
What has happened recently is not

that the people of Eastern Ã©urope

have changed their minds about

Marxist socialism but that for the

first time they have been allowed to

gi)eak their minds. We may recall, as
0

vo does not, that revolts against

the communist regimes in East Ger-
many, Hungary and Czechoslovakia
have at different times been put
down by the Russian army with
great bloodshed.

More people were killed in Hunga-
ry in 1956 than have died in civil
disturbances of all kinds put together
in SA since the end of the SA War,

The evidence that the rejection of

â\200\230'socialism in Eastern Europe is of

very long standing is provided not
e absence of genuine elec-
tions in these countries from 1945
until late last year but by the restric-
tions all of them, excluding Yugosla-
via, imposed on their people leaving
their countries.

The Berlin Wall, which stood not
just around West Berlin but all along
the 1000km frontier of East Ger-

many, was put there at great ex-

pense, both material and moral, to
prevent people from voting with
their feet against Marxism after 5-
million Germans had moved from
East to West Germany because they
preferred to be workers under cap-
italism (and presumably, according
to Slovo, to be exploited) rather than
workers under socialism.

One of the greatest problems for
all Marxist apologists is why no sig-
nificant numg:â\200\230r of people seem |1

want to move from capitalist to so-

cialist countries. Why did the Soviet
Union and East Germany fortify

their frontiers to keep people in
while the US is engaged in a large-
scale but unsuccessful attempt
to keep people out? Why do the 6-
million people of Hong Kong, pre-
sumably, according to 0, exploi-
ted, not all run away to Red China? If
West Germany, with 60-million peo-
ple, could absorb 5-million ees,
surely China, with 1 000- on,
could absorb 6-million? The move-
ment is the other way and Hong
Kong, too, has to keep people out.

Slovo proposes a new and abso-
lutely unprecedented form of Marx-
ism, which adopts a large number of
Hinlt and s ek, DAY soact

. ve spen
their adult lives denouncing as bour-
eois and capitalist: among others,

freedom of speech and association,
freedom of conscience, free trade
unions and multi-party democracy
with regular genuine elections.

Their past criticisms are correct.
These things are capitalist. They
came into existence in capitalist
countries following the rise of cap-
italism, and they have never existed
anywhere in the world except in pre-
dominantly capitalist countries.

Slovo a!p tly still holds a high
â\200\230pinion of â\200\230but it was Lenin, not
Stalin, who in Russia overthrew by
force the only democratically elect-
ed assembly that has ever been held
there (in which his y had re-
ceived about a third of the votes) and
instituted a one-party dictatorship,
suppressed freedom of speech and
worship, subjugated the trade unions
and shot strikers.

In terms of Slovdâ\200\231s new vision, it
would be interesting to know what
Lenin ever did right.

Slovoâ\200\231s startling conversion to
practices, which he -

telnâ\200\230;lâ\200\230?;â\200\230qr' "â\200\234e"ois values puts him back in

e position the Marxists were in
before the Russian revolution, when
socialism was validly criticised as

being mere utopian dreaming. Its

R e

the police force? -

~ Trotsky (no less) said: "When the
~ state is the only employer he who
critics said that it could not work.

The reason why Marxists all over
the world were such enthusiastic ad-
mirers of Stalin is that he proved
what passed for socialism could
work. Stalin produced a quite re-
spectable amount of economic devel-
opment in Russia.

But Stalin produced his results by
his methods, not by means of a multi-
party state, with freedom of speech
and association and free trade
unions. Only capitalism has pro-
duced high rates of growth combined
with these institutions.

What Slovo would have us believe
is that Lenin, Stalin, Mao, Pol Pot
and Castro were just foolish and mis-
guided and that he knows better (that
is, if he really means what he says.
Some of these others also made
promises when they achieved power
very different from their practices
when they achieved it.)

I think rather that they were
merely realistic. They did what they
had to do if they were to secure and
hold power in terms of the Marxist
ideology. The world has seen only
one form of Marxist socialism and
there is no historical evidence what-
soever to suggest that any other
form is possible. ?

There are a number of reasons for
this but I will refer here only to two.
The first is the impossibility of exer-
cising civil rights when the govern-
ment has the monopoly of all forms
of power, including the control of all
media of communication and all
places of assembly. How are the free
trade unions going to fare dealing
with a single monolithic employer
which also owns every newspaper,
radio and television network and in-
deed every printing press, owns
every meeting hall, owns every
bank, so that trade union funds are in
the employer's hands, and is the
landlord of every worker and every
trade union official in his private

does not work shall not eat comes to

mean he who does not conform shall

eat. :
The second, and in the long term
far greater problem, is the stifling of

initiative and progress implicit in
Slovo's hatred of profit.
Profit is what comes about when
anybody creates new wealth by inge-

nity or innovation. One of the most

remarkable things about the 40 years
in which Marxist socialism has co-
existed on a large scale with capital-
ism has been the way in which the
socialist world was parasitic on the
capitalist world.

~ The Soviet Union and Tanzania
had to be fed with capitalist food.
For years the governments of Po-
land and other East European coun-
tries were kept afloat by loans from
Western capitalist banks. (Was this
exploitation?) But these facts pale
into insignificance compared with
the way in which the socialist world

- depended on the capitalist world for
dwelling, in addition to controlling

its innovations, following in its foot-
steps, buying, borrowing and copying
its technology.

Without dictatorship and terror,
a socialist state stagnates and be-
comes steadily poorer. This has been
the fate of Yugoslavia which has be-
come steadily poorer relative to all
Western countries, and also to Tur-
key, over the past 30 years.
Yugoslavia has kept going only by
sending large numbers of migrant
workers to West Germany. Presum-
ably, in Slovo's terms, they are ex-
ploited there. Perhaps that is why
they did not go to East Germany or
to the Soviet Union, which would not
have been prepared to exploit them,
But what would have come of
them if nobody had been prepared to
exploit them at all?

If, as Slovo apparently wants us to
believe, the workers of Switzerland
are exploited and the workers of Ro-
mania are not, perhaps exploitation

is not such a bad thing after all.

Frontline states face the heaviest

The costs of sanctions are likely to be heaviest for the Frontline states as a result of their close integration with the South African economy and because their dependence provides South Africa with a weapon that can be used to fend off, or retaliate against sanctions, according to The Economist Intelligence Unit special

the report says the vulnerability of the Frontline states is an obvious obstacle to the imposition of comprehensive sanctions and the question of the impact has therefore

been one of the most contentious in

the propaganda warfare over sanctions. All the SADCC states except

Angola and Tanzania are to some extent economically dependent on

South Africa in Lesotho's case, almost entirely so, the report says. South Africa provides almost 50 percent of the imports of the six landlocked SADCC states and a high proportion of their invisible earnings from migrant remittances, tourism, custom union receipts etc. The continued dependence of the

SADCC countries on South Africa

therefore renders problematical the strategy adopted by them of reduc-

ing that dependence in order to fa-

cilitate the imposition of sanctions, the report says. Predictably, this

has intensified South Africa's determination to maintain, and even increase, SADCC's dependence, as a

way of limiting sanctions or at least of reducing their impact. . T

The study also looks at Britain as the Western economy most heavily

involved with South Africa. It says there is an increasing consensus in serious studies that while the effects of comprehensive sanctions on South Africa on the British economy

are unlikely to be devastating â\200\224 the British economy will not grind to a halt with hundreds of thousands thrown being thrown out of work â\200\224 the results of a total cut-off of trade with South Africa would probably be significant. i

Economic costs are not thÃ© only consideration in calculating the British interest, however. Britain, with its world-wide interests and links, could pay a significant, though

â\200\230not readily calculable, price if it of achieving their state

- were isolated politically Eand _diplo-â\200\230matically â\200\234over this emotive issueâ\200\235.

â\200\234For example, if the question of South African sanctions had been as prominent at the time of the Falk-lands war as it became in 1985-86, it seems unlikely that the UK would have received as much support in the UN as it did without softening its line. Â¥

" â\200\234These broader political consider-ations, combined with the declining economic value perceived in contin-

* ued links with South Africa, are be-

ginning to lead to an assessment that â\200\230South Africa is not worth itâ\200\231 â\200\224 even among some of those who do not want sanctions and do not believe they will â\200\234% orlie&mthe?em

â\200\230 i

| FREEDOM DREAMERS ENSLAVED IN A FALSE BELIEF

| EDWARD Burkes, UK MP of the 18th cen- from battle. The question we must ask our- tises, encourages Or condones systematic

tury, had this to say about the use of force: selves is, what have we as individuals bene- racial discrimination.â\200\235 Where do we stand

Â«â\200\234The use of force alone is but temporary, fitted out of this? Do we hope to benef- it any- then? How is our future SA going to be if at

but it does not remove the necessity of sub- thing in the future? If the answer isno, why this erucial moment we do not give one

~ duing again; a nation is not governed which waste the lives of our brothers and sisters? another a fair chance to air our dissenting

is perpetually to be conquered.â\200\235 These We dream of a free South Africa, free

words of wisdom which were said about 200 from oppression and exploitation, yet we

years ago have alottoteachus. . ourselves have enslaved ourselves in the

Given the number of deaths so far, the use Delief that he who does not agree with me is se lf-deter

" of the process of the law, police interven- MY enemy. Voltaire, one of the greatest poli- for .peaceful a 2

tion and so-called â\200\234Peace Talksâ\200\235, one is left tical philosophers of all tim e, once said: â\200\234I nationsâ\200\235. Where the 1

with no option but to conclude that the solu- disapprove of what you say, but I will de- th reatened, there shall never be peace.

tion lies with you, with me the individual. fend to the death your right to say it.â\200 \235 The ple have the right to self-deter-

We must close our ranks as people, as words of Voltaire say it all in terms of the n. By na ture of this right they freely |â\200\231

| Christians, as the oppressed. We have been freedom that we so desperately yearn for. dete rmine their political status and freely

used for long enough as pawns in the strug- invited to a conference pursue their economic, social and cul@ural

gle for power. Our parents have lost their ed by Lawyers for Hevelopment. Let each one of u s begin to

â\200\230Shildren, children their parents. We have aid about dis- preach] of peace. Human life 15

'had our homes d for what prize? i 3 yle of the more important than gold and silver. Letus

The prizewinners a ; i i d from the latest not be used against our own people. Let us

| They have been enriched, their names glori- draft of Foreign Relations Law of the U.S,, unite under the banner of Freedom in our

'fied and, with our protection, they walk tall ~ which says: Â«A state violates internation al lifetime. Chief

like knights of old, returning victoriously ~law if, as a matter of state policy, it prac- MHLABUNZIMA MAPHUMULO

{ â\200\234yond their homes,
men, the self-styled â\200\234com-
, from
The â\200\234minister descended on
Mpophomeni three hours late. â\200\2341
am here at the invitation of the
people here,â\200\235 he declared, scan-
_ning the ip from the stepsâ\200\231
fits empty conference hall.

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who want to talk about services in
| the town. But it looks to me as if
! le who invited me have been
intimidated into not coming,â\200\235 Mr
Sitl;be said. P fu
i pophomeni, flush with refu-
who had fled Inkatha at-
tacks, stared back.â\200\231 There had
been no invitation, the people
said. He was an enemy who had
called for the â\200\234elixtnilinationâ\200\235 of
opponents, among them anyone
favoured the ANC. The

and to keep the
provoking trouble.

Al

{
â\200\234/Â«â\200\234More than 200 wrote to me |

i| elimination of people. Tm here
| because there has been a breach
| between my government and the
! here for more than five
years. I must look for other means

,â\200\234to make people toe the line.â\200\235
Tempers flared, stones, and
were thrown. For one

) moment it appeared that

â\200\230 homeni would become Na-
| latest bloody battleground.
~ Buf the minister had made his
point,"and with a nod to the po-
lice, he quickly led his warriors

â\200\230 (maief Buthelezi declines to dis-
' cuss. this sort of behaviour. â\200\234It
\would be very wrong for me to
comment. You are wrong to tax
'me on this. I do not know if you
\are telling the" truth,â\200\235 he said.

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From terrorist
to â\200\234born-againâ\200\235
freedom fighter

The Weekly Mail and
other left-wing news-
papers financed with
foreign funds have for
some time been enga-
.cd in a vicious and
politically-motivated
vendetta aimed at dis-
crediting the Inkatha
Freedom Party and its
leader, Dr Mangosut-
hu Buthelezi.

The campaign has its
origins in a specific de-
cision taken by the Ex-
ternal Mission of the
ANC in Lusaka years
ago. The aim was, and
remains, to "expose"
and then destroy Dr
Buthelezi and to then
disorganise Inkatha.
The political essence
of the decision was to
prevent the emergence
of a healthy multi-
party democracy in
South Africa and to
enhance the chances
of a one-party state.

Despite the manifest
failures of the one-
party state both politi-
cally and economi-
cally, the ANC is still
inexplicably drawn to
the system. Like the
toad is drawn to the
snake the ANC cannot
avert its eyes from the
hegemonic one-party
state. The Weekly
Mail and its surrogates
are a key element in
this vicious campaign.
Blinded by partisans-
hip and personal anta-
gonism towards Dr
Buthelezi, the Weekly
Mail has spawned
some of the worst
examples of advocacy
journalism.

The tcchruque emplo-
yed has by now deve-
loped into a set pat-
tern. The unimpeacha-
ble witness produced
is mvarlably by the
â\200\234Vâ\200\231L 1 \1 :"

mission - a criminal
murderer, - mercenary
or "hit squad" mem-
ber. The witnesses
have had a long record
of engaging in deceit
and terrorist acts in
South Africa or abro-
ad.

The moment such a
person indicates a wi-
llingness to participate
in the "exposure" of
the IFP or Dr Buthe-
lezi he is transformed
into a "born again" fre-
edom fighter.

The key factor is "the
affidavit". In the eyes
of the Weekly Mail the
affidavit has been ele-
vated from an untes-
ted pre-trial statement
to gospel truth. The
use of the affidavit as a
tool to besmirch oppo-
nents has been honed
to perfection by the

-African National Con-
gress.

The Weekly Mail is
not interested in the
IFP or its activities.
What is done by mem-
bers of this large mass
movement is not news.
Their national confe-
rences, resolutions, fa-
llies and publications
are simply not news.
What is news is any-
thing calculated to in-
jure the reputation of
the IFP or its leaders-
hip.

The Weekly Mail
maintains a stubborn
silence about those

who for years not only

advocated violence,
but endlessly boast of
the "victories" alle-
gedly won through the
use of violence

negating it

not to be with their

200\230private armies or their

arms caches. But those who, like the IFP, have been the victims of violence and necklacing must, of course, be disarmed and rendered defenceless. They must be shown to be the sole source of violence to boot. That is the morality of the new South Africa a la Weekly Mail!

The left-wing press in Eastern Europe and elsewhere for decades: concocted lies and fabrications against democratic parties and organisations. These democratic parties were described as stooges of the imperialists and agents of the CIA. It eventually turned out that all this was grossly untrue. It was the authors of these lies who were found to be corrupt oppressors of the people. The moment the people had the opportunity to, express themselves in free elections, they threw out the oppressors and their press with them. Decades of false propaganda had proved useless against the truth. The Weekly Mail and its surrogates may yet have to drink the bitter cup of electoral defeat.

"Observer"
Durban

â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

EFighting among rival Zulus'
leaves 31 dead in S. Africa

From Inquirer Wire Services

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa â\200\224
Zulu warriors from two rival villages
battled each other Sunday with bush
knives, spears and guns made of

_pipes in a grudge fight that left 31
. dead, police here reported yesterday.

It did not appear that the fighting
was linked to the anti-apartheid vio-
lence throughout the country, which
has often resulted in blacks fighting
other blacks as well as clashes be-
tween blacks and white security
forces.

Also yest_erday, representatives of a
miners union launched a legal chal-
lenge to the nationwide state of
emergency declared June 12.

_The Zulu battle occurred Sunday
m_ght in the Valley of a Thousand
Hills, about 25 miles north of the city
of D\}rbgn, but police said news of
the fighting did not reach them until
yesterday.

Police were ferried into the area in
two helicopters to separate the war-
riors, who were dressed in tradi-
tional skins, feathers and ankle-rat-

gles and were pattling with
homemade firearms, spears. and
clubs. : :

Capt. Winston Heunis gf the Natal

rovincial police said it appea
that the followers of a chief nam
Gwala attacked a group led by a
Chief Ngcobo from a nearby village
on Sunday night, killing six men 10
retaliation for an attack about a year
ago.

Ngcoboâ\200\231s men cpunterattacked,
shooting and hacking to death 25
men in Gwala's village, he said.

* Heunis said police did not know

when or why the feud began, but
other sources reported that the fight-
ing was apparently linked to a S-year-
old dispute over the murder of a Zulu
clansman in Johannesburg.

Tribal fighting is not counted in
the daily tally of deaths from anti-
apartheid unrest, which has claimed
â\200\234pearly 2,000 lives in 22 months.

In its daily report on unrest, the government's Bureau for Information said yesterday that a black man was killed Monday night after he fired at a police officer patrolling the black township of Soweto, outside .

Johannesburg.

In the union action against the emergency decree, the Natal province supreme court in Durban agreed to hold a full hearing Monday on a suit by the predominantly black Metal and Allied Workers Union. Its officials demanded the release of union leaders detained under the decree and said the government had not defined the types of "subversive" statements banned under the emergency. : 3

Police in Pretoria; mg_anwhi-202e, de-
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"killed three members of the same union, labor sources said yesterday. Further details and comments from union leaders could not be published

under restrictions imposed on the media under the emergency.

The National Union of Mineworkers was staging strikes and slowdowns at gold mines near Johan-

nesburg and the diamond center of

| Kimberley to protest the detention of
* union leaders.

An estimated 10,000 workers have taken part in the strikes and slowdowns, which began late last week. - : \/

R N S

- FW gives fresh impetus to t

THE observer of SA's great political drama can be forgiven his preoccupation with often laced with frustration at their slow progress with the deliberations between government and the ANC.

But these deliberations have in the -

past year obscured a greater change, a revolution, in government itself. This revolution is creating a completely new economic order, irrespective of the main negotiations.

The new order is seen in the economic reforms President FW de Klerk unveiled on Friday. They include the areas of land, housing, local government, development and industrial policy.

The changes promise to improve the lives of millions of blacks. They stem from the realisation that a post-apartheid SA cannot discriminate against any of its citizens, and that apartheid resulted in major problems that require redress.

This reform is also underpinned by the need to stimulate the economy. But growth cannot come about where laws forbid access to rural and urban land by blacks, where there are problems of financing land and home purchase by the poor, where local development cannot be funded because of the collapse of black local authorities, and where there is wasteful expenditure within the existing government and devel-

! .
opment bureaucracies.

This is what De Klerk addressed

on Friday. He opened the way for new development by freeing up rural and urban land, by encouraging new schemes for land and home finance, by stimulating the urbanisation process, by putting local authority structures in place to overcome present bottlenecks, by promising a fresh look at social spending within government, and by signalling new industrial policy intended to create jobs through export-led growth.

De Klerk said that the goal was to restructure the economy, ultimately to eliminate existing disparities. He stressed that the private sector had the major role to play, and that the state's role should be reduced to a

minimum.

The scrapping of the Land Acts
later this session will open the way
for blacks to buy farm land in areas
that until now have been reserved
for whites.

This in itself is unlikely to cause a
black influx because, according to
Development Bank chief executive
Simon Brand, other barriers to entry
may still have to be dealt with.

These include legislation (the Sub-
division of Land Act) that sets as the
minimum size of farms an area too
large for the small-scale farmer, and
Land Bank financing policy, which

{'
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KEVIN DAVIE

also discriminates against the small
farmer. :

Brand, in an interview on Friday,
suggested that programmes used in
the past to encourage people to settle
on the land may have to be intro-
duced to stimulate this process.

On urban reform, De Klerk said
the Group Areas Act would go, that
government would give high priority
to providing affordable shelter for
all, and it was taking an urgent look
at innovative financing methods for
the provision of land and housing.

He also said the recent allocation
of R600m by the Independent Devel-
opment Trust (IDT) to allow 750 000
poor people to secure land was of
great significance.

." Government is known to be con-

sidering a new housing policy to pro-
vide a one-off subsidy of a recom-
mended R6000 to
buyers. The well-off would use this
as a down payment on a house,
poorer people would buy a plot of
serviced land. '

The intention is for the IDT to pro-
vide funds (for the poor) in the inter-
im, says Brand; later this will be gov-
ernment's responsibility.

Local government reforms un-

oY a YV) [

all first-time .

veiled by De Klerk are also very important.

There has been no shortage of de-

elopment finance (the Urban Foundation, for instance, has R3,5bn for low-cost housing) but little has been achieved because of problems on the ground.

Progressive black groups have refused to serve on discredited and non-functioning black local councils until their demand for "one city, one tax base" is met.

De Klerk said on Friday that legislation would come before Parliament this session to establish joint structures for black and white local authorities. He said these structures would have legal sanction, meaning they could negotiate plans with development agencies and government authorities. v

The Development Bank has acted as a facilitator for such a forum, the Metropolitan Chamber, which includes Johannesburg, Sandton, Diepsmeadow, Soweto and Dobsonville. The Soweto People's Delegation (SPD) is also represented.

Brand says he hopes the civic associations are included in the new joint local authority legislation.

"This wasn't dealt with in the President's remarks. We have argued all along for their inclusion."

The growing influx of blacks to the urban areas will be associated with

the quiet revolution

an increase in the size of the informal sector, but major moves are also contained in Friday's package to stimulate the formal industrial sector. "

In the first case, the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) will be expected to free up some of its mature investments, which total several billions, and provide more risk capital for new industrial development.

A second thrust this session, as signalled by De Klerk, will be to enhance the competitive ability of ex-

- porters. Recommendations to this

effect are contained in a report on protectionism by the IDC, scheduled for release by government within the next few weeks.

The report, business sources say, calls for a thorough review of protectionist policy to restructure SA industry on a more competitive, export-orientated basis.

In brief, exporters who benefit and add value can expect the highest levels of protection from foreign competition. Exporters of raw products are likely to have their protection phased out.

De Klerk's Friday package adds up to a major restructuring of the present order, even if formal negotiations drag on for years. He has unleashed forces that will radically reshape SA.

THE CITIZEN
[COMMENT |
Bombshell

One year after his bombshell announcement of the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations, State President De Klerk has made another bombshell announcement â\200\224 the total scrapping of the last remaining discriminatory laws, including the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act and the Land Act.

Apartheid, which was dying, is now to be officially dead. g

Since Mr De Klerk has spelled out his aims for a new non-racial South Africa, it was inevitable that he would end all forms of discrimination.

That he has been moving with breakneck speed means it was also inevitable that he would keep up the pace.

That he would antagonise the Right, as evidenced once more by the unheard of walkout of the Conservative Party members during the State Presidentâ\200\231s address opening Parliament, was also inevitable.

The die is cast, however.

The country has been placed on a course that is irreversible, and the Right, unless it can devise a strategy that will force an election, will be powerless to stop it.

Since we have not hidden our view that the State President may be moving too fast, and has not been consolidating his own position within his White constituency, and especially

among Afrikaners, we must say that he has taken our breath away again.

Nevertheless, if one is to look at the new South Africa he is intent on creating, then the ending of all discrimination is not only logical but essential.

He could not, for example, give Blacks the vote without giving them every other right as well.

Mr De Klerkâ\200\231s latest measures will be received with enthusiasm by foreign governments.

The European Community immediately made it known that sanctions will be eased.

The State Presidentâ\200\231s announcements are also

likely to influence the United States to repeal sanctions, since he has met almost all the requirements of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.

However, it is clear that no matter how great the reforms he introduces, they will not satisfy the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and other radical organi-

sations.

F

The ANC wants a constituent assembly and interim government.

Mr De Klerk does not agree to an interim government, but talks of a â\200\234transitional arrangementâ\200\235 to give people outside of Parliament a voice in government.

This suggests the possibility of Blacks being taken up in the Cabinet, but who and on

- what basis remains to be seen. â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224 â\200\224â\200\224
The ANC is playing for power; Mr De Klerk,

on the other hand, is hoping that his democratic changes, particularly the scrapping of

all apartheid measures, will win him support .

so that, in alliance with other moderate parties and organisations, he can beat the ANC at any future election.

It is a long shot, but he obviously believes he can succeed.

The die is cast in another way too.

By its walkout in Parliament yesterday, the Conservative Party has given notice that it does not intend to take Mr De Klerkâ\200\231s reforms lying down.

It has declared political war and will do battle with the National Party.

Mr De Klerk obviously does not care about the White Right, since he hopes for the support of faithful Nats, Democrats, Coloureds and Indians and moderate Blacks (if any are left after the ANC and other radical movements are finished with them).

We believe, however, that Mr De Klerk is wrong to disregard his own people, the Afrikaners, and to the extent that he loses their support, his position is immeasurably weakened.

Nevertheless, if he is to be judged as a Great Reformer, he has more than won his spurs and deserves the acclaim he receives from those who support total change.

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Crime Reporter

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the fires. 3
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police spokesman sajd an assess-
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Ikapa town clerk Mr Kobus Olivier

confirmed that arson was suspected.
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Political Correspondent

THE ANC gave qualified sup-
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Man killed
Natal violence

DURBAN. â\200\224 aÂ¢ least one
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in violence in Natal on Monday, police
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KZP Special Constable K Ntshangage -
was attacked at hig home in Msang-.
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Several shots were fired; hitting him
In the head and chest. He was taken to
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AP spokesman Captain Bala Naidc
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CTOR William Jones's origins as a fundamentalist Baptist preacher from the deep south of the United States are still evident when he warms to his subject. But these

days he's more likely to be criticised for preaching Marxism and humanism than . hell-fire and brimstone. Talk of liberation theology is almost guaranteed to bring the fundamentalists out of the woodwork but Jones arrived at his ideas the same way his critics claim to have arrived at theirs - by taking the Bible literally.

Take the Lord's Prayer. After the invocation, the first request is 'give us this day our daily bread'. Contextualise that: what group of people in society would make their first request to God a request for bread - nobody but the poor people. Rich people wouldn't be: asking God for bread they would already have an extra loaf in the freezer!

If a group of people make a request for daily bread their first request of God what does it say about the society? Namely, that it doesn't even provide them with even the basic necessities of life.

Jones pointed out that more sermons were given on the Beatitudes, as opposed to the less comfortable injunctions that follow. People go through and pick from the text to give a certain social, economic, and political colouring. If you go back and look at the text it says something quite different. Jesus is telling poor people your day has come, your day is right around the corner, it's going to be better for you. . . what does it say

about the rich - forget it! But when I make -

that point people say that's communism and Marxism but it's nothing but the Bible! Jones is Professor in the Department of Religion, and the Director of the Afro American Studies Programme, at Florida

State University. Currently visiting South Africa for a month at the invitation of the Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre, he will be lecturing at universities and seminaries around the country.]

As an ordained minister of the Unitarian Universalist Church he has travelled far from his roots. I started out a fundamentalist Christian and went around preaching biblical prophecy as a teenager - Billy Gra-

ham was my idol. But the more I went .

around preaching biblical prophecy the

-moreI found I was cheating.â\200\235 He realised he was picking and choosing texts to suit his needs. â\200\234People really make the Bible say a number of things the Bible doesnâ\200\231t really say.â\200\235

He also found this approach to the Bible was â\200\234part and parcel of the operation of oppression â\200\224 the oppression of slavery, sexism, and racism. .. so I was forced into a re-analysis of the Bible and Christianity.â\200\235

This re-analysis finds Jones determined to distinguish between Christianity and what he refers to as â\200\234White-anityâ\200\235. The latter having used a selective interpretation of biblical texts to provide Godâ\200\231s sanction for such institutions as slavery and, by extension, apartheid. x .

To emphasise the insidious influence of such a process, Jones related a story told to

him by eminent black theologian Howard Thurman. As a youth he would read the Bible to his grandmother who had been a slave and never learned to read and write. â\200\234Over the years he noticed there were certain very familiar parts of the Bible she never asked him to read. When he asked her about it this was her response: â\200\230WhenIwasa

slave the slave-master would bring ih minis- - %" into power and changing the influence of

ters â\200\224 black and white â\200\224 and invariably

BACKGROUND TO THE NEWS

~ they would read to us â\200\230servants be obedient

to your mastersâ\200\231. She vowed then if she ever learnt to read she would never set her eyes

" on Paul. She never learned to read but

would never let anyone else who was reading to her set their eyes on Paul. Thatâ\200\231s what I mean by White-anity.â\200\235

Jones suggests things might have been different if the slave-masters had taken another biblical passage as their guide. â\200\234In the Old Testament there is this passage in Leviticus about the Jubilee Year â\200\224 it says every fiftieth year all slaves are to be released, all debts are to be forgiven. . . now if the slave-masters had focused on the jubilee passage how long would slavery have lasted? One generation thatâ\200\231s all. But it didnâ\200\231t happen that way because they went

through the Bible judiciously picking only those parts that supported their point of view.â\200\235

According to Jones, even if one takes the Bible as literal truth you have to accept that â\200\234one of the fundamental motifs of the Bible is economic, social, and political liberation â\200\224 the Jubilee Year is a much more central motif in biblical thought than â\200\230servants be obedient to your masters.â\200\231â\200\235

Those guilty of selective interpretation of

" the Bible tend to come from the religious

right in the United States. Until recent scandals involving television evangelists destroyed their credibility, they exercised considerable political clout despite small

. numbers. â\200\234What they were able to do was - pull together a very concentrated single

issue group that then translated that lim-

ited power into a very rigid political agenda,

... people like Reagan utilised this particular religious force for political leverage. Note the consequences of Reagan getting

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ndamentalism to fundamentals

the Supreme court for the next 25 years. We are beginning to see some of the implications of that right now.â\200\235

Jones describes his stance as one of pluralism â\200\224 recognising differences and acknowledging the right to be different on a basis of co-equality. . "

â\200\234Pluralism says you let those co-equal things retain their own identity, their own uniqueness. But, please note, it is arguing for their co-equality.â\200\235 2

â\200\234The environment of the future is going to be one of discyete, different communities affirming their co-equality. That is the important change that has taken place in human history. People at the bottom have been kept there primarily through the beliefs and values they have been socialised into. The wealth of the people at the top has been translated into a power that enables them to control the minds, beliefs, and values of people at the bottom.â\200\235

â\200\234But this is changing â\200\224 I donâ\200\231t care whether you are talking about events in eastern Europe, South Africa, or the United States, or if you talk about feminist liberation or whatever, the people at the bottom â\200\224 even the fundamentalists â\200\224 are arguing for the co-equality of their point of view and a

demand to have a co-equal seat at the parliament table.â\200\235

â\200\234The only way to accomodate this historical trend is pluralism. Every time you find oppression you are going to find absolutism. You are going to find one belief set up as an absolute, as a norm, and that stands in judgement on everything else. You donâ\200\231t have that in pluralism. Absolutism has to be exposed and eradicated if you are going to have any kind of community cohesion in the future.â\200\235

We must try to keep calm. We don't want this

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black Press

LOVE her or hate her, you simply

'ecannot ignore Winnie Nomzamo Man-

dela, the fiery and controversial ANC

activist, the editor of City Press,
Sibiya, wrote in his column, My
ay. :

«Just when we thought she was
about to be written off, the estranged
wife of ANC leader Nelson Mandela
surprised all and sundry and bounced
back into the limelight.

The beautiful one-time mother of
the nation has the guts to make people
sit up and listen whenever she opens
her mouth.

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SIBIYA continued: The shadow of '

Winnie Mandela looms large over the
ANC leadership. She may not be hold-
ing a leadership position within the

' movement but she acts like a leader.

People still flock to her for advice on

| any problem they may have.

According to reliable sources, her support on the ground is growing by leaps and bounds, to the embarrassment of some ANC members. .

«Come election time, many will be surprised at Winnie's following. As I said before, you simply cannot ignore her.

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tq spoil a beautiful friendship!

«WE WELCOME the Johannesburg ~ "wro vwe w5~

City Council's decision to take over the provision of municipal services in Soweto, Sowetan said.

«This should be the first step to unifying Johannesburg and its black sister city. It should also be a pointer to the route which must be taken by the Government it should now start dismantling its homelands, independent or self-governing.

«If the corruption in the black town councils warranted the drastic action taken by the Transvaal Provincial Administration, that in the homelands needs doubly drastic steps.

BLESSED are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven.
(Mt 5:3)

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Ikapa town clerk Mr Kobus Olivier

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Political Correspondent

THE ANC gave qualified support yesterday to the proposal
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Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi
should jointly address peace
rallies to combat violence,
The ANC was responding to a
areas.

â\200\234The ANC has no objection in

brinciple to the ANC and IFP
addressing joint rallies, but
Such events should be part of a
comprehensive approach currently under discussion,â\200\235 it
said in a statement.

C and IFP delegations,
headed by Mr Jacob Zuma and
Dr Frank Mdlalose, have been

olding a series of Preparatory

- discussions to pave the way for
a meeting of the two leaders.

Chief Buthelezi told a rally in

rallies +

Natal at the weekend that he
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cessity for these meetings,
ing he
ANC leader â\200\234tomorrowâ\200\235â\200\231 to
combat violence.

He said he knew that if he
and Mr Mandela went from one
strife-torn area to another to
pPromote peace from the same
platform, a massive movement
for peace would arise from
their actions,

However, reports from London
yesterday suggested that

Chief Buthelezi had taken a different line in an interview with Jonathan Dimbleby of the BBC. Asked if a joint appeal by the NC leaders could

Natal violence
AN. At least one person was

DURB
killed and two policemen were injured in violence in Natal on Monday, police said.

Mgwasimu Police said Mr Bonginkosi |
ble, who, was joined by unknown
people late on Monday night in Kwa-

Makhutha, said of the incident. He said
"KZP Specialist team,

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Was attacked at his home in Msang-

ted murder. R
SAP spokesman Captain Bala Naidoo reported two ambushes on police |
in the Natal Midlands on Monday. Uy ;

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has opposed sanctions, contending
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Inkatha's leader, Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha

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aith for Today
Failure

â\200\230But mine eyes are unto thee, Q God the Lord: in
thee is my trust; leave not my soul destitute.â\200\231

@ | strength and love. Men fail you, you fail yourself, |

Psalm: 141 vs 8.

LIFE, for many people, is one big disappointment
after another. They plan and scheme but somehow
their plans never materialise, and their schemes
fade before becoming realities. Such people know,
from bitter experience, that the valley between
high hopes and their realisation is very deep and
not everyone can find the road across. They remem-
ber when they were inspired by noble ideals, but
they also remember the people who failed them.
Through no fault of their own they experience bit-
ter failure instead of scintillating success.

When faith has been shattered it is so easy to
blame others, and there may be every justification
for such blame, but what is inexcusable is when
broken faith is used as an excuse for failing to try
again. Other people may push you down, but you
have only yourself to blame if you stay down.

You have to accept the fact that people often fail
you and because of this you make excuses for your
failure, but you are really failing yourself. Refusing
to rise and start again you discard your vision and
become hopelessly despondent.

When the experience of failure is bitter in your
soul and you are thrown back upon the glorious
trustworthiness of your Father God, you will prove

one who puts their trust in
roken spirit and restores the
vision of what life can become when lived in His

but God is utterly trustworthy.

| PRAYER THOUGHT: Divine Father, I believe
fully in Your trustworthiness and live for your
glory. Z % :

TR

\\ e e Vâ\200\230G')1
â\200\230Founders

of Apla

valued
Ppeace. .â\200\231

VUYO BAVUMA
Weekend Argus Reporter

THE Azanian Peopleâ\200\231s Libera-
tion Army was formed by peo-
ple who valued peace and were

prepared to fight for genuine

peace, justice and democracy,
â\200\224 so says Pan Africanist Con-
gress deputy president and
PAC military wing command-
er-in-chief Johnson Mlambo.

Speaking at a lively Gugu-

letu rally yesterday celebrat-
ing the 32nd annivesary of the
Azanian Peopleâ\200\231s Liberation
Army â\200\224 which controls the
PAC military wing â\200\224 Mr
Mlambo said Aplaâ\200\231s policy was
to attack army and police in-
stallations while â\200\234the oppres-
sors mercilessly shoot innocent
women and childrenâ\200\235.

In its early daKs Apla had
had terrible weaknesses, but
now these had been corrected

by training recruits in several

countries, including Yugoslavia
and Tanzania.

Apla was a potent force that
was continually villified for its

growth in â\200\234quantity and quali-
tyâ\200\235.

Mr Mlabo said the PAC be-
lieved the Kempton Park talks
should facilitate the election of
a democratic sovereign constit-
uent assembly to draft new
constitution.

â\200\234To level the playing field or
prevent the regime from ma-

nipulating the system, we call

for the multi-party transitional authority to take charge of the all security forces, finance and the electronic media and the electoral process.

â\200\234The PAC is definitely unhappy with the Transitional Executive Council Bill which

B sttty â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

gives the regime unwarranted advantage in defence and secu-

- rity related issues.

â\200\234This put Apla at a disadvantage,â\200\235 he said.

Another problem was the governmentâ\200\231s refusal to implement a mutual cessation of hostilities.

â\200\234How can we rush to celebrate even before this resolved? We therefore remain opposed to unseemly haste in the removal of sanctions. We have not moved irreversibly towards democracy.

â\200\234We oppose the carving of

our land into ehnic and racist enclaves. This is particularly repugnant since some parties seek to pass certain resolutions which would shackle a democratically elected constituent assembly.â\200\235

Earlier, a 21-strong, unarmed â\200\234task forceâ\200\235 dressed in PAC T-shirts, paraded around the stadium turf amid chants of â\200\234One Settler! One Bulletâ\200\235 and â\200\234Paso By Day! Apla By Night!â\200\235. The â\200\234forceâ\200\235 included

ISICKING TO THEIR GUNS: APLA cadres on the march at yÃsterdayâ\200\231s:Gugul_e'tu"rII. .

Mandela woos coloured 4; voters at Elsies River

chairman Allan Boesak, and

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

THE ANC was determined to fight and win the April 27 election next year, Nelson Mandela told a cheering crowd at an ANC rally in Elsies River yesterday.

â\200\234We have received very encouraging support from all sections of the South African population,â\200\235 he said.

In a clear bid for support from coloured people, Mr Mandela gave an assurance that there was a place for coloured people in the top structures of the ANC.

As examples of such appointments which had already been made, he named ANC national executive committee member Cheryl Carolus, Western Cape

Trevor Manuel, who has a key role in the ANCâ\200\231s economic department.

* Mr Mandela said the NP, on the other hand, did not have any black people or people of colour in comparable positions.

â\200\234The NP is an organisation of the past. It is an organisation already dead and buried.â\200\235 -
-~

He also denounced the NP as a party with â\200\234one of the most

evil records in the history of this countryâ\200\235. Yet that party

was now saying it served the

interests of the coloured people, Mr Mandela said. A

In 1948 the NP had cc;Ã© into power with the help of people of colour. Once in power, however, the NP had removed the

coloured people from the vot-

ersâ\200\231 roll and they had to join
the ranks of the voteless
blacks.

nine women.

- FW may
face a
party |
revolt?{?

M President De Klerk faces a
caucus revolt unless the NPâ\200\231s
negotiators can get agreement
on cast-iron constitutional
clauses which will bind the new
government after the elections.

JOHN MacLENNAN and DAVID BREIER
Weekend Argus Political Staff

DISSIDENTS in the National Party could
make their move within the next few days in
a bid to slow negotiations.

Government officials acknowledged this
week that the party has already begun to
prepare their damage control in advance, |
describing - the rebels as disgruntled- white
MPs dissatisfied at their lack of promotion.

The dissidents could make their move in
the short parliamentary session beginning
tomorrow which is to pass the four transi-
tional Bills so far agreed to at the World
Trade Cegsxz"re talks.

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Senior sources within the National Party
this week â\200\230disclosed that many â\200\224 perhaps a
majority â\200\224 of the partyâ\200\231s MPs would refuse
to vote for the latest draft of the constitu-
tion. Their fear is that it permits an ANC-
domin:fd government to tear up present

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agreements and set up a one-party state.

But there is no danger that the possible
handful of defections could hold up the Bills
as the Nats have the support of the Demo-
cratic Party and the African National Con-
gress in parliament. ;

Divisions in government ranks emerged
into the open at the Transvaal Nat congress
this week when Minister of Law and Order
Hernus Kriel acknowledged he was one of
the â\200\234antisâ\200\235 â\200\224 a term used for virulentlz

anti-ANC Nats seeking an election pact with other parties including the far-Right.

Mr Kriel claimed the entire cabinet were
â\200\234antisâ\200\235. But Deputy Minister of Justice Sheila Camerer said that while she was anti-ANC, she was not one of the â\200\230â\200\234antisâ\200\235 described in a witchhunt currently going on in the Nat press.

It is believed that Minister of National Health Rina Venter, recuperating from surgery, is a member of the â\200\234antiâ\200\235 group in the cabinet. _

Others are Minister of Justice and of Defence Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Local Gov-

-ernment Tertius Delpont, Minister of Home Affairs Danie Schutte, Minister of Regional and Land Affairs Andre Fourie and Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs George Bartlett. â\200\230

Mr Kriel laid down the gauntlet by openly

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- ~-THE CITIZEN

COMMENT |
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THE chefp(ice mvatngaorofihe Boipa-
tong massacre has told the Goldstone Com-
mission that the attack was carried out by
residents of the KwaMadala Hostel.

â\200\234The evidence unambiguously proves that the
residents of KwaMadala Hostel attacked the
residents of Boipatong and Slovo Park on

said.

Thep:marymouveoftheatta&m
nvdxyhkhî\201nandthemc but
â\200\234there was no evidence of Inkatha Freedom
Paxtymvolm It was only hostel resi-

Ma;orDav!knî\202sosadi\202ntmevxhwehad
as yet been found to support ANC dnrges

The ANC produced no evidence yesterday to
support its charges, but its regional leader
sandthe-npmumpmtmnotâ\200\234'hopuled
" the triggerâ\200\235 but why the government had not
the massacre happening.

'Iâ\200\230hcmssacxe,heatî\202ed,hadtobesemnthe
wider context of covert government support
for Inkatha.

'Ihxsnsana:gnmentthatdoesnotholdwater

Either Mr De Klerk, the government, the
policeandthcî\202?weminvolvedâ\200\224or&ey
were not.

And the answer â\200\224 thus far â\200\224 is they were not.

The whole ANC campaign revolving around
the massacre is collapsing.

The ANC used the massacre as an excuse to
break off the negotiations with the govern-
~ment and to pull out of Codesa.

It launched an international campaign to dis-
credit State President De Klerk and the gov-
ernment, acms:ngthemofhavmgahandm
the massacre.

Its president, MrNeIson Mandela, went to the
OAU:s:nmmtmDakartorallysuppoxtfor
his call for a United Nations peacekeep!ng
force.

Atthcfunetalofi\202ofthemassacrevwhms

there were emotional speeches Mr De Klerk and the government of b involved.

: The funeral became a political statement rather than a purely religious burial of men, women and children massacred in a savage attack.

â\200\230But what could it expect when it used the

>AlthoughMrSamRamsamy, the president of

Where there should have been calls for reconciliation, for tolerance, for an end to violence,theowusionwasusedbysomeofthe speakers for tirades against the government.

The ANC deplored attacks on journalists covering the funeral, as well as the necklacing of an IFP supporter.

massacretowhlpupfeelingsinstmdoftrymg to calm emotions?

As if that were not enough, wehavetheANC making the massacre a central issue in its Olympic Games and sports tour climbdown.

the National Olympic Committee of South Africa, says the wearing of stickers and arm-bands, and identification with the cause of â\200\234Peace and Democracyâ\200\235, were the brainchild of the local sports bodies and not the African National Congress, we doubt very much that the ANC did not have a hand in it.

Mr Ramsamy says he is not an ANC member, he has identified himself closely with the ANC views ever since his return to South Africa. - ;

'Iâ\200\230heNatxmllandOlympncSponaConyeu , an affiliate of the ANC, the SA Football Association is in sympathy with it, and the United Cricket Board is its captive.

The ANC, nnsdear,usedthemmacxcto launch a propaganda campaign, here and abroad, against the State President and his government in order to encourage UN inter- | vention, to rally support among the Blacks formassacnon,toforcemvmonsports bodies and to seize the political mmatlve â\200\234which it had lost to Mr De Klerk.

ItwxllnÂ«:vel'apobgnseforfalselzattaclnngMrq DeKlerkandthegovemmen!oradmltthat ltusedthetrag|cmmauâ\200\230eforltsownpohh-cal purposes.

Normntbcdamagelthasuusedbemdone But whether the ANC is a responsible organisation that will not inflame passions or make

recklmandi¬\2011sedalmsmopentodonbt

after its misuse of Boipatong.{ Â¢ Jaduimes

o " â\200\224_â\200\224_â\200\224â\200\224_

LOCAL Economist feels there is a
â\200\234conspiracy of silenceâ\200\235 on the real
agenda of the International Mon-
etary Fund and World Bank in South
Africa. : '

But an official of these institutions say they
wonâ\200\231t force their policies on this country.

â\200\234The atmosphere being created in the country
is that we should borrow from IMF and World
Bank,â\200\235 argues Ben Turok, director of the Insti-
tute For African Alternatives.

Many in this country â\200\224 including senior
economists â\200\224 still talk about aid from the IMF
and World Bank, â\200\234but these are banks, they do
not give aidâ\200\235, he says. -

However, Isaac Sam, an adviser to the World
Bankâ\200\231s Southern African department, says the
two institutions have no hidden agenda. What

they have done is to put their proposals on the
table and it is up to the South Africans to decide.

He says World Bank proposals stem from
studies conducted on the South' African
economy and experiences of other countries
where such policies worked.

There is consensus in this country that the
economy needs restructuring but the debate is on
how to go about it.

Some, like Turok, advocate a conscious deci-
sion to redirect resources to disadvantaged com-

â\200\230munities and less intervention by the IMF and
World Bank in the economy, while others be-
lieve there is no alternative to an IMF-led Eco-
nomic Structural Adjustment Programme.

Some believe the country has enough re-
sources to survive â\200\234harsh medicineâ\200\235, as ESAPis
sometimes called, under the auspices of the IMF
and World Bank. .

. â\200\234That is what former Tanzanian president
* Julius Nyerere used to think. Robert Mugabe in
Zimbabwe once said the same thing as well. But
just ask them how they feel about these institu-
~ tions today,â\200\235 argues Turok.

Skyscraper

He says an economic structural adjustment led
by the IMF and World Bank would only benefit -

the formal sector or â\200\234the skyscraperâ\200\235 as he
chooses to call it â\200\224 leaving the majority of the
people poor.

~ â\200\234Unfortunately, a great majority of commen-
tators in this country have chosen a skyscraper
growth path,â\200\235 he argues. -

On the other hand Sam says the IMF and

World Bank, contrary to popular belief, do not
push countries to take up their loans. They
only mobilise resources to enable poor countries
to develop, arguing that it is amazing that only
Africans complain while Asians and Latin
Americans are willing to go along with the
conditions laid down by the fund and the bank.

A large part of the IMF and World Bank's
income does not come from the debt repayments

"The International Monetary Fund and the
World bank have been accused of a con- - :

- spiracy of silence regarding their agenda

for South Africa. Economist Ben Turok
told Mzimkulu Malunga that we can

make it without them:

Ben Turok ... believes there is a con-
spiracy.

by developing countries, says Sam, though he
declines to specify where the money comes
from, saying that it warrants a subject on its own.

In addition to the mobilisation of resources,
these institutions act as catalysts to build
investor confidence in a particular country by
analysing economic aspects of countries.

ESAP is saying nothing other than you are
living beyond your means, therefore you have to
structure, he says.

If countries apply for commercial loans from
banks internationally, the latter tend to depend
on the attitude of the IMF to determine the
creditworthiness of a country.

Critics of these Washington-based institu-
tions say their ESAPs are nothing else than a

. carbon copy of each other.

Social services become the first victims
together with civil services in the midst of huge
spending cuts by the state.

Though the IMF and World Bank officials are
quick to point out the graduates of harsh medi-
cine in Asia and Latin America, they are yet to
produce a success story in Africa.

People have taken to the streets several times

in countries like Zambia and Nigeria as food

prices and other basic commodities rose and

their banknotes became worthless. .

" Hence, the fund and the bank have a negative

image on the rest of the continent to an extent that
ESAP has been renamed 'Ever Suffering Afri-

can People'. et

Harsh medicine can dig deep into the coffers
of a country. For instance, if a person needs to
change 100 British pounds (about R500) into
Ghanaian cedis, he would probably need a Pick
n Pay sized plastic bag to carry the money.

In Tanzania, for one British pound (about R5)
a person gets 1 500 shillings in return. ;

If you want to know what ESAP has done to
Nigeria, just ask one of the taxi drivers, says
Turoksasei = s

However, he feels South Africa still has a -
chance to avoid ESAP. A proper economic
policy will redirect resources to areas where they
are most needed.

But some officials in the Bank and Fund won't
be battered into submission when it comes to
defending their policies.

- To put blame on the doctor who is trying his
best to resuscitate a dying corpse is wrong, says
argues an official sympathetic to the policies of
the IMF and World Bank. '

~ Both institutions were established after the
second world war. The IMF was established to
help industrialised countries to fight inflation
and stabilise their currencies. Its loans are short-
term. : : ;

The World Bank was established to help Eu-

rope and Japan to recover from the war, hence the

original name International Bank for Recon-
struction and Development.

After the 1950-60s, when more countries
throughout the world gained independence, the
World Bank extended its facilities to those states.

Today the World Bank Group comprises the
IBRD, giving loans to countries in which income
a person is above \$720 a year, the International
Development Association, for poorer countries,
the International Finance Corporation, which
gives loans to private business and the Multi-
lateral Insurance Guarantee Agency, which guar-
antees funds for private sector investment.

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s },_L_,,Â»By Carolyn Dempster
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Elimbet_h plant for a week from next Monday in fur-
ther cutbacks in production in the motor industry.

"_Tms.was announced yesterday by Mr Fred Fer-
reira, industrial relations advisor for Ford South
;| Africa.

)â\200\230 Altogether 6 000 hourly and monthly-paid workers
and staff members are to take the four-day week off

[as part of their annual leave, and will therefore re-
Â¢| ceive full salary for the period, he said.

The step had been taken after â\200\234considerable con-
sultationâ\200\235 with the trade unions when it became obvi-
ous that the company would have to take definite

| measures in the worsening economic climate,

Ford is the second major motor manufacturer to
resort to closure in the wake of a drop in car
sales after the increase in general sales tax and

i fiscal curbs introduced by the Government last
| month,
i Last week, Amecar (formerly Sigma) announced

The Ford Motor compahy is to shut down its Port-

retrenchment of 330 eraployees. Nissan followed with (
a half-hour reduction in the working day at its Pre- \
toria plant and the announcement that 394 hourly and
weekly-paid workers were being laid off.

The same three motor manufacturers were hard
hit at the beginning of the year when more than
2000 employees were retrenched in the five months
to May.

At the time, the retrenchments met with angry union reaction.

+ With the shadow of unemployment still hanging

over hundreds of workers in the motor and components industries, Mr Taffy Adler, branch secretary of the National Automobile and Allied Workers's Union has commented that it was difficult to reconcile that June was a record month for car sales yet July and August heralded the first retrenchments.

He has issued a warning to managements that if they are interested in promoting worker participation in productivity drives, then they will have to be prepared to allow scrutiny of their management and discipline to avoid the highs and lows to which

the closure of its Pretoria plant for a month and the

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the motor trade responds so rapidly.

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â\200\231care-of relatives. after- it hagom :
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It was also suggested that . best.
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- her release â\200\224 g sum: which includes training fees'
' and. the acquisition of two-cattle, a goat and a
white heusfof Mrsmaabwayos graduatx ;

. youngest sisters, Nonhilanhla; (1 and
Ntombezineane (11); were still at school and it wag
â\200\234becoming increasingly difficult fot then- relaĩ-\201m
to help them out.

L â\200\234We all stay with: onr maternnt mndmother

â\200\230people in the house with. only one
breadmner â\200\224 one oI my aunts-who is a- domestic

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Falkiands. She has projected
Lo power 12 000 km into the
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A well-armed
+n entrenched enemy, mili-
f. rv proficie m\ has ;n'Â»â\200\234\â\200\230u]r'r1
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Cwhere, ayainst

sovheaded by marine and
sar connmuandos of J'Iilizuhet,hun
â\200\234flai *ln jl:nâ\200\231 proved the
e i of submarines
by bottling up the Argentine
LY Y, and the poteney of her
!'unv] otutnnumbered Horvier

siveratt. She has discovered
twith thie vest of the mmd

the vulnerability of surface

s lo modern air and mnis-

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tionships with 'hn white Gov-
crument.

Wihat is it that has per-
suaded the Cabinet to visk the
dhienation of Zulu people?
There 13 no clear explanation,
s it @ security concept that
would see Seuth Afrjca guard-

ing the border of a gv rateful
Swaziland rather than one

with Mozambique? If it is, it
scems a scant, short-term
consideration given the facts
thit the ANC, even with Xing
Sebuza in power, already
operatesâ\200\231 fromn Swaziland and
that o Swaziland with a po.('n-

".â\200\230. zi.;"â\200\231he {â\200\224 l""Â»i \:',
would no longer be dcpvn-
dent on South Afriea and
could ecome a target for a

Marxist takeover.

Given the history of the
Natinna] Party it is just as
likely that they simply eannot
see further tus.n thielr ideo-
Jogiesd n and that they
rresistible the prospect
being vid of (he ln.v(ks who
hive in wa. wavnma: and of jur-
ing Swaziland mto their con-
stelli pipedream.

If there 12 more to it than
that, the, Governmeunt should
tadk op. Eaither way, the coun-
try viil hold them responsible
for the consequences of this
foolish idea unless it Is serup-
ped forthwith,

O5es

fâ\200\231fnd

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NOW?

sile atacks. She has stood up
for the principle of democrati(
sell-determination wainst
totalitarian :aggrcssion. The
TUnion Jack is heisted. But
what now?

Britain does not want the
Falklinds., She coninot garri-
son them fore wlâ\200\230, and before
the invasion was negotiating
With Alâ\200\230f,fuz.tintl anywhy. Mag-
u:mimit_v 15 now the best
course, o re-opening of talks
with the Aroentine Govern-
ment (preferably minus Gal-
tieri) â\200\224 and east-iron guaran-
h'r- 15 tn the rights of the

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i.\f L5t Yo

R s LD

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SO Veitics Âçl =35-3vâ\200\230__
.Hâ\200\230U"lul Brs l'w"â\200\231f \\\|]
joire that the Governme: 3

Liad i protection agiunst
imports, but i
is doubtful whether anyvbody
will benetit in the end. The
vublie will be the first to feel
the nupact E!.â\200\230 8 [seems]lâ\200\230\ (â\200\230)l K
prices of - Joeally - produced
clothing start rising shavply.

The industry might enjoy
eveased profits
the currently

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m.tluli\' .md in

mnmupmâ\200\234' Ie-
("(_â\200\231SS}())â\200\231I a few jobs might be
saved for o while. Hu\\(â\200\231\m'
the crunch could come it locsal
manut; retrers lnse their com-
petitive edgn in foreign export
markets. Whit has happened
is & reversal of the free mar-
ket principles the Govern-
ment ckums to have espoused.

| ists accompanying Mr De

. Klerk were sceptical
about the concert. Hap-

SUNDAY FOCUS

tations, F

Peter Fabricius
reports on the
FW de Klerk
European tour

De Klerk est Africai
Mandela est son frere.
De Klerk is African.
Mandela is his brother.
So read the banner

draped across the wall of

the Museum of Man just
across from the Eiffel
Tower.

An unlikely slogan on
an unlikely occasion â\200\224 a
pop concert to celebrate
the new â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230accordâ\200\235 be-
tween President FW de
Klerk and Nelson Man-
dela.

It certainly wasnâ\200\231t
Mandela af Wembley.
There were maybe 200
people in the young, rath-
er bored-looking crowd,
many of them black.

A few jived desultorily
while some kids roller-
skated among them.

But the very idea of a
leader of the hated apart-
â\200\230heid regime being feted
at a pop concert in the
capital of Paris â\200\224 with
its traditional socialist
hostility to South Africa
â\200\224 showed how much Mr
- de Klerk has changed at-
titudes abroad with his
~ moves to liberate South
African politics.

South African journal-

FRANCE â\200\224 Mitterand PORTUGAL â\200\224 Silva

"o,

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} N

IVORY COAST â\200\224 Houphouet-Boigny

SPAIN â\200\224 Gonzalez

ITALY â\200\224 Andreotti

GREECE â\200\224 Karamanlis

N

- pening neatly on Mr De
Klerkâ\200\231s first night in
' France, it frankly looked
like a fix.
But the SA embassy
' here claimed it was not.
It was organised by an
obscure group of expatri-
ate Francophone Afri-
cans called the Mouve-
ment pour le Dialogue
et la Cooperation
(MDC) â\200\224 but that was all
anyone knew about it.

Other slogans of the
MDC were â\200\234Reconcile
| yourselves. Reconcile us.
' Nowâ\200\235 and â\200\234Mandela and
| De Klerk. Africa is
| watching you. Go aheadâ\200\235.

If the concert was gen-
uine it was a sign of a
small but significant shift
;in public opinior.
| There were other
| signs:

Mr De Klerk, chatting
to journalists aboard his
aircraft, said he had been
charmed by the response
of the Parisiens to him
when he encountered
~ them face to face. On oc-
casion tHey had applaud-
ed him in his hotel and
| the local press made
' much of his encounter
with a Senegalese who
wished him well during a
| stroll on the Place de la

| Concorde.

Officials close to him
related, too, that he had
been applauded by mo-
torists who stopped to

stare as his motorcade
sped through Paris.

And he received relatively wide press and TV coverage including an interview on the top TV station TF1, and front page reports in leading newspapers like the biggest daily Le Monde, which also wrote a flattering profile of him.

Le Monde foreign editor Jean-Pierre Langellier dubbed Mr De Klerk a convert whose conversion was more credible precisely because it was gradual. -

Confident
â\200\234He has the calm self-confidence of someone

who has conquered his doubts and is determined

to move ahead without

looking back too often.
But he is a convert who respects his own past. He liquidates apartheid without denying-it.â\200\235

This was all delightful news to the South African party. For one of the main purposes of the visit â\200\224 and the rest of the European tour â\200\224 is to impress upon European public opinion that Mr De Klerk is a new kind of South African leader who is totally committed to a new nation.

Diplomatic sources believe that this shift in European public opinion is crucial if European governments are to change

their policy on sanctions. 7

They disclose that French President Francois Mitterrand indicated that he was willing to lift some sanctions â\200\224 or possibly the scientific, cultural and sports boycott â\200\224 as a gesture to encourage further reforms.

But Mr Mitterrand told

them he was constrained
by French public opinion.

Public opinion is like
a tanker. It takes time to
change its direction.

Yet there is no doubt
that Mr De Klerk gave
the tiller a substantial

shove this week. And it is

clear from the slogans of

the MDC concert, and

from the press and TV
reports, that it is the pre-
viously-unthinkable
image of Mr De Klerk
and Mr Mandela working
together to change South
Africa that has provided
the impetus for the
change. ;

The MDC concert slo-
gans extolling the frater-
nity of the two leaders
evoked the image of the
two leaders at their
Press conference in Cape
Town a week ago, per-
forming their memorable
vaudeville duet. This
image has been firmly
implanted in the Europe-
an mind.

And the Le Monde
profile by Langellier
echoed the theme and
went further. He said
that Mr De Klerk based
his confidence in the fu-

ture on Mr Mandela. He
was convinced of Mr
Mandela's integrity and
would do nothing to com-
plicate his difficult task.

Mr Langellier said Mr
De Klerk believed that
Mr Mandela needed time
to change the minds and
hearts of his troops and
convert them to non-vio-
lence. The bond between
these two men is perhaps
the country's most im-
portant trump card, he
concluded.

Mr Langellier was one
of the top French jour-
nalists briefed by Mr De
Klerk on his arrival.

The SA embassy raved about the profile and no one in Mr De Klerk's inner circle repudiated the suggestion that the president regarded Mr Mandela as a partner.

Clearly there was some truth in the suggestion. Naturally, Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela

are also rivals, to an extent, for the approval of *

the governments and people of Europe.

Mr De Klerk believes that sanctions must be lifted now to boost the socio-economic developments which will smooth the passage of reforms.

And the lifting of sports boycotts especially the French government approval which he sought for an official French rugby tour would enormously boost the credibility of reform

among conservative whites at home.

Mr Mandela's stance on sanctions is less clear. In a radio interview broadcast here during Mr De Klerk's visit, he again praised the State President's integrity but cautioned that France should not change its entire policy because of one man.

- Encouraging

But a week ago in Cape Town, Mr Mandela took a more ambivalent and encouraging line, saying that the ANC would not push for intensification or even maintenance of sanctions if the Groote Schuur minute was implemented and other positive developments occurred.

He will be following Mr De Klerk to Europe next month's meeting

â\200\234Mr Mitterrand between
- June 7 and 9 for instance.

And many European
governments will only
decide whether or not to
start easing sanctions
after hearing him. But
not all governments. The
socialist Spanish govern-
ment has already an-
nounced an end to the
scientific and cultural
boycott, following Brit-
amm, i -

Whatever happens,
there is no doubt that
South Africa is coming in
from the cold â\200\224 or, as Le
Monde put it, South Afri-

ca is in the waiting room
of Europe. For those ac-
companying Mr De Klerk
it was an exhilarating ex-
perience to see public
opinion thawing in the
Paris spring; to see the
magnificent full Republic
Guard snap to attention
with a drum roll and sa-
lute as Mr De Klerkâ\200\231s car
entered the gravelled
courtyard of the Palais
dâ\200\231Elysee for the meeting
with Mr Mitterrand; to
hear ordinary Parisiens
say in some awe, â\200\234that is
the car that Mr De Klerk
is travelling inâ\200\235.

Someone said that in
the Hotel de Crillon â\200\224
overlooking the obelisk
marking the spot where
the guillotine did its
gruesome work during
the Reign of Terror â\200\224
there was a plaque com-
memmorating the fact
that Jan Smuts stayed
there in 1919 to sign the
Treaty of Versailles end-
ing World War 1.

No one could confirm
it but, if it was there, it
would have been an ap-
propriate symbol. For
the memory of Smuts is
being evoked constantly
on this trip. Even For-
eign Minister Pik Botha
pointed out that this
weekâ\200\231s meeting was the
first between the heads

.of state of the two coun-

tries since Smuts.

He was the country's
last statesman of inter-
national stature. Is Mr
De Klerk to be the next?

FW: Revolt talk Â©

By Brilan Stuart and
- Sapa-Reuter-AFP
- CAPE TOWN. â\200\224
Speculation about a
caucus revolt against
the National Partyâ\200\231s re-
form direction was â\200\230â\200\230so
much dustâ\200\235, State
President De Klerk
said as he emerged
smiling from yester-
dayâ\200\231s NP caucus meet-
ing.

Mr De Klerk sald it was
his style to allow full dis-
cussion in both the caucus
and Cabmet - Without

â\200\230so much ï-\202111S1

tinue at the usual Thurs- ing appears to
speculation of defectlons
aimed at making it more

TO PAGE 2

open debates, there could
not be proper decision-
making.

Party sources admitted

" that yesterdayâ\200\231s meeting

produced a â\200\234lively de-
bateâ\200\235 on the measures
due to come before the
present session of Parlia-
ment and related reform
issues, but nobody walk-
edout.

The debate will con-

day meetmg of the NP

â\200\230Yesterday's caucus meet-

FW slams revolt talk

g FROM PAGE 1

difficult for the govern-

Party insiders said the caucus meeting confirmed that the would face only Right-

government

But he added that a re-
newed constitutional debate this week at the multi-party negotiating forum

exercise their powers in ' consultation with the sub-council of the TEC, he said.

ment to gain approval for the four measures on which agreement was reached at the Kempton Park negotiations.

Members of the Cabinet about whom there had been speculation dismissed the reports of Cabinet disunity as non-sense.

Before the caucus meeting, Mr Roelf Meyer, Minister of Constitutional Development, told journalists at a breakfast in Cape Town that no defections - were expected and that the party was standing firm on the direction it had taken.

The government has said that the agreements achieved at Kempton Park are all within the terms of the mandate the NP obtained in last year's referendum.

wing opposition in presenting the negotiation Bills to Parliament and they would all be approved before the end of next week.

Debate on the Independent Electoral Commission Bill could start this Thursday, followed by the other Bills for which the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Danie

Schutte, is responsible â\200\224
the Broadcasting Author-
ity Bill and Independent
Media Commission Bill.

The major measure,
Mr Meyer's Transitional
Executive Council Bill,
will not be debated before
next week. It has still to
be tabled in Parliament.

Mr De Klerk also has
his caucus behind him as
he prepares to meet on
Thursday with Chief Min-
ister Mangosuthu Buthe-
lezi of KwaZulu, leader
of the Inkatha Freedom
Party.

The meeting is seen as
crucial in the govern-
mentâ\200\231s expressed hope of
obtaining the broadest
measure of support poss-
ible for the interim steps,
| ahead of next yearâ\200\231s gen-
| eral election.

Mr Meyer told report-
ers the next six weeks of
democracy negotiations
were critical for the elec-
tion on April 27.

â\200\234Technically, we are
still in a position to ... en-
sure that the election can
take place on the target

date,â\200\235 he said.

in Johannesburg would

â\200\230determine whether the
transition would stay on
track.

â\200\234As far as the content
of the constitution is con-
cerned; we are, in these
next six weeks, reaching
the critical phase.â\200\235

He hoped negotiators
would agree an interim
constitution to allow an-
other session of the out-
going Parliament in
November to ratify the
measure.

He rejected Right-wing calls for a postponement of the election until there was an end to political violence that has killed more than 10 000 people in three years.

Any thought of postponing the election would, in fact, lead to more violence and for that reason we should not even consider that possibility," he said.

Mr Meyer went further

than most government officials when he said the

Transitional ~ Executive Council, which will include seven sub-councils on matters such as law and order and finance, would rein in the White government.

There will be an inter-

. action between the gov-

ernment and the TEC ... an interaction of significance, an interaction which will mean that Ministers, as far as the ob-

jects of the Bill are con-

cerned, will be able to

Mr Meyer said the tran-

sition proposals would not be implemented until there was also agreement on a constitution to see the nation through five years of multi-party interim government.

These Bills will not be

put into operation until there is agreement on the total package and the

total package includes the constitution," he said.

Mr Meyer indicated that a constitutional referendum could be held if some South African political groups persisted in spurning negotiations to

end White minority rule.

But he noted: "I do not |
want to speculate" on this
point, saying the govern-
ment aimed to ensure that
"a broad spectrum" of
parties backed the pro-
posed interim constitut-

ion. 4]

OR South Africa, first

prize would be widely
acclaimed, fair and free
elections on April 27 1994.
The worst possible case
would be to have elections
on that day under circum-
stances where the outcome

is substantially questioned,

both inside and outside the
country.

Between these two possibil-
ities there are a few varia-
tions on worst case outcomes:
Â® To postpone elections be-
cause of the level of violence;
Â® To postpone elections be-
cause of the demonstrable ab-
sence of â\200\234sufficient consen-
susâ\200\235; #
Â® To hold elections in spite of
the levels of violence or the
absence of â\200\234sufficient consen-
susâ\200\235; -

@Â® To explain away a post- .

ponement because the self-
imposed political timetable is
overtaken by an unfinished
agenda.

It is not difficult to give

worst case scenarios a higher-

probability than the achieve-
ment of the first prize. Why?
Because now, six months
away from the date set for
the elections:

Â® Thereâ\200\231is rampant criminal,
factional, political and racial
violence in a highly unre-
solved security situation;

Â® There is still a proliferation
of police and public/private
armed forces pursuing con-
tradictory/diverse/competing
policies of maintaining public
order;

Â® There is a high level of po-
litical intimidation and racia-
l/ethnic outbidding;

Â® Politicians are already
electioneering on issues that
are still primarily the topics

of negotiations, compromise
and consensus, for instance

how to maintain law and or-
der;

With only six months
to go, is South Africa
ready for elections on
April 27? Will free and
fair elections be
possible in a climate
of violence? And will
the results be
accepted? Dr
FREDERIK VAN ZYL

_SLABBERT weighs up

the variables, the
options and the risks.

perception that â\200\234nobody is in
controlâ\200\235, either of the country
or their parties;

Â® That transition lurches
from crisis to crisis and that
ordinary people are being ig-
nored. Peace day on 2 Sep-
tember was a massive indict-
ment of the petty haggling,
posturing and procrastination
of politicians.

In other words, to hold
elections under circum-
stances where they could be-
come a one-off disaster is an

' outcome to be avoided at all

costs. In spite of the tireless
efforts of negotiators, their
political masters do precious
little to inspire us with confi-
dence that this may not be
the likely case. We will not
easily be given a second
chance.

Part of our difficulty is
that we have allowed our
transition to become much
more uneven and turbulent
than it need otherwise have
been. We have confused the
quest for legitimacy â\200\224 that is
a constitution demonstrably
supported by the majority â\200\224

with the need for stability â\200\224
that is how to maintain order
during and after transition.

Worse, we have often
equated the two, l;ln-extend

%

ically solve the problem of
stability. We think that we

need to negotiate conditions

. for legitimacy but not for sta-

bility. This is obvious non-

Ssense. Six months away from

an anticipated election, we
still have:

Â® Five defence forces with
separate chains of command;

@Â® Many more police forces;

Â® At least three armed pri-
vate militia who act like mili-
tant warrior classes for their
own constituencies;

Â® Repeated demands for un-
official self-defence units in
townships in the place of po-
lice.

There is, as yet, no negoti-
ated or enforceable agree-
ment on the status of a po-
liceman or soldier and their
respective roles during tran-
sition â\200\224 and we have the bla-
tant and provocative carrying
of arms by ordinary civilians
without anÂ¥ apparent en-
forceable policy on the avail-
ability and possession of
weapons, of destruction, be
they cultural or otherwise.

In the absence of any nego-
tiated agreement on the
maintenance of stability,
criminals, militants and rac-
ist, radical minorities, black

Â® There is a growing popular
that legitimacy will automat-
or white, have a field day do-
ing whatever they please.

Good folks can only hold thumbs and pray for peace.

In short: legitimacy is the problem of how to satisfy the majority; stability is the problem of how to deal with recalcitrant minorities.

How, in the absence of negotiated stability do we realistically hope to have fair and free elections in six months time in: Ermelo, Hendrina, Carolina, Brits, Umlazi,

Ulundi, Thokoza, Thembisa,

Kathlehong, Bisho, Mbatho and so on? If not, what is to be done?

The TEC Bill passed by the

Multi-Party Forum contains the seed of a possible solution.

Yes, some members of COSAG were not present when it was passed and the right-wing among them grumble

that the Bill itself is a declaration of war. This is a worry

and a flaw. But, for the first time, there is an attempt to address the problem of security/stability by attempting to control or integrate armed and police forces and even to bring about a National Peace Keeping Force.

This, in itself, will not happen overnight and may eat

into the six months before the elections. In any case, this problem is aggravated by politicians already entering into an electioneering mode and hacking away at one another on the stability/security issue itself.

It would be disastrous to prematurely subject the fragile and emerging instruments of stability to the divisive and acrimonious partisan politics of party elections. Especially, with some parties threatening to boycott and even undermine those elections. Worse still, if these new instruments of transitional stability should

themselves become political-
ly controversial in the run-up

- to the elections.

â\200\230In the absence of â\200\2301

any negotiated
agreement on the
maintenance of
stability, criminals,
militants and
racist, radical
minorities, black or
white, have a field
day doing
whatever they
please. Good folks
can only hold
thumbs and pray
for peace.â\200\231

And yet the country desper-
ately needs to test popular,
non-racial participation
through the vote. It would not
only give an opportunity for
grassroots involvement in
transition, something com-
pletely lacking so far, but
also allow us to learn how to
technically administer a mas-
sive non-racial voting process
for the first time.

How can this be done with-
out the threat of failed, dis-
ruptive elections?

The TEC Bill specificall}iy
makes provision for the hold-
ing of a referendum. This
may very well be the way
out. Why? i

Â® A referendum is not as di-
visive as party politics;

Â® Does not focus on partisan
electioneering;

Â® There is no mad scramble
for hall and venues, radio and
TV time;

Â® There is no need for parti-
san canvassing in hostile ter-
ritories where political toler-
ance is constantly put to the
test. It is a much gentler
challenge to the security
forces to administer order
and stability; in fact, it may
be a valuable test run for
them to develop their new
found impartiality. ;

At the same time, a refer-

=5 Magigla i

GARNER THOMSON â\200\230\â\200\234lfv

Weekend Argus Foreign Service

GLASGOW. â\200\224 Nelson Mandela departed from his prepared speech here yesterday â\200\224 where he was given the freedom of the city â\200\224 to warn of the â\200\234grave threatâ\200\235 posed to the negotiation process and democratic elections in South Africa by the formation of the rightwing Freedom Alliance.

â\200\230In the festive atmosphere the president of the African National Congress warned that the forces regresaâ\200\230ted by the newly-formed Freedom Alliance were determined to destabilise the situation in South Africa to ensure that all the efforts of those who have campaigned for freedom and democracy came to naught.

He told well-wishers at Glasgowâ\200\231s Freedom of the City celebrations that â\200\234no one must under-estimate this threatâ\200\235.

But, said Mr Mandela, â\200\234the democratic forces are too powerful to be diverted from their main goal which is to end white minority rule in South Africa. â\200\234The process is irreversible,â\200\235 he said.

It was difficult to move a society from one position to another, and such a goal required â\200\234strength of character, courage, vision and patience,â\200\235 he said. â\200\234Fortunately, there are men and women in South Africa who believe in peace and that nothing will be tolerated in diverting them from the main goal.â\200\235

He said the ANCâ\200\231s â\200\234top priorityâ\200\235 was to the masses in South Africa.

But, he stressed the objective was also to create a South Africa for all South Africans who regarded themselves as part of â\200\234this great transformationâ\200\235.

Ultimately, forces, such as those as represented by the Freedom Aï\201liance, would be defeated. â\200\234People are tired of

violence.â\200\235

Referring to the Freedom Alliance for the second time in the day, he called on its leaders to join the ANC in its vision of a new, peaceful and democratic South Africa.

But, if they refused, and â\200\234even if the ANC stands aloneâ\200\235, the battle for a democratic future would never be abandoned, he said.

Yet it was not all gloom and doom as an exuberant Mr Mandela danced with South African singer Mara Louw and 2000 rain-sodden Glasgiewians at the end of what turned out to be a triumphant ANC rally in the cityâ\200\231s George Square.

. The ANC presidentâ\200\231s tribute to Glasgowâ\200\231s anti-apartheid campaigners was greeted with frequent and sustained applause, despite the driving rain which set in on the long-awaited celebrations.

Earlier, Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s historic visit â\200\224 which caused a few hours of tension for the organisers â\200\224 came close to a complete wash-out as the sky opened in one of the worst downpours experienced here this year.
- Glasgowâ\200\231s decade-long efforts are acknowledged in the ANC leaderâ\200\231s memoirs as having come as a welcome assurance that the world had not forgotten his plight.

-

Wife stops slain
copâ\200\231s funeral

Weekend Argus Reporter :

' THE funeral of a murdered policeman â\200\224 |
with full military honours â\200\224 was stopped |
yesterday by his wife and his motherâ\200\231s suc- |

successful action in the Cape Town Supreme Court. J

The funeral was postponed to Thursday in an urgent application brought jointly by the family and funeral directors Avbob, Human and Pitt. Apart from the fact that 21-year-old Franklin George's wife 'Theresa, and mother, Elizabeth, objected to his proposed place of burial, no other reasons were readily available. \ ;

Constable George, of Mitchell's Plain, died on September 29 when a gunman armed with an AK-47 rifle fired at his patrol van in Khayelitsha. ; :

An urgent application to postpone the funeral was first heard on Friday evening and granted.

A further application for an order to stay the Rule Nisi and the postponement was to

have been heard by Mr Justice Tebbutt yesterday.

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Felgate sold
soul to devil

says Buthelezi

Farouk Chothia

INKATHA Freedom Party (IFP) Jeadar
Mangosuthu Buthelezi accused his for-
mer right-hand man, Walter Felgate,
of selling his soul to the devil by joining
the African National Congreas (ANC).

: S%pa reports his comments came af-
tor Felgateâ\200\231s shock defection to- the
ANC and his accusation yesterday that
Buthelezi was an undomocratic leader
who was holding SA to ransom through
his confrontational style of politics.

In a Network Radio News interview

Buthelezi said Folgate, who he called a -

â\200\234modern-day Faustâ\200\235, was no loss to the
IFP and â\200\234only time will tell at what
price he sold his soul to the dovilâ\200\235.
Buthelezi also claimed that Felgate
had taken three car loads of files â\200\224
â\200\234which he had no rightâ\200\235 to take â\200\224 from
the IFP's Ulundi offices on Wednesday.
IFP national council sccretary Suc
Felgate joined Buthelezi in denouncing
hor ex-husband, saying he had â\200\234be-
trayedâ\200\235 Buthelezi, -
elgate said ho had defected be-

cause he expected the IFP to win only:

1,6% of the vote in Gauteng in the 1999 elections. There was a massive migration of IFP support to the ANC in KwaZulu-Natal's urban areas. The IFP had an unelected leadership which would count against it in the elections. Fefliwe made the announcement at the C KwaZulu-Natal's Durban head office. Under the banner: 'Once ANC, always ANC.' ANC leaders, including KwaZulu-Natal deputy chairman Sibusiso Ndcbele, referred to Felgate as "Comrade Walter". We crossed swords a lot, but there is cross-pollination in politics, Ndobelo said.

Felgate, who was Buthelezi's speech-writer and confidant for about 20 years, was the first white to join the IFP. He was seen as a hardliner who led the IFP into boycotting the constitution-making process.

Felgate said yesterday: 'I want to be part of the new SA; to rediscover being free; to rejoice in our new democracy.'

He said Buthelezi's demands on the

owners of chiefs at local government level was 'holding politics to ransom'. Buthelezi is leading the amakhosi up the garden path. What he is promising them, he can never deliver.

In the IFP he did what his boss instructed him to do. Buthelezi's forces

"decisions on the IFP, Felgate said.

He had been totally isolated last year when he negotiated compromises with the ANC during the KwaZulu-Natal constitution-making process.

Felgate said that. IFP national chairman Ben Ngubane's announcement last week that peace talks with the ANC had been suspended was 'unforgivable'. When I saw the peace process being thrown out of the court by the chief (Buthelezi); together with everything else, it was too much for me.

Buthelezi hit back, saying that when he followed Felgate's advice he paid a high price because it led to his vilification in the media. °

Buthelezi said he did not want to say much about Felgate's commitment to peace, but Felgate knew that he did certain things without my authority.

Sue Felgate said he could not come to terms with his diminishing utility.

to the party, and the ANC would not

Continuod on Page2

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Felgate was
ANC agent

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Mall & Guardian Reporters

Felgate, who defected to the Alyican National
Cungress this week, had been a trusted mem-
ber ofthe ANC's underground who worked alongside
Oliver Tambo and CI Beyers Naude for several yours.
Felgate, who was probably Inkatha's most vocal:
and energetic negotiator, and a stumbling block atâ\200\231
Codesa, sald he could no longer tolerate the lack of -
democracy in the Inkatha Freedom Party.
He claimed he had worked with the ANC beforo
he johu:dinkntha. and this was confirmed by im-
peccable sources who operated n the ANCâ\200\231s under-
ground structures in the JQ_(?WOS and 1970s.
hen IFP leader Chiel
" Mangosuthu Buthe lozl uban-
doned his support for the
ANC, Felgate followed him,
breaking with the ANC. For
. decades, he way intractably '
opposed to the ANC's inter-
nal wing, the United Democ-
* ratic Front and then; after
1990, the ANC Itsalf. Felgato's
former wife, Susan, still

The Inkatha Freedom Party hardliner Walter

Felgate: Spent works for Iuthelezi.
years underground Atapress conference or-
gunisod by the KwaZulu-Na-

' tal ANC this weck, Felgate
announced his reslgnation from the IFP while seated
under a hanner which vead, â\200\234Once ANC, always
ANCâ\200\235. lle said he had not yet informed Buthelezl
about his defection, and saw no need to do so.

He sald the {inal siraw which prompted hls break
with the II'P was the decision by Ben Ngubano to pull

out of the KwaZulu-Natal peace process.

Felgate claimed â\200\234the chiefâ\200\235 â\200\224 Butholezi â\200\224 had rendered the IFP undemocratic, as he took all decisions in the organisation and led the rest of its senior officials â\200\234up the garden pathâ\200\235.

. He denied that he had been involved in IFP hit-squad activities which are being unravelled in hearings of the truth commission. â\200\234I will not be making an amnesty application, What's coming out now was never discussed in IFP structures,â\200\235 he claimed.

The ANC's KwaZulu-Natal secretary, Sipho Geabashe, said he expected more IFP members to follow Felgate into the ANC.

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â\200\234the
cable source, left th

{ THE case against African
National Congress leader
Winnie Mandela appears
to be in the balance, the
prosecution â\200\224 and per-
â\200\230haps the cause of justice
â\200\224 having suffered major
setbacks because of events

' outside the courtroom.

The impact of these events

on the hearing have been so |

dramatic that some obse-
ry-
ers have warned sombrely
that the course of justice is
in danger of being subverted
by the machinations of a
South African-style Mafia.

Mr Justice MS Stegmann is

acutely aware of that peril,
judging by his comments from
the: bench during argument by
Paul Kennedy, counsel for two
state witnesses, Kenneth Kgase
and Barend Mono, who refused
to testify because they were too
afraid to do so.

It was clear by then that their â\200\230
fear of testifying against Mrs |

Mandela had been induced by
Lhe' disappearance of Gabriel
Pelo Mekgwe; he, like them, was
: Ttential witness for the state
and a victim of kidnapping and

ssault, allegedly carried out at

;)

â\200\230Where the course of justice

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uday in the: coorrr\le
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requires the truth, no man has
the right to withhold it.â\200\235 â\200\224
Quoted by Mr Justice
Stegmann in the Mandela trial.

PATRICK LAURENCE

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ANC. Another Lo en
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Melzt(glsve accompalgxggett;i el
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Mono,

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that they believÂ®
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n whether Mr

d their friend

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taken from the mans

! behest of Mrs Mandela in
g]:(â\200\230::mber 1988-January 1989. =
The refusal of.Mrâ\200\234Kgascz aed
Mr Mono to testify thr.eatgne"
the very existence of]95 blClO-â\200\231
the judge said."(â\200\230lThat canâ\200\231t be

"â\200\231 he said.
lerl(alltreg,ustice Stegnllann had e:li;:
lier referred to â\200\234lawless e =
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qegort on the trial: â\200\234A psychosis
JAb

front bench with (l)ju,a,r three re-
ining co-accused.
mge'caglling that the Attorney
General for the Witwatersyand,
Klaus -von Lieres und Wilkau,

' warned that any attempt to
?:gmide witnesses _wouldhbi
met with the â\200\234fullest vigour t :
the law can commandâ\200\235, T e
Times said: â\200\234That stern warning
has been ignored with impunity,
the lawâ\200\231s response has been neg-
ligibleâ\200\231and a mockery is b.eltri\ -g
made of the South African judi-

cial system.â\200\235

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I fter
These cominents came afte
the disappearance of Mt
Mekgwe, who, according to an

â\200\231 â\200\230 3 is will. :
. of fear now surrounds proceed- | W
ings in the wood-panelled court- _ â\200\224
room, number 4E at the Johan-

here
â\200\230nesburg. Supreme Court, w
[I:;rs Mgndela sits demurely ona

disappearance of Mr
M;rkhwewe â\200\224 â\200\230;Ee police believe
there is a prima facie case that
he has been kidnapped and have
opened a kidnapping docket â\200\224
is the most dramatic event to
have influenced court proceed-
mglixt even before that four of
Mrs Mandelaâ\200\231s co-accused, Jo-
seph Sithole, Katiza Cepeku}u,
Mpho Mabelane aqd Sibusiso
Mabuza, skipped bail and went
into hiding. Their reasons for
. doing so are not known. War-
! rants have been issued for their
| arrest. f .
| Their non-appearance compli-
cated the stateâ\200\231s case against

tion of trials. - .

- refusing to testify in a kidnap-

the accused, forcing a separa- .

During preliminary argument
there were hints that the state
may have been hoping for a
â\200\234windfall,â\200\235 that one or more of
.the four missing men might turn
state witness and provide a
first-hand account of what hap-
pened during the alleged kid-
napping and assault of 1988-89.

The effect of Mr Mekgwe's disappearance on Mr Kgase and Mr Mono was graphically spelt out to the court by their counsel, Mr Kennedy.

Before Mr Mekgwe disap-

peared Mr Kgase and Mr Mono were torn between a fear of tes-

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tifying and an obligation to give evidence. Their conflict was resolved and, while still having a residual fear, they decided to testify. But then Mr Mekgwe disappeared and the residual fear became "overwhelming" and reached a state of acute irreversibility. "They believed that if they gave evidence they might suffer the same fate as Mr Mekgwe and, the judge accepted, Stompie Sepei, the 14-year-old boy who was kidnapped, assaulted and, murdered by Jerry Richardson, the coach of the Yan-
del United Football Club, .| |

Mr Kgase expressed his fear simply. Explaining his refusal to testify, he said: "I fear for my life ... I want really want my life. I like my life X

The judge, -however, did not accept Mr Kennedy's argument that Mr Kgase and Mr Modno preferred imprisonment. for the risk of giving evidence for the state. He remarked; "The proof of the pudding is in the eating."

Mr Justice Stegmann had earlier outlined the penalties for

ping case: recalcitrant witnesses and Mr Kgase and Mr Mono fell within the definition. can. be sentenced. to. repeated

'FW must go' callat Boipatong funera)

BOIPATONG. Political and church
leaders at the Boipatong funeral yester-

day were united eir calls for Presi-
dent F W de m&â\230k:â\200\231gf%@_â\200\224Â«.-_1
Crowd of abou people attended

of abou
the funeral here of 37 victims of the mas-
sacre.

â\200\234He (De Klerk) must go0,â\200\235 ANC secre-
tary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa told a
packed stadium. â\200\234He has proved he is in-

wi v g e

Competent and wseless becatise he cailifiÂ¥
â\200\231We A
r phosa m r De Klerk had

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"admitted to ANC president Mr Nelson
â\200\230Mandela he had no power over the police.
The alleged disclosure was made when
the two met for crisis talks-during the ill-
fated Codesa II negotiations.
â\200\234l have no power over these police-
men,â\200\235 Mr Ramaphosa quoted Mr De Klerk

k had not responded to the claim.

e ANC, PAC, Azapo and the South
African Communist Party displayed a pub-
lic unity at the fumeral not seen since the
collapse of the Patrhi\202c Front.

R o t e e

secretary-genera

i\201 having said. By late last night, Mr De

i He urged a summit of the liberation

Jaovements to glg Jstrategy to â\200\234defeat
re 7!

was_ech by PAC deputy

- president Mr
president Mr

; Anglican Archbishop

" veteran British anti-apartheid campaign-

er Aggrey\201 Trevor Ndlovu, lgton.
Mr Ramaphosa emphasised, however,

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the ANC had not given up on negotiations.

ction was not

" Mr De Klerk said yesterday, after
ing a high-powered business delegation,

~\200\224>

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at Znln â\200\234Sinreh

Pretoria rally
to honour king

JOHANNESBURG. â\200\224 In-
timidation and violence are
being anticipated with Mon-
dayâ\200\231s Zulu march in Pre-
toria, according t9 claims
and counter-claims made by
the Inkatha Freedom Party
and the Congress of South
African Trade Unions. :

About 50 000 Zulus in tradi-
tional garb are expected to
march through the capital to
the Union Buildings where
King Goodwill Zwelithini will
meet President De Klerk to
discuss the future of Zulus in
the new South Africa. i

Cosatu said yesterday its
sources in the hostels had re-
ported that â\200\230â\200\230vigilante ele-
mentsâ\200\235 were planning to hijack
taxis and buses to Pretoria and
to violently force people to
participate in the march. It
called on Inkatha to control
any rogue elements.

IFP Transvaal leader
Themba Khoza denied know-
ledge of such plans andâ\200\234a_c-
cused Cosatu of trying to â\200\234dis-
tortâ\200\235 the issues surrounding the
march and toâ\200\231undermine the

: Peace Secretariat with their

Zulu kingâ\200\231s dignity.

â\200\234These people (Zulus) want to
ay respect to the Zulu king.
he IFP will condemn any acts

of violence and would like to
~distance itself of any outcome
of the activities on Monday, â\200\235
he said. g1

Mr Khoza countered with his

own allegations. Inkatha had received information that, Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres and members of African National Congress self-defence units were planning to attack IFP supporters departing for Pretoria at Tembisa's Leralla railway station, he said.

Inkatha had informed the police and asked the ANC to stop any such plotters, Mr Khoza said. :

Both organisations said they had contacted the National claims.

Police spokesman Captain Evan Johnson said yesterday the South African Police would escort marchers to and from the Pretoria railway station

along Bosman and Vermeulen f

Street. | 4

Crowd control at the Union Buildings would be provided by the Kwazulu Police, with the

Internal Stability Division as back-up if needed. i

CEA et ey

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. While the carrying of traditional weapons is to be anticipated, it has been agreed that no illegal firearms be carried, nor will the display of licensed firearms or replicas of firearms be permitted, a joint

| statement said.

day, but added: = if people decide to stay away it is their right to do so . . a a

The IFP national leadership on Thursday dissociated itself from calls for a stay-at-home by Mr Khoza and IFP Johannesburg chairman Humphrey Ndlovu.

j/'_'i;",qpsatu yesterday saiâ\200\230d IFP
/| supportersâ\200\235 had every right to

| march or to stay away from

work, â\200\234Ã@ven though it is not
clear to us what the purpose of

| the stayaway isâ\200\235, â\200\224 Sapa.

SAP/Transvaal Zulu Headman

Mr Khoza said yesterday the |
| IFP had not formalâ\200\230ly â\200\230called
| for a work stz;yâ\200\224away on Mon-

: :

â\200\230ANC issued rifles to
irresponsible SDUgâ\200\231

JOHANNESBURG. â\200\224 African
National Congress-aligned
self-defence units were is-
sued AK-47 rifles the day
before last Sundayâ\200\231s ill-fat-

. ed visit to Katlehong by
ANC general secretary Cyr-
il Ramaphosa and South Af-
rican Communist Party
head Joe Slovo. \$or-7 %,

Counsel for the police, Flip
Hattingh, made the submis-
sion at Gyesterdayâ\200\231s hearing
of the Goldstone Commis.
sionâ\200\231s preliminary inquiry

â\200\230into the fatal shooting of
freelance photographer
Abdul Shariff during the
visit to the East Rand town-
ship.

Mr Hattingh said the police
had witnesses whose names
would be provided to the
commission if required, who
Saw a meeting between the
ANC Youth League and

SDU members on January
8

SDU members were allegedly
told of the visit and then is-
sued AK-47s.

â\200\234I want to submit (from the
video material witnessed)
what an irresponsible and
untrained manner the SDUs
go about their business. One
only has to look at the ac-
tion of SDUs to see that
they are anything but disci-
plined soldiers.â\200\235 b

Video footage screened to the
commission showed several
SDU members firing ran- |
domly at a hostel. :

â\200\234One would shudder to think
what would happen if Mr
Ramaphosa was hit ... the
country cannot afford a sit-
uation that followed the
(SACP general secretary)
Chris Hani shooting,â\200\235 said
Mr Hattingh.

RS LA BRI |

Federations postpone workers's summit

SHARON SOROUR
Labour Reporter-

poned this weekend's workers's summit, at which a possible merger between the two federations was to have been discussed.

Cosatu campaigns organiser Miss Lisa Seftel said it had been decided that further groundwork

had to be done on various issues on the agenda.

The parties decided summit discussions on unity should be postponed to enable meetings be-

4 (Page: 29.1)

COSATU and Nactu have post-

tween the two federations' affiliates to be held.

Nactu general-secretary Mr

- Cunningham said the postponement was not related to

reports that four of Nactu's largest affiliates recently urged that the two federations be dissolved and form a new federation.

He said Cosatu and Nactu would meet on Tuesday to discuss a new date for the summit.

Commenting on reports that Nactu unions in the chemical, construction, food and transport

sectors were unhappy with the political alignment of organised

labour, Mr Ngcukana said the issue had been resolved within the framework of Nactu policy.

Cosatu's alliance with the ANC and the Communist Party would be addressed by Nactu delegates at the summit.

Miss Seftel said the summit had also been postponed to allow

independent unions to take part
in the debate on a proposed dec-
laration of workers's rights, which
could be included in a future con-
stitution.

HOOk

AN urgent â\200\234Save Our Soulsâ\200\235 plea has been made by the magistrate of Ndwedwe, a rural Natal community which has been completely cut off from the rest of the world since the devastating Natal floods.

The entire community, comprising about 100 000 people, is starving and there are also widespread fears that an epidemic from flood-related diseases might break out.

The Ndwedwe magistrate, BJ Buthelezi, estimated that 30 000 people in the north-western district of the area were completely isola-

n n

ted and, therefore, food supplies could not reach them during the entire flood relief exercise.

By LEN KALANE
and CP Correspondent

He said as far as he was aware the only help to have reached the stricken community was a drop of medical supplies to the clinic from the Kwazulu Department of Health.

â\200\234Since then there has been nothing.â\200\235

A Kwazulu agricultral

officer in the district said:
â\200\234What we need is a helicopter, but we havenâ\200\231t seen one here.â\200\235

Buthelezi said he had contacted the South African Defence Force, but because of the continuing bad weather and rains it had, so far, not been possi-

â\200\224

ble for them to bring a

helicopter to the assistance
of the desperate communi-
ty.

Some people had gone to
Montebello Hospital and
others were living at a
school near the Umgeni
River, but examinations
were due to start at the

school next week and he
said he did not know what

arrangements could be
made to accommodate
both the homeless people
and the pupils.

A similarly grim picture
was also painted by Oper-
ation Hungerâ\200\231s Ina Perl-
man â\200\224 who has just re-
turned from the flood-rav-
aged areas of Natal â\200\224 add-
ing that they suspected
that about 45 000 people

â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

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were homeless and starving
at Ndwedwe.

Perlman said that she
also believed that esti-
mates of those homeless in

Natal as a whole might
have been underestimated
by as much as 450 000.

She said: â\200\234What worries
me most is the total contra-
diction in the figures of
those homeless as a result
of the floods. The Minister
of Health and Welfare Ser-

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vices, Dr Willie van Nie-
kerk, reports that 50 000
are homeless.

â\200\234â\200\234The University of
Natal put nine teams into
the affected areas â\200\224 each
headed by a senior archi-
tectural student â\200\224 and they
returned with figures of
500 000 homeless. Our Op-
eration Hunger staff dilli-
gently rechecked two areas
and came up with exactly

the same figures as Natal

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University.

Perlman said that Oper-
ation Hungerâ\200\231s teams nor-
mally fed 110 000 people,
but with the increase of
areas affected the figure
had risen by a further
71:000 people.

Â\$It would be nice if the
Minister could explain the
great disparity between his
homeless figures and those
of the University of
Natal,â\200\235 she said.

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Target

It's open season on Kennedys, and Teddy is a prime target. Headline crowds on headline in the sensational tabloids, each seeking to out-astound the other.

A few days ago the National Insider achieved what must be the ultimate. With this front-page splash headline: 'Jackie's new love Ted Kennedy.' Inside in small type it explained that famed psychic J. Joseph had predicted that the newly re-widowed Jackie Kennedy Onassis would attempt to steal Ted away from his 'beautiful but emotionally unstable wife' -

Yet the Senator provides enough fact to make the fanciful unnecessary.

Now appearing on the scene = with Teddy at Washington nightspots, a theatre opening, on a Florida tennis court, is Page Lee Hufty, aged 28, a blonde oil heiress. Dwelling upon her voluptuous qualities, the cruellest of the gossip columnists also drool over her striking resemblance to Kennedy's wife Joan.

Accident

It's happened often enough before. Kennedy has always had a magnetic attraction for women, and vice versa. The same was true of Jack and Bobby. — Only, with Teddy it seems to show more.

Joan never says much. Once, two years ago, when the gossip surrounding a girl named Amanda Burden was particularly shrill, she did speak. She said she was 'pored to tears' with all the 'so-called illicit romantic' gossip. 'I simply go and ask him about them,' she said. 'That's all.'

Joan Kennedy went in and asked him about

! Chappaquiddick too. It
| was a terrible accident,
| that's all, she announced.
: Others less charitable

wait to ask Kennedy about
it too, and Chappaquiddick
could still end all Kennedy
hopes. What happened on
the tiny island where
28-year-old Mary Jo

'Father's

.. Kennedy aides say he can
do fact, he

to bring. it all out in the
open. {

Others will have to .

his own
start. The

handle it, too,
family, for a

slaughter of his brothers and

other family misfortunes
have left him the father's
to 29 children around the
world. His own children
need particular attention.
At 14, Ted Junior has lost a
leg to bone cancer and is
undergoing long, painful
follow-up treatment.
Patrick, aged seven, suffers
from asthma and requires
regular injections of
adrenalin. The crushing
impact a Chappaquiddick-
smeared campaign might
have on them has hung
heavily on his mind, aides
claim.

But most Kennedy-
watchers agree that the
burden on his wife would be
greatest of all.

Beautiful

Joan Kennedy should be
the ideal political wife. She
is stunning, blonde, open,
generous. At 38, she is still
undoubtedly one of the
most beautiful women in
Washington.

Yet she is crippled by
chronic emotional and drink
problems and for years has
haunted clinics, seeking
help. She knows all about

her problem (after all, she
can read about it in the
papers), and she can joke
about her efforts to find the
right doctors (â\200\230â\200\234Some of

them have been really .

weird, far outâ\200\235 she
laughed), but nothing seems
to have helped much.
â\200\234slâ\200\231ve lost
self-confidence,â\200\235
explained simply. â\200\234Itâ\200\231s easy.
You start comparing
yourself to other Kennedy
women and your confidence
evaporates.â\200\235

Fined

Late last year her
drinking problem spilled
into the open when she was
fined R150 for drunken
driving.

Her problem is
heightened because â\200\230â\200\234the
minimum amount of
alcohol produces the
maximum effect,â\200\235 says one
family friend.

The daughter of Harry
Bennet, a New York
advertising man, Joan had
hardly heard of the mighty
Kennedys when she first
met young Teddy. Placid
and cheerful, allergic to
horses and hopeless- on
water skis, she tried to

my
she has

TED KENNEDY . . . next American President?

with the
formidable clan and got
worse and worse.
â\200\234They do it all so well.
Iâ\200\231m a flop,â\200\235 she moaned.
Ted doesnâ\200\231t help. Friends
claim he hardly treats her as

compete

an equal. â\200\230She is almost:

never alone with him, but
she is always hopeful,â\200\235 said
one.
She tried to fight back in
various ways. For a while
she shocked White House
receptions with see-through
blouses, leather boots and

mini skirts, and then she tried to carve out a small career as a pianist.

A couple of years ago she went to Europe on her own,

JOAN KENNEDY, originally placid and cheerful, found competition with the formidable Kennedy clan too much for her. Today she goes from doctor to doctor seeking aid for her emotional problems.

" with a record

and was pictured dancing at chic places. i ; Very recently there has been tabloid talk of a marriage, of how she and Ted were living their own lives. She was seen about New York with a male companion, a twice-divorced socialite, but at least one reporter openly rebelled against stalking her activities: Leave her alone, he urged his editor. She's sick; her emotional health is fragile. She is fighting back as best she can. She looks refreshed, better than she has for a long time. Leave her alone.

Fear

His - wife is uncertain

- condition has led many to

suggest that if Kennedy ran for President, he would need stand-in support from other Kennedy women. Yet Joan can still, on occasion, appear radiant at centre stage, and it has been pointed out that the one time she had a real chance to assert herself when Ted was flat on his broken back after a plane crash she campaigned and helped to win for him his Senate seat landslide victory. As for one family friend:

After two assassinations,

one airplane crash, three miscarriages; one child with cancer, another with chronic asthma, plus the

clamorous competition of
the Kennedy clan, the really
amazing thing is that she has
survived it all.â\200\235

There is one other barrier
before Kennedy. Maybe the
greatest.

Fear.

Many people believe that
an assassinâ\200\231s bullet is waiting
for the last of the brothers,
should he dare to follow
Jack and Bobby. They argue |
that the lure of the grisly
hattrick would be too much
for someone, somewhere. |
There is evidence to suggest
Kennedy believes this too.

â\200\234] worry all the time |

â\200\234whether Ted will be shot,â\200\235 |

Joan has admitted. And she |

tells of the time on an
airliner when a toy balloon |
burst behind him. ;
â\200\234Ted jumped. So what a
way to live! A child pops a
balloon and my husband |
thinks heâ\200\231s being shot!â\200\235

FOOD

AR W ORI Â£ WEUTCR T RN L e 1
LETTERS TO THE EDITCR
P O Box 56, Cape Town, 8000

' Freeze all prlces for a year

T was recently reported in
â\200\230 your newspaper that the
Housewives League is ap-
| palled at the high cost of food
and the government should do
| something about it. I AM
| POSITIVE THAT EACH AND
| EVERY WORKING PERSON
IS MORE THAN CON-
CERNED ABOUT IT!

My suggestions are as
follows:

. The government should put
a freeze on all prices for a
period of one year and there-
after review the situation.
Other countries have done

A
<

thlS in the past. We should
also try this for a year. Of
course, the government also

w has to play its part by not

voting itself increases as it is

very fond of doing. In fact,
sithe ministers should all take

a cut of 25% on their salaries,
as of immediate effect. Be
like Japanese. They have

done that in their diet. And
look at their economy. An is-,
land the size of Natal, but the
worldâ\200\231s leader economlally

Secondly, the government
should also freeze the petrol
price for a year. The world
oil prices are depressed so

there can be no reason to jus-
tify any increases in the pet-
rol price.

Thirdly, CUT OUR TAXES
by 50% to stimulate savings
and to rejuvenate the econo-
my. We are the highest taxed
nation, per capita, on earth!

T'm interested to hear com-
ments from your other read-
ers on the above. I'm sure
that there must be a lot of
people out there who can con-
tribute much more than I to
the above issue!

MISS AASIYA MOOSA
Rondebosch East

MANDELA

=AVAR e T=Tol JoT:)

ITHIN months of signing

the National Peace Ac-
cord and within weeks of
signing the Declaration of In-
tent at Codesa and in the face
of continuing violence, Mr
Mandela finds it necessary to
journey north to visit two of
the worldâ\200\231s most notorious
warloads.

X His visit to Messrs Arafat

and Gaddafi calls into ques-
><tion the integrity and com-

mitment of Mr Mandela, the
ANC and that of the ANCâ\200\231s
national executive committee
to the aforementioned
processes.

Why does he find it neces-

â\200\230ZONNEBLOEM

Why visit warlords?

sary to visit warloads when

South Africa is movin to-
wards a new future? This |

shows a lack of confidence on
behalf of the ANC with re-
gard to the new South Africa
and proves that they have a
doub{â\200\231 e agenda. :

It is also high time that the

western donor countries took
notice of the ANCâ\200\231s behaviour
and association with i~\2011Ã@ir, the
donor countries enemies, and |

suspended all support to â\200\230the

ANC until such time *as the

ANC denounces their associa-
tion with Arafat, Castro' and

Gaddafi. 5
DEMOCRAT
Claremont 7B

o e AN

P~

"FW on Cabine
â\200\230disclosure

- By Brian Stuart
: and Sapa

CAPE TOWN.â\200\224 No
point was served in the
current political debate -
by â\200\234raking upâ\200\235 events
in the Cabinet sur-
rounding the resigna-
tion of Mr P W Botha
in 1989, State Presi-

Page-2 . . =

dent

Citizen

De . Klerk

yesterday.
Responding

inquiries

said

to The
about '

â\200\230publication of the Cabinet,

i â\200\224â\200\224
L | TOPAGE2

2

FW on Cabine

FROM PAGE 1

minutes, Mr De Klerk
said the Cabinet meeting
was subject to strict secre-
cy.
â\200\234It is disturbing that se-
crecy was broken in this
case. Against this back-
ground, I am not pre-
pared to go into detail,â\200\235
said Mr De Klerk.

Â«â\200\234It is, however, of im-
portance that all of us in-

.. volved were convinced it

was in the best interest of the country, as well as of Mr Botha himself, that at that stage, and at least for a while, he should not continue with his official duties.

Naturally, in such a case, I and all my colleagues attempted to use the greatest possible compassion, and there was concern about his health.

The decision to resign was his own, and no limitations were placed on his making known his decision, or the motivation.

Â«] do not believe that raking up this whole sensitive issue is truly relevant to the present political debate and the chal-

lenges of the future,â\200\235 Mr* De Klerk added.

Dr Pieter Mulder, CP communications chief, said the publication of the Cabinet Minutes might make â\200\234interesting readingâ\200\235. :

However, the announcement a week ago by Mr Botha that he would vote No_in the referendum had had a bigger impact than the CP had expected. The new revelations might, there-

fore, also help some people in making up their minds.

The publication of the minutes had put Mr De Klerk in a precarious light, Herstigte Nasionale Party leader, Mr Jaap Marais, said.

This was especially so because Mr De Klerk had told Mr Botha that he would not start negotiating with the African National Congress. Within months of Mr Bothaâ\200\231s departure, however, Mr De Klerk had started negotiating with the ANC.

* This shocking example

of political immorality
could be ascribed to Mr

t note

De Klerkâ\200\231s reckless digre-
gard of his own undertak-
ings, which undermined
the ethical basis of socie-
ty, and deserved the
strongest censure.

Mr Marais also said Mr
De Klerk was incapable
of adhering to a stand-
point when he was press-
urised. !

â\200\234It is a trait of personal
weakness, which is a clear
disqualification for a head
of government,â\200\235 said Mr
Marais.

The publication of the
details of the meeting
highlighted the fact that
the government could not |
be trusted on these issues.

__Mr De Klerkâ\200\231s conduct
amounted to an abuse of

power which bordered on
a coup.
Such a government

could not expect the loy-
alty and respect of socie-
ty, and a government
which did not recognise
societyâ\200\231s moral and politi-
cal prescriptions created
the conditions for the de-
struction of these values.
â\200\234Mr De Klerk should, |
therefore, not complain if
he is paid back in his own
coin,â\200\235 said Mr Marais.

Dear ir,
SOU
~ that the President has displayed in

>

Africans admire the courag

seeking a mandatÃ© from white SA to
continue pegotiating on their behalf

fora future democratic SA.

It would be â\200\230helpful if President de
Klerk could give SA some indication

. of what he has in mind on this mat-

â\200\230admirabl
the sup

â\200\230minutes are produced

ter, Plan A or Plan B.
AccordmÃ© to Plan A, Codesa is an
ooqgept which deserves
all South Africans
seeking peaceful change. However, it
has many serious flaws. Man South
Africans are not represented there.

' Codesa is operating on a â\200\234runaway
trainâ\200\235 basis, and the secretariat can-

â\200\230not cope

Frequehtly the prevmus weekâ\200\231s

ge on the
day of the next meeting. Delegates
are being allowed no time {o consult
their parties and are being press-
ganged into making â\200\234off the cuffâ\200\235
decisions.

Plan B has the Nats and the ANC
forming an extra-parliamentary
pact. The Nats will deliver de facto
power to the alliance â\200\224 the security

â\200\234forces and control over the parasta-
tals Transnet, Escom etc.

The ANC/SACP will deliver to the

alliance the misguided souls who
still believe in communism. The

extra- parhamentary pact will deter-
mine the power-sharing between the

Nats and the ANC/SACP.

There is a strong and widespread

- belief among many members of the
- public that

resident de Klerk has
plan B in mind, in which case he does
not need Codesa. We â\200\224 the IFP â\200\224
and like-minded delegations, are
then merely providing the facade of

a â\200\234democraticâ\200\235 Codesa.

Perhaps there is a lesson to be
learned from Potchefstroom. Per-

haps President de Klerk is pushing -

Codesa too far, too fast. His wooing
of the ANC may have alienated him
from his electorate, as it may alien-
ate co-operation from the more mod-
erate delegations at Codesa such as
the IFP. ,

The government must allay suspi-
cions that it is colluding with the
ANC behind Codesaâ\200\231s back.

E BENARD
; 11â\200\231-'P delegate to Codesa
: Sandton
ooog l
Dear Sir,

THE plea by B S Ngubane of the IFP

LETTERS

PO Box 1138
Joâ\200\231sburg

yA0[0]0)
ED (D B DIK TR (o L)

. central commlttee â\200\234Buthelezi enti-

tled to his viewsâ\200\235 (Letters, February Seni-autunonons, ditieies. TEe

- Butheleziâ\200\231s claims to political promi-

24) is a valid one. When, however, to
strengthen a claim which needs no

â\200\230 reinforcement, he cites the victory of

N

King Cetshwayo s troops at Isandhl-

wana over the British army, he rings

a bell which should cause more
alarm to Chief Mangosutho Buthe-
lezi than to his detractors.

A History of Southern Africa by
Eric A Walker (p374) records that

after a commission, ruling on a dispute between the Transvaal govern-

ment and Cetshwayo over claims to

the Bloodâ\200\234River Territory, â\200\234gave

Cetshwayo more than he had asked for; Cetshwayo, â\200\230Shaka redivivusâ\200\231 in the eyes of his people, argued he must be entitled to all that had been

Shakaâ\200\231sâ\200\235.

In pursuit of this belief he made a

surprise attack on the British troops

dhlwana, and 800 troops;and

We must allay fears of collusion

as many of Cetshwayo's followers were wiped out (p378).

However, appealing to past victo-

ries is a hazardous venturefor, short-

ly afterwards, Cetshwayoâ\200\231s defeat and submission at Ul

undi led to his

kingdom being divided into many

nences would be enhanced if accompanied by a sense of proportion and a more relevant view of history.

- JACK CURTIS

Norwood

oooo '

Dear Sir,

IN HIS ANAL â\200\234Ja and the West

must both adapt to bridge the cultural gulfâ\200\235 (Business Day, February 27), Charles Leadbeater focuses on Japanese technological skill, industry, and the need for Japanese executives to retire early. He cites Akio Moritaâ\200\231s view that Japan must â\200\234reinvent itself to blend with the prevailing attitudes and practices of inter-

national businessâ\200\235. But he omits the central question of energy access.

This, the embargoing of Japanese oil

supplies, not obscure questions of

Japanese practices or cultural differences, was what triggered Pearl Harbour.

The same pressures are at work again. Only then, it was oil in the Far East that was being embargoed to

* bring Japan to its knees. Now the Arabs â\200\224 a major drag on the world economy â\200\224 are being favoured

against Japanese industriousness.

The tension mounts as the Bush

S s

administration tightens the screws. -

Perhaps as the Goliath of industry, an awesome lonely wer, the US feels it can repeat the mistakes of the past without risk. It lost Korea and it lost in Vietnam. Perhaps the tide has turned with Iraq. The US should bank on that.

War with Japan is not just cultural. The unjust pressures, resulting from support of medieval regimes against industrialised and ad-

- vanced Japan, suggest an old

scenario which it is best not to ignore by emphasising mere cultural issues.

GERSCHOM GREENE
Johannepburg

O While pseudonyms are sometimes acceptable, correspondents should sign letters and give their names, a street address and a daytime contact number. The

Editor reserves the right to shorten letters.

campaigning
de Klerk believes all that
stands between him and a re-
sounding victory in the
March 17 referendum is apa-
ir\202%on the part of voters.

- 'He is only partly right.
Apathy, particularly
among English voters, and
specifically those in the
greater Witwatersrand area,

He was not aware of it, but
rosettes when he visited a

' soup kitchen in Vrededorp on
| his tour
| admitted they were there for

this week candidly

the spread that had been laid
on but would vote â\200\234noâ\200\235.

They were poverty-strick-

| en, so their politicalâ\200\230inclinaâ\200\224

tions were not, perhaps,

is grevalent..

" But there is also a great
/discontent.

. Mr De Klerk and his refer-
endum allies in the Demo-
cratic Party may get a
'suprise on March 18 if they
fail to distinguish between
â\200\230the two.

: What they are dealing with
is not a voter so confident of a
â\200\230â\200\234yesâ\200\235 victory that he will pre-
â\200\230fer to spend the day on the
â\200\230beach, as Mr De Klerk put it
â\200\230to more than 1000 people
â\200\230who came to hear him at the
â\200\230Maritzburg city hall on
â\200\230Thursday.

â\200\230 Rather, he is a voter bat-
â\200\230tered by crime, recession,
â\200\230inflation, uncertainty and a
'sense of deprivation. He is a
[voter fed on platitudes whiâ\200\230}e
lâ\200\230U-tums in policy were made
{â\200\230without anyone bothering to
'explain why they were

â\200\230necessary.

. Put bluntly, a person so fed
â\200\230up with being treated as vot-

â\200\230ing fodder that he is prepared
â\200\230to forgo what could be the
â\200\230most important political
! decision he will ever have to
â\200\230make or, even worse, give
â\200\230vent to his anger by voting
& â\200\234noâ\200\235.

. Discontent

. What is most disturbing for.
- Mr De Klerk is that the con-
| centration of such voters ap-
;g?ars to be greatest in the -
| Witwatersrand, where he is

banking on a big â\200\234yesâ\200\235 win.

â\200\230deal of -disillusionment -and

surprising, but on the same
day in the south of Johannes-
burg, English-speaking
teachers, who were neither

conservative nor destitute,

â\200\230oiced real discontent at the
ilure of the government to
\dress concerns about their

ure. |

F'W faces fed-

'AFTER four days of frenetic .

President FW Y .o al of the pensioners who

displayed National Party

up tactor

THE YES CAMPAIGNER: FW the suppliant â\200\224 and the man makin his poi
his meet-the-people tour round the country this week % pfnm'r'efs""ï-\202ï-\202ï-\201
Â«dk'ï-\202ï-\202g

By Brian Stuart

THE Codesa parties will meet again in early September, without the ANC and its allies, to plan the way ahead to full negotiations and a democratic constitution.

The decision was taken at discussions in

Pretoria yesterday between

State President De Klerk, Inkatha Free-

dom Party leader, Chief

Mongosuthu Buthelezi, and Democratic Party leader, Dr Zach de Beer, assisted by Ministers and senior members of their parties.)

And
Y.

Denying that this was a "go-it-alone" move, Mr De Klerk said Communists and radicals within the ANC could not be allowed to dis-

rupt the process towards

democracy.

He warned that the government and National Party would not yield to mass action. It had a responsibility to govern the country until a new, negotiated transitional constitution was achieved.

The State President
Senior Ministers

first had a meeting yesterday with Democratic Party leaders, followed by a separate meeting with Chief Buthelezi and Zulu Ministers. In both cases the discussions were constructive. They focused on problems with regard to negotiations and the

way forward. :
â\200\234In early September
there will be a meeting
of all those parties at
Codesa who, as negotia-
tions progressed there,
found that they sub-
scribed to the same fun-
damental principles.
â\200\234We therefore fore-
see a conference of a

TC PAGE 2 o)

By Brian Stuart

THE country had suf-
fered enough because
of political interfer-

. ence in sport, State

President De Klerk
said yesterday in a
blunt warning to the
ANC to stop â\200\234hijack-
ing sportâ\200\235.

The row over the use of
the national flag and an-
them also had the poten-
tial to ignite a powder-
keg, Mr De Klerk said in
urging calm and tolerance
until new, unifying sym-
bols were established.

He told a media confer-
ence in Pretoria that
ANC demands in the field
of sport were - dividing
South Africans and caus-
ing a spontaneous count-
er-reaction.

â\200\234Sports, arts and â\200\230enter-
tainment have a powerful
role to play in the process
of reconciliation and na-
tion-building.

â\200\234Then, however, it may
not become politically
controversial in any way.

F TO PAGE 2

IN an apparent re-
venge attack, a group
of about 20 men, arm-
ed with sticks and asse-
gais, threw eight com-
muters out of windows

of a moving train between New. Canada and Longdale stations, Soweto, yesterday morning.â\200\231

Police spokesman W/O Andy Pieke said two bodies and six injured men were later found alongside the railway line. One of the dead, Jeffrey Tshuma (42), was apparently from Zimbabwe.

The attacking group, mainly Zulu-speaking, boarded a train at New Canada Station and; as-it

| pilled away! fried Unsuc:â\200\231

cessfully to force open the coach doors. They then smashed the windows and threw out eight commuters.

Of the injured, two are critically ill and four seriously ill in J G Strijdom Hospital.

The identities of all but one of the victims have been established. The in-

FW TO ANC: STOP
HIJACKING SPORT

Codesa parties
to meet without

8 thrown out of
train windows

jured are Simon Masango (32), of Pimville, Richard Managa (35), of Diepkloof, Simayale Mzolizi (49), of Kliptown, and Fernando Sithole (38); of Orlando East.

The dead are Hlongo Gabane (25), address unknown, and Mr Tshuma.

TO PAGE 2

2)Y//

TF SOUTH Africaâ\200\231s businessmen are

right, their country needs time to accomplish the political and moral change that so many demand it make to dismantle apartheid.

It is worth questioning the value of some judgments about how, and how soon, South Africa can clear away the system of subjugation under which the vast majority of South African residents are forced to live.

North Americans, infused with the enthusiasm of â\200\234nowâ\200\235 politics, have correctly identified the target of their wrath â\200\224 apartheid. Unfortunately, confused by the lack of a similar passion in official South Africa and its constituency, they lack an understanding of the Afrikaner siege mentality, a condition hardened by decades of being run out of virtually every conceivable political, sporting and cultural organization of which they were part.

Where apartheid is concerned, the Pretoria government has no â\200\234nowâ\200\235 philosophy, and we canâ\200\231t impose one. But it might be helpful if someone would ask if an agenda can be developed to end laws designed to keep fundamental rights of man from non-white residents.

The Commonwealth, which expelled South Africa a quarter century ago, may have a role here, but it is doubtful that it lies with screaming at P.W. Botha and recalling outside investments. Nevertheless, Prime Minister Mulroney is trying to obtain British compliance with the wishes of the majority of Commonwealth members for increased economic pressure.

Great Britain is an easy target. It has more than half the total foreign investment in South Africa.

Finding a timetable

Much of the rest belongs to West German, American and Japanese interests. Japanese firms are forbidden by law to deal with South Africa; their business is conducted through middlemen. So much for sanctions.

Indeed, every time sanctions are subverted, as they regularly are, South Africaâ\200\231s government sees little reason to change.

What has the best chance of succeeding, however, may be the very business interests that anti-apartheid foes overseas would like to see on their way out of South Africa.

Change and economic growth go hand in hand in South Africa, say business leaders both inside and outside the country. Growth brings larger and larger numbers of blacks into the economic mainstream. Foreign-owned plants have encouraged the development of a native black supervisory and management force. Business risk and moral responsibilities are a hand-in-hand process to many foreign firms.

If the foreign owners left, the consensus among businessmen runs, there are plenty of South African whites who would gladly pick up the pieces, at bargain-basement prices, and run the plants as efficiently as ever. But would blacks keep their growing roles in management and the workforce? Only as long as they were needed.

And need is a key to the South African economy. The country needs the black workforce to keep its economy growing. The process is slower and requires more patience, but that need also teeds demands for a change in social conditions. Foreign investment is a more likely spur than a brake to that process. :

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S. Africa Detains

Manchester Guardian

JOHANNESBURG, Dec. 8â\200\224A
British-born historian was arrested
at his home early today and is being
held at police headquarters pending
deportation to Britain on Dec, 15.

No reasons were given for the
decision to deport Prof. Philip
Boaner. It is unusual but not unpre-
decented in South Africa to be held
in custody pending deportation.
There were fears today that Bonn-
er's arrest might presage a new
crackdown oa opposition outside

He added, â\200\234So there are times
like that for us when those very
norms witch are so dear to Amer-
icans, and, [believe, to us, are be-
ing threatened, and whea the nor-
mal procedures at your disposal are
inadequate and insufficient, then
the government has the painful de-
cision to take.

British Professor

Parliament and the imposition of

tighter controls on the press.

Bonner has been teaching history at the University of the Witwatersrand for 15 years. His arrest under a deportation order shocked his colleagues at the university, which has already appealed to the authorities to rescind the order.

Police from the Aliens Branch were reported today to be searching for Bonner's wife, Chris. Bonner's lawyers will seek the withdrawal of the deportation order and for his release in the interim.

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S PLEDGES SUPPORT FOR
)RLD DRIVE BY EXPORTERS

ROBERTSON
Correspondent

says, is both good and
part is that it shows
t is no longer under-
such as Mossgas
bive good immediate
part is that unless the
ersed, the economy
p flounder.
level is my objective.
as hard as I can to
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to take advantage of
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export an enormous
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st opportunities for

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exporters.

â\200\234T assume that if Gencor can con-
jure up those four, other people can
conjure up 40.â\200\235 /

He announced this week, as a first
step to boost exports, incentives to
promote the beneficiation of import-
ed raw materials and intermediate
goods â\200\234to make sure we donâ\200\231t miss
any desirable big projectsâ\200\235.

Internally, he says, the first prior-
ity is to raise the level of demand:
the manufacturing industry is oper-
ating at only 80 percent capacity:

â\200\234There is not much point in having
tremendous investment incentiv:
for people when they have machines
standing idle. That is where the re-
laxed hire purchase provisions come
in.â\200\235

He candidly agrees that, judged on
the basis of the deficit before bor-
rowing and the percentage of total
GDP it represents, government
spending is too high.

But, he argues, had it not been for

the recession, both the deficit and

government spending as a percent-age of GDP would have been in line with international standards.

What I am saying is that the government decided not to deviate from its course because the economy was in recession. It did not make things worse by cutting the levels of government expenditure.

It has just decided to go on and stand the criticism. What proves to me that it is the right thing to do, is that the government borrowed R3-billion more than it needed last year without any strain on the long-term capital market whatsoever. There are no indications of strain at the moment. The funds are there, but they are not being demanded by

the private sector. As far as I am

concerned the state ought to keep its level of spending up and make use of those funds.

He does not believe that by increasing its spending the government is putting too much of the burden of fighting inflation on the monetary authorities and thereby providing no room for a relaxation of interest rates.

I think that if (Reserve Bank governor Chris) Stals just keeps going the way we are and if the government is sensitive to when demand picks up in the private sector, inflation will gradually go down.

He predicts a two percent drop in inflation this year.

Although a mere R1 000 has been allocated for privatisation this year, Mr Keys says this does not reflect an abandonment of the concept, but

rather that none of the big companies Transnet, Telkom or the Post Office are ready to be sold off.

Mr Keys almost welcomes ANC criticism that when it comes to education and health, the government is throwing money at problems and not taking sufficient care to ensure it reaches the most needy.

This is the ANC's tack. As it becomes acquainted with reality, it is starting to attach much more importance to how the money is spent

rather than the quantum. It no longer thinks you can just add extra funds.

&

DEREK KEYS ... we must take advantage of our opportunities

â\200\234That is a healthy critical slant to put on our activities. We think we are doing the best, but we may be wrong.â\200\235

Mr Keys believes that only once a transitional authority is in place will conditions be right for the setting up of an economic negotiating forum.

In the meantime, he says, it is right that representatives of organised labour and business continue talking and finding out what they agree on. Once an interim authority is in place a forum could be set up to

deal with economic policy.

SHOW OF STRENGTH ... armed Inkatha marchers flood Johannesburg'â\200\231s Commissioner Street yesterday Picture: ROB HADLEY

INKATHA ON THE MARCH

By CHARLES LEONARD
A GROUP of 10000 Inkatha members marched through the streets of Johannesburg yesterday.

Many of them were armed with spears, sharpened metal rods, knobkieries, and homemade battle axes â\200\224 despite the'ban on the carrying of traditional weapons.

Showdown looms

Police did not disarm any of the men, but two people were reportedly stabbed and five beaten by the marchers. Many shopowners closed their doors as the wave of marchers flooded by. The march â\200\224 part of a â\200\234programme of protest action for peaceâ\200\235 â\200\224 ended at John Vorster Square, where a memorandum was handed to the police.

JFFrom Page 1

to Codesa is the appointment of multi-party committees to advise the â\200\234Super Cabinetâ\200\235 on issues such as the security forces. The committees would be â\200\234consultativeâ\200\235, but it would be difficult for the cabinet

â\200\230| minister concerned to ig-

nore their demands.

Some senior NP members appear to favour limiting participation in an interim executive comprising 20 to 24 members to five major parties, while others believed the â\200\234Super Cabinetâ\200\235 should be as widely representative as possible. 3

Dr Viljoen added that the government would not accept the ANCâ\200\231s idea of creating a structure that would be above the present cabinet and Parliament.

Despite Mr Haniâ\200\231s public rhetoric, however, government negotiators believe there are signs of compromise.

Mr Meyer said he believed there was general acceptance on the side of the ANC that the setting up of an appointed interim executive needed to be linked to abandoning the armed struggle and disbanding MK.

ANC negotiators, meanwhile, dismissed suggestions that the existence of MK and the demand that it renounce the armed struggle constituted a major obstacle.

This matter would be dealt with in setting up mechanisms to control all security forces and private armies that would form part of the agreement on the interim executive.

The row between the government and the ANC-Cosatu-SA Communist Party alliance over joint decision-making in the economy has, meanwhile, resurrected itself in the wake of the referendum.

Mr Mandela â\200\224 on three occasions in Cape Town on Friday â\200\224 attacked the reimposition of VAT on eight basic foodstuffs exempted last year to assist the poor â\200\224 and threat-

ened to destroy the economy with mass action to stop the extended tax being imposed on March 31.

Finance Minister Bar-
end du Plessis declined to
comment. National Party
chief finance spokesman
Dr Francois Jacobsz said
Mr - Mandela's comments
were highly irresponsible
and lacked insight .

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Four die as plane
crashes in garden

The dead are Mr Roy Clemo, Mr Adam Beatty, Mr Bobby Radloff and Mr Marlan Randall. ;

He said the four young men in their 20s had been in the air for about three minutes after taking off when the aircraft came down. It had earlier flown over the town.

Mr Bozas said: âI heard a loud bang and went out to see this aircraft outside my driveway. The occupants were pulled from it by Dr Damp because he was scared it would ignite.â

A COUPLE in their 80s were found murdered in their home last night. Police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Dave Bruce said the couple, Theunis and Petronella Stip were last seen in Randhart, Alberton, by neighbours on Thursday. :

Police suspect that a number of firearms had been stolen from the home.

THE Conservative Party, recovering from its drubbing in the referendum, holds a crucial head committee meeting on Saturday to decide whether to take part in Codesa. :

Enter negotiations at Codesa and risk a breakawa{ _
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\230:magd t!;f'y i, SA Communist Party
being politically sidelined; pull out of parliament: . 2 {

Neither Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the CP, nor it would not be disbanded. He any of his colleagues was prepared to discuss the | [T HAS ORIy 4 future path of the party in the wake of the referendum. 3 yd it would not be'th qu A Extremxtsl: %V;VfBll)iagf; Eugene Iâ\200\231{frre anche said, PR e e S/

however, that i ident De Klerk handed over o ' f ; power to the ANC his organisation would take it back yO;&a,Nso,kgleneral m

by force. Mr De Klerk would have election in December â\200\224

ANC renews the Ciskei fight | [â\204ç=

AN accord between Ciskei and the ANC is in tatters, and the latter has vowed to intensify its campaign for â\200\234peace and democracyâ\200\235.

Three weeks after the ANC dropped plans to oust the military government of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, it has announced it will â\200\234intensify its campaignâ\200\235 of mass action.

Cabinetâ\200\235 they envisage will b outh Africa g:s nmonths, top govern- | ment negotiators Constitutional Develop- â\200\230 ment Minister Gerrit Viljoen and Defence Minister Roelf Meyer this week bluntly warned that any deal depended on the C abandoning its armed struggle. They also said there would be no Codesa 2 â\200\224 the plenary session scheduled for the end of April â\200\224 unless the dispute over participation R by the Zulu king was resolved.

/ Anticipating Âç â\200\230tough negotiations in forthcoming weeks, Dr Viljoen said:\ÂçWe will enter a new phase of debate | where what has been ; 4 avoided will become Â¥ & the central focus.â\200\235 HREAT: Mandela ~ HÃ© said the government would require a comprehensive agreement on all as- pects of the DF Malan Accord, which dealt with the suspension of the armed 'struggle, a transitional excecutive and the role to be played by security forces in ï-\202\le transitional period. il \Mr Meyer said there would hiVe to be agreement on the scrapping of private es before Sou _odAfrica could enter esaâ\200\231s work in the , mmediately ahead is the creation of an appointed â\200\234Super Cabinetâ\200\235 which will run the country, and in particular the security forces, until an elected interim t is in place. yab! ent and ANC negotiators are confident that agreement will be reached before the end of April, in time d that the interim execu- | place before the end of uly. â\200\230

The government wants
e ANC to share power
d have full responsibility
for decisions taken by the
interim executive. The
wants an interim
xecutive, comprising all
the |Codesa political par-
ties,, which will oversee
- four | multi-party commit-
tees â\200\224 budget, local gov-
ernment, security and
foreign affairs â\200\224 and two
non-partisan commissions,
- the media and the electoral
process. . - A
Dr Viljoen this week pro-
D a formula whereby
other Codesa members
could be drawn into cabi-
net-level responsibility
while still having the right
Â¥ to opt out if they wish â\200\224
- rather like the position of
Amichand Rajbansi and
~ Alan Hendrickse in the tri-
partite government of
G1 President PW Botha.
. 4 One of the options the

ebbrates his birthday and the government will propose
Picture: TERRY SHEAN [OTo Page 2 _

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