

AP \aQo_2 _4 _ 2=

â\200\234 Apartheid laws under scrutiny

They would have to:

@ Give communities peace of mind thh re-
- gard to their wishes and ideals, on a fair and
~ just basis.
. @Protect communities against financial ex-
plonanon
upe civilised norms and standards.
Mr de Klerk said the problem of the Land
â\200\230Act was similar to that of the Group Areas
Act, as both dealt with land ownership. i
However there were also constitutxon'

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g 7â\200\235 â\200\2300 MA,A 17,0 Any land reforms would have to tak,e mw

account the principle of free enterprise, secuÂ«
rity of tenure, and vested property rights.
- Any negotiations about these laws would
; therefore have to be part of the constitution-
- al negotiating process. But progress 'coï¬\202ï¬\201c'fï¬\201i

- be made before there was a new constitution. :
Cape Town

Mr de Klerk said that the Population Reg-
' istration Act was an inseparable part of the
present constitution and the Electoral Act.
President de Klerk told Parliament yesterday that he accepted the
| idea of a common voters roll for all races as part of a new constitution
subject to protective measures for minorities being built into the sys-

It would therefore have to be amended
tem.

dunng negonanons for a new constitution.
In a major speech, he also pro-

mised to replace the Group Areas

Act with a â\200\234generally acceptableâ\200\235
non-discriminatory measure â\200\224 pos-
sibly next year.

Speaking during the debate on his
vote, Mr de Klerk spelt out Government
plans to scrap or change other apartheid
laws: Land Act, Population Registration
Act, and Separate Amenities Act.

He said there would never be complete
peace as long as there was statutory discrim-
ination.

Further protest against these discrimina-

tory acts was unnecessary.

The laws as they stood were part of the old South Africa. All of us have to build the new South Africa.

In one of the most significant constitutional developments, Mr de Klerk said that uni-

versal franchise on a common voters roll was acceptable to the Government as long

- as protective measures for minorities were also built in, possibly through other separate voters rolls.

- In other announcements:

@ He committed the National Party to forming alliances with other parties, and said those which had opposed one another would have to join forces on matters they agreed on.

@ He made it clear that any new constitution emerging from negotiations would be put to the test of the white electorate specifically, either in a referendum or an election.

@ The National Party would soon produce a comprehensive - statement of principles, aims and fundamental points of departure, which could serve as a basis for negotiating constitutional models through consensus. On the crucial franchise question, the Government envisaged more than one voters roll but this did not exclude a common voters roll as well.

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

Political observers said Mr de Klerk was apparently referring to a bicameral legislature, with voting on a common roll for one I-Ifq and voting on separate rolls for a sec-

"@1 o',}se Where minorities were represent-

Mr de Klerk said a common voters roll in a constitutional system based on the winner-takes-all approach was not acceptable to the National Party.

It did not provide adequate protection for minorities, nor for the cultural, religious and language differences of South Africans.

However, universal franchise on a com

mon voters roll with-built-in protection for minorities, possibly through other differentiated voters rolls, was â\200\234a possibilityâ\200\235.

These protective measures to prevent domination included decentralisation of power, devolution of authority, constitutional checks and balances, decision-making by consensus, and an mdependent judiciary. -

To be replaced

Responding to calls during the debate for a statement of intent on remaining apartheid laws, Mr de Klerk said that the Group Areas Act would be replaced with â\200\234generally acceptableâ\200\235 non-discriminatory measures. .

The Government was already working hard on these measures and he trusted that it would produce â\200\234firm proposalsâ\200\235 soon.

The possibility could not be ruled out that legislation would be submitted to Parliament

- next year. The Free Settlement Areas Act would continue to be applied.

The new measures would have to be generally accepted, and this meant all three Houses would have to approve them. This ~could happen only if the new measures did not introduce any new dicrimination.

The new measures would â\200\234ensure a general pattern of residential areas in a non-dis-

- criminatory manner which will be generally acceptableâ\200\235.

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suppose

seen the results of the

I refer to your editorial
â\200\234Donâ\200\231t Armâ\204ç (9/4/90)
wherein you state that
â\200\234predictablyâ\200\235 there is a
growing White backlash
to the National Partyâ\200\231s

abolition of the pass laws
as crime has increased to
staggering proportions.
We have watched the
debilitation of our police
force as hundreds leave
every month for more re-
munerative climes: we
know that the comrades
control the townships, no

- matter what Mr Viok

!
jil,

savs.

We are surrounded by
violence and a sense that
law and order as South
Africa knew it is collaps-
ing. Highwaymen stop
cars and kill their owners:
banks are robbed cvery-
day; necklacing has re-
commenced

Ordinary Blacks are
being terrorised into sup-
porting the ANC, which
is now sitting at the nego-
tiating table with the man
and the party in whom so
many Whites put their

What are Whites sup-
posed to do? Go like
lambs to the slaughter?
For your information, the
CPâ\200\231s policy is not to â\200\234con-
trol the country foreverâ\204ç
as you put it. The CP de-
mands self-determination
for the Whites; other
groups must simply look

after themselves, educate
themselves, feed them-
selves. It is disinforma-
tion to talk of the CP's
policy as 'White rule'.

While the ANC and its
military wing set up offic-
es all over the country,
ordinary Whites have de-
cided to defend them-
selves. If the ANC is al-
lowed a military wing,
what about a military
wing for everyone else?

MRS G DERBY-LEWIS
Krugersdorp

'His is a country where
try. Ghastly violence
takes place, especially in
Natal; the young Com-
rades are a law unto

' themselves; the ANC acts
as if it is already the gov-

ernment-in-waiting; the
government makes con-
cessions to the ANC with-

out getting anything in re-

: the Right fulminates
and threatens counter
violence; and business-
men either sit on the
fence or try to smoothe
their marble with the
ANC.

With
and gloom and dire
bodings the ordinary folk
act as if this dire tomor-

THE CITIZEN-

Friday 20 April 1990

Mozambique heads for

big political cha

By Iain Christie

MAPUTO. Mo-
zambique is tiptoeing
gently into the world of
party politics.

The process began with
a well-publicised speech
in January when Presi-
dent Joaquim Chissano
invited his people to ex-
press their views on the
government's proposal
for a revised constitution
containing fundamental
democratic reforms.

Public debate began in
residential areas and
workplaces in late March.
Views expressed at these
meetings are to be chan-
nelled through local and
national commissions to
members of parliament
who are scheduled to vote

on the revised consti-
tution in July.

The proposed consti-
tution could change
face of Mozambican po-
itics.

It removes all refer-
ences to the leading role
of the Frelimo party,
which has ruled the coun-
try since independence
from Portugal in 1975.

ott hi

+ Frelimo, a nationalist
guerrilla movement be-
fore independence, re-

styled itself a Marxist-Le-
ninist party in 1977, but
dropped the description

at a party congress fast
July.
â\200\234 The proposed consti-
tution contains other rad-
ical changes.
The president of Ft:eh-

" mo would no loneer auto-
matically become - the
- sembly -and of

for parliament or the
presidency of the republic
would not have to be Fre-
limo members and would
be elected by universal
- suffrage in a secret ballot.

The president would
serve a maximum of three
five-year terms and free-
dom of expression and
the right to strike would
be guaranteed.

The question of
whether or not Mozambi-
que should become a mul-
ti-party state is not direct-
ly -addressed in the pro-
posed new constitution.

But President Chissano
has made it clear in inter-
views that he expects this
to be a topic in the public

- debate now under way.

The _draft constitution

itself says that â\200\234all citi-
- zens shall enjoy freedom
~of expression, â\200\234of as-
associa-

53

7~ Other sections note
â\200\234â\200\234social orgamsa- ;

~ that
â\200\230tionsâ\200\235 will play an import-

_ ant role in the promotion
of democracy and â\200\234will
have the right to pursue
their aims, to create insti-
tutions - designed to
achieve their speeific ob-
jectives, and to hold
property for carrying out
their activitiesâ\204ç.

Theï¬\201!ssza

insuï¬\201ir;ofahuhf

ty system â\200\230have come

2 f:unous quarters, - S
~ At a meeting of secur-

-ity service officers in the
town of Quelimane, a

participant asked: *â\200\234Why -
social organisations? WHy

_not political parties?â\200\235

head of state. Candldates', Some, i¬\201dwevgi', ' 'haife.

nges

is happening elsewhere,
that would be very bad.â\200\235

Pres Chissano insists
his governmentâ\200\231s political
reforms owe nothing to
events in Eastern Europe.

â\200\234We started before
they did,â\200\235 he said in a re-
cent interview, refenmg
to policy changes in Mo-
zambique that began with
the fourth congress of the
ruling Frelimo party in
1983.

Government officials

â\200\230here have expressed con-

cern that party- divisions
might appear along tribal
or regional lines, wreck-
ing efforts over many
vears by Frelimo to build
national unity.

But there are already
some indications that the
battle lines might be
drawn elsewhere.

Lgnd ownership
~Last Friday state-run

" Radio Mozambique re-

PR_ESIBEMTJOAQU.ICHSSA)_&O...invm
his people to express their views

spoken in favour of the
existing order. -

One speaker dcfended
the idea of â\200\234â\200\234just one party
for one nationâ\200\235 at a pub-
lic meeting in Maputo last
week and another argued
that this was not the time
to aboish Frelimoâ\200\231s leadâ\200\224

ing role.

Still, the debate is
.heady stuff for a gener-

brought upon the

slogan "Frelimo is the

only guide of the Mozam

bican
Mr Chissano has

spoken of the: pros and.
"bothamgteand*" - multi-party systems. He
has even mentioned the Af

possibility that Frelimo

might split into " Jifferent
parties.

*There are some (party
members) who want to go
more to the left, there are
some who want to go

more - to the right, and - "pott

apply it as a Gf wh. it->

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ported what could be the
most shot in the real battle
: constitutional

th land owner-

ning the focus

in the debate.

meeting in

farming town

hnpopo valley,

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e would allow
o hand over
individual |u:r~

ld may be granted for
lp to 50 years. S

MozarmaiQue

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A quick admission Sfuses ANC torture claims

THE prompt admission by the Afri- and local press response has been ears ago and according to all re- He added that the ANC code of

g can National Congress that some of muted. Some have congratulated the The claims of tortu re made by ;r:lnz ona %ar smaller scal% than the conduct now laid down rules about

its members had been tortur movement for the frankness of its ad- Umkhonto wesSizwe mutinee rs Swapo incidents. how people detained should be treat-

mutiny six years ago has helped de- could have been a major Tird, the ANC says that since t he ed. '

â\200\230 fuse a potentially explosive situation mpts by â\200\234National embarrassment fo r the incidents the Mbokodo, the Umkhon- Surprisingly, The Star ran the sto-

for the movement. â\200\235 to compromise . it moved quickly to defuse the to weSizwe unit responsible, has T with the headline â\200\234ANC man justi-

Less than a week after seven former Nelson Mandela with the torture sto- situation. By G AV IN EVANS been disbanded, the officers respon- fies the torture of mutineersâ\200\235 while members broke their story of deten- ry, Business Day hit back strongly in sible have been d isciplined and a the Sowetan announced: â\200\234Torture is tion and torture to the Sunday Corre- Tuesdayâ\200\231s editorial: â\200\234The best retort . â\200\234What an embarrassment for the Afri- code of conduct banning torture ustified sa ys ANCâ\200\235.

- spondent, ANC Deputy President is that Mandela was in prison when can National Congress! â\200\235 physical coercion under all circum- But what Tshwete had been justi- Nelson Mandela confirmed the truth the atrocitites occurred, and in admit- But the issue h as been less devastatâ\204¢ stances has been introduced. fiying was the surpression of the mu- of their account at a press conference. ting the truth he has acted more forth- ,ing for th e movement than some Shortly after Mandelaâ\200\231s press con- tiny. â\200\234No army can play with muti-

Â«Unfortunately it is true that some rightly and more honestly than the might have expected , and its effect ference, ANC National Executive neers,â\200\235 he said. of these people who were complain- South African government in dealing does not appear 10 b e comparable to 3 According to reports from Nairobi, ing were in fact tortured.â\200\235 He added â\200\230with the atrocious activities of the that of the â\200\234Swapo atrocitiesâ\200\235 story said i i former detainees that the ANC was against torture and murder squads which operated while which broke last ye ar. its pris d bee ling to Nelson that the movement had dismissed the National Party leaders were cer- First, unlike Swapo, the ANC <â\200\234excessesâ\200\235i i , in their appli- those responsible for these acts after tainly not in jail.â\200\235 moved quickly to admit the allega- the mutineers, k be repatriated t0 South Afri- an investigation. The previous day The Citizen Tan. tions. sible for the torture had been C a. ANC has made no attempt 10

Since then, international reaction an editorial which began gleefully : Second, the events took place sev- â\200\234properly dealt withâ\200\235. oppose their plea. '

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Sayco wAll
merge with
ANC for new
Youth League

\ PHIL MOLEFE reports on the first
above-ground Sayco congress
THE defunct Youth League of the Af-

rican National Congress, founded in 1944, is to be reconstituted. The |

South African Youth Congress, at its
first open national congress, voted to

begin the process of amalgamation with

the African National Congress
youth section, presently based in Lu-
saka

The congress was held at Kanyama-
zane, near Nelspruit, last weekend. It
was resolved to merge Sayco with the
ANC youth section to re-establish the
movement's Youth League by April
1991.

Peter Mokaba, who was re-elected

president at the three-day congress,
said the Central Executive Committee

has been mandated by congress to
consult with the ANC youth section
with a view to relaunch the defunct
Youth League inside the country on
April 6 next year. The unbanning of
the ANC has made it important that
we consider merging with the move-
ment's youth section in order to have
one strong Youth League, said Mo-
kaba.

He said there would be feasibility
studies, workshops and discussions
in various regions and this informa-
tion would be conveyed to the youth
section.

One major issue which is likely to -

come up between Sayco and the ANC
Youth Section is the age limit for
membership. While the ANC has
ruled that membership for the Youth
League should be from 12 to 30 years
of age, Sayco has recommended that
it should be from 14 to 35.

Most of the Sayco leadership is
above the ANC's age limit and it is
expected that a compromise would

have to be reached to accommodate older activists.

Mokaba said practical conditions on the ground had shown that some people just above 30 years were still suitably placed in youth congresses.

The congress, which was attended

by 1762 delegates representing

youth congresses from 11 regions, also adopted the ANC Harare Declaration as the guiding principle towards the creation of a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

The congress called upon the government to clear away obstacles to negotiations. The delegates said Sayco was concerned about the continuing police violence against peaceful demonstrators, as in Sebokeng three weeks ago. ;

ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela, who addressed the Sayco con told delegates that the ANC will not allow a situation where the

Nelson Mandela greets a well-wisher on his arrival, with his wife Winnie, at the South African Youth Congress conference held near Nelspruit last weekend Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix

government talks about negotiations area. He said isolating Buthelezi does ANC structures inside the country. and peace and at the same time con-: not mean we have declared Inkatha 2 duct war against our people. or its members as the enemy. Sayco reaffirmed its support for the
«If President FW De Klerk continues with arming the police, when the members are part of the oppressed UPon the government to address the police are shooting the people, when . and we need to separate them from demands of the people on education. rightwingers defiantly march around Gatsha and the warlords. A call was also made for the inter-armed and shooting the people, then The congress called on the youth to national community to intensify san negotiations in this country have no play a central role in the building of tions against the government. : future whatsoever, he said. r

Mandela said negotiations are a o e continuation of the struggle. Moka- ba said the congress had no reserva-

tion about negotiations and saw them as one process that could lead to freedom.

â\200\234The implementation of one method should not exclude other methods.
â\200\230When the ANC adopted armed struggle we did not say it should abandon mass struggle. Our position is clear that we will always opt for the shortest route possible to freedom.â\200\235

On the Natal violence, the congress resolved to endorse Mandelaâ\200\231s call for a peace conference of all organisations opposed to â\200\234apartheid violenceâ\200\235.

Mokaba said it was urgent to address the violence in Natal and other parts of the country. Such a conference, he said, would â\200\234focus on violence in Natal and inter-organisational violence in order to promote political tolerance.â\200\235

He launched a bitter attack on kwa-Zulu chief minister and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, saying Buthelezi would not be invited to participate at the conference. He said the conference, to be called â\200\230â\200\234Peace among the

Peopleâ\200\235 will â\200\234firstly define Buthelezi

as the problemâ\200\235 in the trouble-torn

| [|)

EOHICS ..

/ IF it hadnâ\200\231t been for the rain and freezing cold,

. this might have felt a bit more like the remarkable event that it was, even before Mandelaâ\200\231s own rousing, emotional appearance. Pop music didnâ\200\231t free Mandela, but it certainly played an honourable part in the process. Itâ\200\231s impossible to judge the effect of the last mass-scale Mandela show in the same stadium two years ago, just as itâ\200\231s impossible to judge the effect of all those Mandela songs.

But here, at last, was Mandela free and in person, and the fact that he should choose to address a British pop crowd before he addressed British politicians showed that he, at least, thought the musical campaigns had been important. That made up for the bitching, disputes and finally the miserable weather that somewhat marred Mondayâ\200\231s historic show until the elderly man in grey slacks managed to outshine all the other superstar performers.

Subjected to both the traditional pains of a British bank holiday and a show that never quite had the musical spark of the 1988 concert, Mandela treated the event as if it were only natural for a man who has spent years in prison to act as headliner in a wildly varied display of pop politics, showbiz and commercial-

We want more ... Man&ela's been reieaÃ©Ã©d but the crdwd at WemblÃ©y wÃ©nts South frica freed too

Weehi

The Mandela concert at Londonâ\200\231s Wembley stadium, held in the rain and freezing cold, was a mixture of politics, pop music and commercialism. ROBIN

DENSLOW looks at the music that helped release Mandela, while, below,

DAVID BERESFORD checks out the merchandise industry Mandela helped release

ism.
He came on, after a burst of rap, a traditional

big stadium welcome of thousands of matches -

and cigarette lighters glowing in the darkness, and an introduction by the purple-clad Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, and quietly turned what had been a solid but often unre-

markable pop show into a pop-political event where the words were far more powerful than the music.

He played Wembley perfectly. His powerfully low-key performance at an event like this may have seemed remarkable by British political standards, but this extraordinary political

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Viva ... comedian Len

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rally did have some links with the musical protests in South Africa back in the 1950s, in the days before the African National Congress was banned, Nathan Mdledle was part of the Manhattan Brothers, the South African answer to the Oâ\200\231Jays, in the 1940s and 1950s and two of the original lineup were featured in one of the two South African sections of the show that Mandela, if not the Wembley crowd, would have found familiar.

Mdledle and Joseph Mogogsi stayed on in Britain after arriving here with the South African musical King Kong in the late 1950s, and their reunion with other exiles was one unexpected high point. The set ended with a suitably emotional Jerry Dammers leading the exiles through a spirited version of the song he wrote, Free Nelson Mandela, which he described as â\200\234now a part of historyâ\200\235 but still valid â\200\234because he is not fully free yet because he canâ\200\231t vote in his own countryâ\200\235.

The exilesâ\200\231 section was put together by Cai-phus Semenya, who was also responsible for a second set that brought in trombonist Jonas Gwangwa and was a reminder of the sophisticated jazz scene that existed in South Africa be-

fore Mandela was jailed. It was smooth, pleas- -

.And the crowd snapped up all of Mandela

- â\200\234BLOW a whistle for freedom,â\200\235 shouted the \ black cockney, brandishing a handful of silver whistles with lanyards in the green-black-and-gold colours of the African National Congress. â\200\234Buy an ANC flag,â\200\235 called out another, wav-

ing one on the end of a popsicle stick.

At the bottom of the Wembley stadium causeway, two brothers in dark spectacles â\200\224 one holding a pair of bongo drums, the other protectively clutching a shopping bag full of T-

shirts â\200\224 were involved in a heated argument with a skinhead in a leather bomber jacket, filling in a â\200\234seizure orderâ\200\235,

â\200\234We're breaking copyright?â\200\235 one brother demanded. :

â\200\234Yeah.'â\200\235

â\200\234By using Mandelaâ\200\231s name?â\200\234
â\200\234Yeah. Itâ\200\231s part of British law.â\200\235
eÃ©;\,{ouâ\200\231re saying Mandelaâ\200\231s name is copyright-

â\200\234Well, yeah. Look, obviously theyâ\200\231ve come to some sort of agreement. I mean, Iâ\200\231m not a lawyer.â\200\235 i

â\200\234Listen, man, I'm only doing a jobâ\200\235 ... â\200\234we work for the official merchandisersâ\200\235 ...
â\200\234ignorance is no excuse.â\200\235

The babble of indignant voices in the debate between free enterprise and vested interest was lost in the swirling crowd hurrying to see The Man, to hear the living legend.

Hours later and all the squabbles over merchandising, commercial exploitation, and the politics of rock were lost in the blast of the mega-speakers towering over that hallowed turf.

Mandela spoke with his usual delicacy and power. â\200\234Thank you that you chose to care, because you could have decided otherwise.
Thank you that you elected not to forget, because our fate could have been a passing con-

cern ... even through the thickness of the prison walls at Robben Island, Pollsmoor, Pretoria, Kroonstad, Diepkloof and elsewhere, we heard your voices demanding our freedom.â\200\235

In the little more than two months that Mandela has been a free man, the point has been repeatedly demonstrated to Pretoria of the fool-

_ishness of South African politicians who

forged such a powerful weapon for their perceived enemies to use by the incarceration of Mandela.

With last nightâ\200\231s Wembley concert, the lesson was hammered home once again with devastating effect. It was an extraordinary reversal for a man who for more than a quarter of a century could be heard only by his jailers and the

-occasional VIP of the â\200\234rightâ\200\235 political hue.

Apart from some 72 000 who braved the rain and cold to see him, his image was beamed to
Â® To PAGE 22

ny Henry (left) and actor Denzil Washington

~ Pictures: ANDY CLARK, Reuter

. and pop singing in the rain

antly low-key stuff, but this section badly needed the fire of Hugh Masekela's trumpet work, Masekela, after all the controversy and rumour, didn't turn up.

There was an unexpected and welcome appearance by Johnny Clegg and several members of Savuka, who appeared with Jackson Browne. Backed by just a couple of acoustic guitars, they switched between traditional Zulu songs, Clegg's political songs, like One Man One Vote, and Browne's more laid-back Californian pop in a section that was both low-key and gently powerful.

Clegg and Browne were among those who appeared at the front of the stage while the big bands were still setting up behind, and in many ways these low-key spots were the best parts of the show. Neil Young gave a brief but powerful solo set, prowling the stage as he bashed out Rockin' in the Free World, while the ever-cool Lou Reed mysteriously introduced ecology into the proceedings with The Great American Whale. j

Then there were the setpiece sections where one man provided the backing for a whole series of artists. George Duke provided the setting for Bonnie Raitt, Anita Baker and Natalie Cole, who were solid but predictable, especially when joining on Blowing in the Wind.

Rather better, at the very start, was the set from Daniel Lanois band, largely because the laid-back Lanois was joined by those glorious exponents of New Orleans rhythm and blues, the Neville Brothers, whose version of Sam Cooke's A Change is Gonna Come summed up the mood of the Show. Even Tracy Chapman, the star of the last Mandela concert, sounded dull when she followed them, though she had her moment of real triumph later on, appearing solo, directly after Mandela, to sing Talkin' 'Bout a Revolution. But by now, thanks to the man himself, the whole mood of the show had changed for the final selection by those anti-apartheid veterans Simple Minds and Peter Gabriel, who was joined once again by Youssou N'Dour. Gabriel ended with a chilling version of Biko, with the rest of the cast joining in the chanting finale. Powerful stuff, but by now the crowd were drifting away.

_The real star had been and gone. ^ The Guardian, London SRk :

RESIDENT F W de Klerkâ\200\231s

famous speech on Febru-
ary 2 delighted me. My
sense of humanitarian in-

dignation was at last assuaged. -
Now, but a few weeks later, I'm

beset by a nagging anxiety about
our country.

Maintaining oneâ\200\231s principled in-
dignation is a simple when the
world changes little. Now that the
next era stands stark before us,

thereâ\200\231s no alternative but to face the -

â\200\2348,11}' realities of the new politics.
he most distinct possibility is
that within a few years weâ\200\231ll ex-
change one monolithic central gov-
ernment for another.:Supplant one
nationalism with another, one which
will doubtlessly perpetrate a further
series of arbitrary actions made
kosher by the appellation
â\200\234democraticâ\200\235.

As the Afrikaner protected his â\200\224~

own, so will the black African. The

ublic service will pecom:h an evz;;n
arger sponge mopping up the poorly
educated unemployed. Once en-
sconced, bureaucrats will have to
find something to do; using their
limited capacities, theyâ\200\231ll create new
systems, new rules, new regulations.
It will take three years to obtain a
driverâ\200\231s licence.

Given the urgent need to develop
the black sector, so criminally ne-
glected, funds hitherto flowing to
maintain white [iv.rivilege will be se-
verely limited. The ANC may well
honour its principles of non-racism
but the inevitable shift in power and

resource allocation will cause many .

of us to feel even more like
bywoners

While the rest of the world shakes
off the excesses of totalitarian so-
cialism, our new government, unduly
influenced by a powerful labour
movement, will continue to be se-
duced by its unrealised possibilities.
I believe weâ\200\231ll hear a great deal of,
| â\200\234Yes, well, they didnâ\200\231t do it right in

Hun;ary. We. shall be more effec-

tive.â\200\235 It will be a variation on the
ugly sisters trying to force their feet
into the glass slipper. Hope in all its
forms is an unquenchable human
condition.

I believe that the stated goal of

N%Â«va_i¬\202e sg
~ future
20 AdRIL (R

disperse

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the , hopeg=

eaÃ@s for the |
Hej

MIKE ALFRED

nationalisation is seriously offered.
Its proponents, the leaders of the
black trade union movement, have
amassed considerable clout these 10
years past. I fear they mistakenly
equate power with business acumen.

The populace at.large will suffer
the creation of a political economy of
state control. The reasoning is seduc-
tive: whence comes the money for

reconstruction if the state may not

play businessman and banker?

â\200\230The ideologues havenâ\200\231t twigged
that business really isnâ\200\231t about mak-
ing money; rather itâ\200\231s the single most
significant opportunity arema in
which ordinary people can create
meaning from lifeâ\200\231s mystery. Excise
that chance and state-initiated dehu-
manisation wins another victory.

They also havenâ\200\231t acknowledged
that business is.willing to pay for
reconstruction voluntarily. The pri-
vate sector disbursed R600m on so-
cial investment spending in 1989 and
intends spending R800m this year.

Business, while conservative, is
not stupid. While not democratic,

while having been grossly exploitative of labour in the past, it is highly pragmatic, non-ideological and can move and adapt far faster than any state institution.

But of course, this will all have to be learned by our new masters. My words won't help. Maybe several

generations will develop and fade before a state-run economy will cyclically succumb to normal human

cussedness. By then its well-meaning .

proponents will be interred in heroes' mausoleums and our well-educated children will be seeking their own idealistic solutions to right the

mistakes of the past, instead of letting well alone.

. And what of our present masters, those sly devils smelling so strongly of roses? Soon they'll be able to ascribe the problems they spent so much talent, time and our money creating on a bumbling black government. (The ANC would be smart to insist on a lengthy interregnum of joint responsibility.) Moreover, a

lack government of their making and choice. Talk about nepotism!

as completely created by

nents as ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela. Seldom has so much total onslaught been directed at cre-

ating a hothouse in which the opposi-

tion has so thrived.

Once again, the Nats, showing their incomparable political acumen, have made a unilateral choice, this time designating a favoured child. An infant with no tangible poli-

Seldom has a political figure been
0

Â»

tical organisation, with no measurable constituency. As a political party the ANC has much to accomplish.

The other children, who by implication have been rejected, are beginning to resent the game being played without them. So down we go into anarchy and confusion, using the cannon-fodder created by the iniqui-

ties of apartheid and the remnants of tribalism. The horrible, headline-grabbing Natal violence will afford both the Nats and the ANC the chance to punt the necessity for strong central government, law and order and other rhubarb.

While the heroics of politics occupy the front pages, icks its stealthy way among us. Domestic crime, also fuelled by apartheid's injustices, is a greater problem for ordinary citizens than political unrest. Facing mobs sharpens the brutalities and blunts the effectiveness of our police force, opening doors for white vigilantes playing a dangerous game of their own. We'll see the virtuous and oh-so-reasonable-sounding

right venturing ever further, seeking, people to bully and kill in self-defence.

For me potential tragedy lies in

~ politicians perceiving themselves as

saviours, such self-assessment carrying with it the aura of arrogant

omnipotence. Strong on power needs,

"cial adjustment, I

Now on intellect, conceptualisation

and sensitivity, the universe of politics

hasn't been assailed by a new thought for 150 years. !

Alas, politicians are the gods who'll engineer our socio-economic reconstruction - the perfect being, who believe they hold the monopoly on correct methods. Methods grounded in outmoded, ineffective ideologies, the defence of which becomes the main task rather than the seeking of optimum solutions. Socio-economic development should be apolitical. All should share

- in it, thus creating the cornerstone of

true democracy, the priorities in socio-

economic development should be based on problem definition,

and then managed by goal-setting and strategy formulation rather than being predetermined by some restrictive dogmatism.

Yes, I espouse managerial rather than political methods.

Swial reconstruction should be managed by teams chosen: from society at large: multiracial, multidisciplinary, multi-party. Their plans should be made public. Only after wide debate and approval

_should projects begin.

Teams should be disbanded once they have completed their task, lest they begin to relish the perks of power. -

" My hopes are mixed. On balance I suppose that as a relatively privileged member of society I shall suffer relatively less in the equalisation process unless my livelihood and assets are wrested from me. After the initial white-heat of Political and so-

oresee a more relaxed, less aggressive, less racist society in which weâ\200\231ll have to.find our satisfactions in less materialistic 'ways.] :

My greatest historic dream: That for 10 years thereâ\200\231ll be a moratorium on party or racial politics; that a council of wise

eaders committed to the common good will be chosen from all sections of our society, to set SA well on the path of pragmatic adaptation and development. =

[0 Mike Alfred is publisher of The Manpower Brief.

is but an unreal-

e . T WA

The Star Friday April 20 1990

>3

WHILE President de Klerk is

| to be commended for appoint-

ing a commission of inquiry
into the shootings at Sebokeng,
it is regrettable that he should
continue to hold out against a

| similar investigation into the
violence in Natal.

To be sure, the Sebokeng in-
cident can be circumscribed
â\200\224.as Mr de Klerk suggests â\200\224
whereas the Natal conflict is
wide-ranging and continuing.
Yet one reason why the vio-

| lence has reached its present

pitch is because the State, over
several years, has persistently

| misread, misunderstood or
turned a blind eye to the un-

derlying causes of the conflict.
Under the uncomprehending

| gaze of the ministries of Law
and Order and of Justice, so-
cial structures in the town-
ships and rural areas have
fallen to pieces, the courts
have been ignored by ven-
geance-seekers and the writ of
warlords and petty chieftains
permitted to prevail over the
forces of law. :

When the police have inter-

| | vened, they have done so in a
| manner perceived to favour
| one party to the conflict,
) | thereby helping to bring about
| the collapse of confidence in

| civil authority that is manifesting itself throughout Natal.
A commission of inquiry, ap-

Ghe Star
Eyes averted
from Natal

. {,,

pointed when first called for in the early stages of the conflict, would have identified many of the administrative shortcomings which cry out for remedy today.

In his thoughtful series in The Star this week, political researcher Matthew Kentridge has identified three steps which would help to reduce the level of violence in Natal considerably: vigorous and independent policing; a strengthening of the authority of local organisations embroiled in the conflict; and an imaginative socio-economic development plan. B

To these we would add a fourth: a wholehearted effort â\200\224 by means of special courts, streamlined legal procedures and measures to protect witnesses of violent crime â\200\224 to re-establish the rule of law in Natal. A failure to employ these methods up to now has contributed to the current climate of disorder.

If the Government is disinclined to submit itself to judicial scrutiny, it should move decisively to restore the authority of the law in Natal. Without order under the law, negotiations or peace talks between the warring parties are unlikely to bear fruit.

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Early this year, a secret document
ing giant Anglo American was seeking
endorsement for its own ready-made
. constitution for the new South Africa.

Now, the document has been uncovered
and has been presented to the people it
was actually meant for: South Africa's citi-
zens. i
The document aims at equipping ordi-
nary people with the knowledge to active-
ly and effectively- participate in shaping
their society's future.

- tired Anglo boss Mr Gavin Relly. It was
- researched and written by Mr Bobby God-

hglo's Contr
debate in SA

was flown to Lusaka for presentation
to the ANC and delivered to the desks
of various government Ministers -â\200\224 |
creating the impression that the min-

" The book was commissioned by now-re-
sell, a director of the corporation reSponsi-â\200\230 j

ble for public affairs and industrial relations, Mr Michael Spicer, Anglo's public

affairs consultant, Mr Mike Dowd, a director and chairman of the Anglo Ameri-

can Chairman's Fund, and public affairs

special assistant Ms Margie Keeton. A panel of international experts screened the report. :

~South Africans are bombarded daily by

political jargon, echoing through jam-packed sports stadiums and city halls, and

- spread across newspaper columns. Anglo's

report assists the layman by clarifying some key terms of the political debate.

Concepts such as democracy, group rights and socialism are used regularly but often incorrectly are discussed in the context in which they are applied in various countries. _ '

Shaping a Future South Africa also analyses various constitutional options a divided or a united country, a federal or a unitary state, one or two chambers of Parliament. A

Drawing from international experience, it discusses the advantages and disadvantages of various constitutional models,

used in countries ranging from the US to

Japan and Brazil to Botswana.

~

People often say South Africa's prob-

"Equipping ordinary people . . . Mr Mike 'Oc'ID:v'\::Ia, a director and chairman of the Anglo American Chairman's Fund.

G

ey

- lems, says co-author Mr Spicer. Although he stressed that the authors, all members of Anglo American's Scenario Planning Team, had spelt out options rather than offered solutions, suggestions are made on the type of government needed in South Africa. : '

' mocracy in a united South Africa are divided into federal states in order to accommodate group diversity, an option

lems are unique. This is simply an excuse for confronting the issues. There is a whole body of experience available, suggesting various ways in which to tackle our prob-

They seem to favour a multi-party system.

.

' not available in a centralised state.

Dealing with the choice between a unit-

ed or divided country, they say secession

an option preferred

- groups in South Africa could be costly both in terms of human relations and the duplication of government. g

y right-wing

The alternative is a united country, functioning either as a federation or a central state. - s i)

Dealing with the centralised state in

only one paragraph, the authors merely

cited examples of unitary states (such as Britain and France) and explain that all powers and functions are concentrated in national institutions. '

Far more space is devoted to federalism. ;

Political power is shared between a central administration and federal units such as in the US, the Federal Republic of Germany and Switzerland.

- Although a federation does not necessarily

resolve group conflict, it offers opportunities to accommodate group diversity first because different groups may exercise power in different federal units, second because devolved decision-making allows for different patterns of govern-

ding

exist, of which one prominent method is the voucher system, where funding is pro-

vided to the parent rather than the school system.

n to political

ment as well as the competitive pursuit of rival policies, :

% Because federalism allows people to vote with their feet, it promotes popular

participation in government and provides

greater scope for local decision-making.

. The authors' preference for the devolution of power is demonstrated by the sug-

gestion that the more dispersed and numerous the forms of state power there are, the easier it will be to accommodate divergent and rival groups within the institutions of government,

Using education as a central political concern as an example, the authors suggest that decisions about schooling should |

~ be taken at community level.

When national or even regional authorities determine education they choose sides between both parents and between competing concepts of education. Here these decisions are devolved to the

ional educa-

" neighbourhood or community, these divisive, emotion-charged choices are avoided.

«

arious mechanisms for the state function of schools, without state control,

Dealing with electoral systems, the book examines the pros and cons of the winner-takes-it-all system and, alternatively, proportional representation. S

The authors say a suitable electoral system, combined with a diversity of representative bodies and a power-sharing pattern in the country's executive, can provide powerful incentives for both inter-party and inter-group accommodation.

SeePg 2

Anglo American's long-awaited contribution to the
political dialogue in
South Africa, 'Shaping a Future South Africa: A
1992

Constitution-making

(Human & Rousseau and Tafelberg),

was published

yesterday. Political Reporter ESMARE VAN DER MERWE wrote the
following report:

They
any form, is
ent parties and groups to

ity. The motive has often
to end or prevent civil war.
Conflict itself, rather than

of power.

Success

conclude that power-sharing, in -
the will and ability of differ- .
co-operate in the
exercise of executive government author- -
been a sober one: | .

deals struck?

. in smoke-filled rooms, or complex consti- ..
tutional formulas, may drive the sharing

of a new SA

Baroness S a
ERom Pq1

political participation

A new South African constitution can only
be successful if it is the product of broad
political participation.

In 'Shaping a Future South Africa',
Anglo American's team of writers sug-
gests how broad-based participation can
be achieved in the process of drafting a
new constitution. ;

They identify three stages
constitution-making process. !

First, proposals should be drafted by
various authors reflecting all the key par-
ties to political conflict.

Apart from rich international experi-
ence, SA groups such as the kwaZu-
lu/Natal Indaba, the ANC and the National -
Party have already tabled proposals for

constitutional change. 230

These documents suggest some important areas of agreement: a united (though not necessarily unitary) country, equal political participation for all, a multi-party democracy, the independence of the judiciary and a bill of rights. ,

The authors say an expert individual or group could chart areas of agreement as well as a set of alternatives. Foreign ex-

in the cndsti-;

pertise could be enlisted to examine what

SA could learn frpxq other socieĩ-201gs.

Viwe must Took for countries of comparable levels of economic development, in

dustrialisation and urbanisation. Brazil,

Mexico, Portugal, Greece and India may all have something to offer in this regard.235
Second, alternative proposals should be

debated by all groups with significant political power 224 on the

are willing to compromise. The process of debate should allow for leaders to discuss concession or deadlock issues with

their supporters. .

234Constitutions agreed to :231f

without the step-by-step knowledge and support of their followers are unlikely to

. be effective.235

" A third stage is the ratification and adoption of agreed compromises by the broadest and most inclusive ;i;ocdfssdg:

r participation possible. ivi

ggsities like sr:uth Africa, constitutions not only need the support of numerical

majorities

ised minorities on whose co-operation the enjoys sufficient confidence across groups

230inclusive endorsement _would indicate

point should be the drafting of a bill of

230 litical violence. ot L

s â\200\234Surely this instrument â\200\224 if supported

leaders

but also those politically organ-

â\200\234Shaping a Future South

iy

onstitytion hinges on

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:Al\lcik.;â\200\231.s Gâ\200\231NTR'BHT:an/ 7o Poki Tichl

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â\200\234oroad

M- e s 3 - GUERE

Africa: A Citlzens' Guide to Constitution-

makingâ\200\231â\200\231 suggests how ordinary South Africans can participate in

/ drawing up @ new constitution. ESMARE VAN DER MERWE reports.

.

constitution depends.

This suggested process raises many .
problems. Which individual or group

to be entrusted with the drafting of pro- !
posals, how can the type of debate needed
be initiated, and what form of popular but

broad-based support?

The authors suggest that the starting

rights, a principle which has been accept-
ed by most major players. â\200\230
â\200\234The purpose of a bill of rights is to en-
sure the necessary degrees of freedom for
all citizens to join or form political par-
ties, articulate and debate po tical aspira-
tions, and engage in peaceful politi
tivity. :

â\200\234At the same time this concept is de-
signed to protect public order against po- -

by a political culture which makes it more
than a piece of paper â\200\224 holds the promise
of reconciling freedom and order in a way
that will make a debate about future con-
stitutions both possible and constructive.
â\200\230Perhaps the first debate should be about
the bill of rights.â\200\235

Urging all citizens to take command of
their destiny by participating in the draft-

ing of a new constitution, the authors conclude: "Democracy is not South Africa's inevitable or automatic destiny. In history government by consent has been the ex-

ception rather than the rule. Yet there are many

grounds to believe that democratic politics are possible in South Africa. 4 3

ac-

Anglo direct
Godsell, responsible for
affairs and industrial relations, A

ing out options...

, "Popular cultures, indigenous and imported, which cherish liberty; key democratic institutions such as the courts, the press and universities, economic interdependence; and perhaps crucially a set of alternatives, all of which seem much less attractive; all suggest the possibilities -

~ for a meaningful, inclusive democracy

here.

"Much will depend on the expectations SA's citizens express and the accountability they demand of their political leaders."

i MERCURY

ON AND ON go?she kill-
ing and burning in Natal, as
do the vigorous assertions
of innocence by leaders of
' lall factions. And so it has
for close to four years. Late-
ly, among the grave allega-
â\200\230tions made, are those of two
South African Police offi-
cers that certain KwaZulu
policemen have been guilty
of the â\200\230wild and recklessâ\200\231
shooting of innocents.

The Minister of Law and
Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has
flitted about the Natal-
KwaZulu skies and had
talks with Chief Minister
Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who
accuses Cosatu of trying to
run the country. His anger
can be judged from his
warning that while he had
' never given the word for
Inkatha to â\200\230go. out on pre-
emptive attacks ... God
knows if I had to say yes, let
us go and clean up that
mess, there would be an
-awesome spectacle of abso-
lute brute power sweeping
'all the muck out of the
. greater Pietermaritzburg
| amaâ\200\231. j

- Fearful words that should
add even greater urgency to
the Government taking
ateps to have an indepen-

ent judicial commissioner
report expeditiously on the
21ajor causes of what is vir-

ually open warfare, while
-getting on in the meantime
ith correcting the many
ciological deficiencies it
as known to have been fes-
tering for decades.
'â\200\234The years of delay, ne-
glect and downright callous
indifference are even more
unacceptable now, not that
they were ever to be con-
ned at any stage.
lo The belated strengthen-
ing of security forces to curb
the violence and the extens-

ion of army call-ups 60
days are only as welcome as
a fire engine at a blaze.
But if there are political
firebugs running loose, as
there are, whose leaders
publicly profess non-violence while supporters behave otherwise, as well as an African National Congress that encourages bloodshed from almost every platform through its adherence to the armed struggle, then what hope of an end to the mayhem until

. the instigators are clearly

identified by an independent, objective inquiry so that action can be taken against them?

Which is why we urge President de Klerk, among his other measures, not to continue pondering a judicial commission into Natal's troubles, but in Heaven's name to appoint one immediately with orders for an interim report to speed up the process.

The sight of security forces running about darning down blazes and mopping up blood is a poor substitute for remedies, which we freely concede are not simply arrived at. But until offenders at leadership level can be identified and held responsible with no room for denial, the charade of denials will continue.

In the meantime we urge ourselves as well as with Dr Allan Boesak who has called on the ANC to cease all violence and suspend the armed struggle.

or as long as the call to arms echoes about the country there will be no

peace. And, as President de

lerk has indicated, that

means little hope of real
negotiations.

Jme questions
r Cosatu

SIR â\200\224 I would take your leader of April 14
â\200\230Stay-aways and the work ethicâ\200\231 a stage further
in a more direct vein. Lol

The stay-away on April 9
allegedly in rotest at the KwaZulu police
presence in the townships, appeared to be a
show of â\200\230one upmanshipâ\200\231 against the stay-away
enforced in Umlazi a week previously when a

deputation of â\200\230parentsâ\200\231 marched to the police
station to hand in a petition for the same
purpose.

On both occasions mayhem, arson and
looting took place with consequent loss of
lives, property, income and respect for the
rights of the individual. Â¢

Perhaps the leaders of Cosatu should ask
themselves whether:

Â® They themselves forfeited a dayâ\200\231s wages as
did the tens of thousand they purport to,
: represent? ;

@ Their lives and property were put at risk? |

@ Their children once again lost a day of
much-needed education? 1)

in jeopardy] as are the ap-

ers -as parent com-

panies are sâ\202¬ g closing?

result of a power Break on Sunday

re without electricity un-

Tuesday April 10 because the electricity de-

partment could not enter the township to
effect repairs? Â¢

@ The food in their fridges went bad causing
further loss and hardship?

@ Any of their children are asthmatic and
were deprived of much-needed power for elec-
tric breathing apparatus?

1 might add that as a result of the last men-
tioned, I know of at least two children who suf-
fered seizures.

called by Cosatu

Al

NOT FOOLED

gooooo

SIR â\200\224 When are the

black workers of this
country going to wake up to the fact that their
unions have got too political. Instead of doi
their job of negotiating for better conditions,
benefits and more wages for their members,
they order rotest stay-aways, thereby causing
their members to lose wages they can ill-
afford.

Union officials sit back and draw their not
inconsiderable salaries no matter how many
stay-aways they order. Â¢

So who are the mugs? -
Durban

JOHN WALKER

NEWS

-

THE recent massive onslaught against the
â\200\234United Democratic Front communitiesâ\200\235
in the Natal midlands and Mpumalanga
was the result of outrage in the â\200\234Inkatha
communitiesâ\200\235 over the behaviour of many
of the comrades.

This explanation of the recent upsurge
in violence has been given by researchers
at the Inkatha Institute.

They were commenting on a serious new
trend in the conflict which has seen large
groups of people from areas associated
with Inkatha attacking areas labelled
UDF. Unlike previous fighting, which has
tended to involve attacks on selected
houses, these incidents have been attacks
on a whole community. :

The Joint Working Committee of the
UDF and Cosatu has said the attacks were
by large, armed â\200\234Inkatha impisâ\200\235.

At one stage during the height of fight-
ing in the midlands late last month, moni-

- tors recorded seeing about 12 000 armed
men in the field, most of whom, according
to the JWC, were members of these â\200\234Inka-
tha impisâ\200\235.

However, after interviewing large
samples of people involved in the fighting
or closely associated with it, Inkatha Insti-
tute researchers said that they had come
to a different conclusion.

They did not dispute large numbers
were involved, but said it was incorrect to
claim the attacks were orchestrated or
planned by Inkatha leadership.

Institute director Mr Gavin Woods said
they discovered enormous anger over the

aka| wikness

â\200\234tyrannyâ\200\235 exercised by comrades living in
â\200\234UDF areasâ\200\235. This growing anger and the
potential for an explosion had been de-
tected three or four weeks before the mid-
lands erupted.

â\200\234There was escalating harassment by
comrades of commuters going through the
valley from outlying areas to town. People
reported these incidents to the police.
When nothing happened, people com-
plained the police were supporting the
comrades by allowing them to get away
with these â\200\230terror tacticsâ\200\231.

â\200\234It caused enormous anger in the Sweet-
waters, Taylorâ\200\231s Halt, Mpumuza and Ca-
luza areas. People were harassed going to
work, to school, to town to buy food.â\200\235

He said that on March 24 a woman and
her child were badly stoned on the Eden-
dale Road. The next day buses going to an

Inkatha rally were stoned. A minibus was '
burnt with a number of passengers inside.

The following day barricades were set

up on the roads and a vehicle belonging to
Chief Shayabantu Zondi â\200\224 who claims a
constituency of 100 000 people in the Mpu-
muza area â\200\224 was stoned and his child
slightly injured.

â\200\234This appears to have been the catalyst.
There was a lot of discussion and a deci-
sion manifested itself that these people in
the communities being terrorised by the
comrades would go and deal with them.â\200\235

Mr Woods said the researchers asked
interviewees why they attacked and
whether it was an â\200\234Inkatha attackâ\200\235.

â\200\234People told us it was the whole commu-
nity who became involved. Yes, there was
an input from Inkatha structures in the
area but it was not an â\200\230Inkatha card-carry-
ing decisionâ\200\231. It was more a question of the
community being taken beyond its toler-
ance.

planning. Itâ\200\231s interesting to us that many
involved in the attack were people from an
age group not usually involved in the fight-
ing. Up to now itâ\200\231s been the youth doing the
fighting. But these were adults â\200\224 many
were 50 years old or so.â\200\235 g
He said a large sample of people with

â\200\234good first-hand knowledgeâ\200\235 had been |
interviewed.

â\200\234It came up quite cle@rly that it was the |

anger of the whole community â\200\224 not just
â\200\234There seems to iave been a fair bit of*

bwi) ~\ A0

-y

diands viglence; communities
2R â\200\230outraged

Researchers at the Inkatha Institute have blamed the recent upsurge of
violence in the Natal midlands on outrage in Inkatha communities at the
behaviour of UDF â\200\230â\200\230comradesâ\200\231â\200\231. CARMEL RICKARD asked institu
te director
Gavin Woods to elaborate.

" theInkatha elements in it. It wasnâ\200\231t just In-

katha people who were being harassed
and intimidated.

the only solution was to attack those coin-
munities seen to be giving shelter to the
comrades.â\200\235

N:. Asked to explain why attacks were made

-on communities far removed from the

started in one area â\200\234it spread very
quicklyâ\200\235. ;

was alleged people from the area fired at

people travelling on the main road past

the township.

nities being angered because their life
line to the towns is threatened.â\200\235 :
Â« Mr Woods and other researchers said
there was a similar situation in the Table
Mountain area and in Mpumalanga, where
comrades controlled the road forming â\200\234a
lifelineâ\200\235 for the outlying communities.
â\200\234These communities also complained to
researchers about the breakdown in

society, especially in respect for age, and

expressed their anger at killings by the

youth.

â\200\234We have discovered a new-found re-

solve spreading through the communities .
and people living in these so-called Inka-:

tha areas are now on a major offensive.â\200\235
â\200\234They are not saying they want people to
' join Inkatha, but â\200\230the young people are.

causing these problems and we want to
deal with themâ\200\231.

â\200\234We are seeing a Zulu-instigated solu-
tion. It appears a feeling is spreading that
the communities have taken things for too
long. Now they realise they can actually
come together and do something about it.â\200\235

â\200\234People from"the areas affected by the . % P
| constant harassment of the comrades felt e)
: - to restore their dignity. They have gone

_ scenes of the comradesâ\200\235 stoning of buses, !
Mr Woods said that once the violence

He said researchers from many areas

were hearing complaints about youth run--

ning amuck and terrorising communities.

â\200\234It seems there is a Zulu-ness about the
new developments. The communities want

beyond the limits of their tolerance and
want to go back to basic values â\200\224 like a for-
mally structured community and a belief
inorder.

â\200\234They feel they have achieved some suc-
cess through the recent attacks. il

â\200\234The communities have certainly shown

| the comrades that they mean business.â\200\235

Â® Members the Joint Working Committee,

| considt 5

Of Mpophoment in particulahe said it | onsisting of representatives of Cosatu

and the UDF trying to find ways to end the
violence said they were taking the Inkatha
Institute allegations seriously and were

D : - investigating them.

â\200\234So once again it is a question of commu- i

The ;
Natal Witness
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Sebokeng
and Natal 4-

The State President is to be
commended for his decision

to appoint a judicial commis-
sion of inquiry to investigate
the shootings at Sebokeng on
March 26. But his detailed ex-
planation â\200\224 he was at great
pains to assure MPs that he had
not bowed to pressure from
ANC leadership â\200\224 was unnec-
essarily laboured and smacked
too much of trying to forestall
right-wing accusations.

r de Klerkâ\200\231s rationale for
not appointing a judicial com-
mission to investigate the vio-
lence in Natal is unconvincing

â\200\230and tends to reinforce the
impression â\200\224 rightly or wrongly
â\200\224 that the authorities may be in
collusion with one or other of
the parties. It is nonsense that a
commission cannot be ap-
pointed because the conflict is
ongoing and widespread: these
are precisely the reasons why a
commission is necessary. And
the longer the appointment is
delayed, the greater will be the

_ suspicion that the authorities
do not want the whole truth re-
vealed.

The sending of army battal-
ions into the townships can only
be a short-term solution. A judi-
cial commission could investi-
gate the whole matter fully and
point the way to the restoration
of a semblance of normality.

More than 1 000 teachers under KwaZulu's Department of Education
security in schools. A memorandum was handed to the circuit inspector Mr D.M. Ngidi.

Education and Culture took to Mpumalanga streets yesterday to protest against the lack of -

-It has been said often that the police force is

..Furthermore, there are enough guns around,;
. there are enough battle-hardened veterans of

â\200\231 Ã©

THE CITIZEN

QMMENT

White violence

IN the highly charged atmosphere that is
veloping as the government moves towards
negotiation with the ANC (and other organi-
sations) of a new dispensation in which a
Black government is possible, the build-up of
Right-wing anger is becoming more pro-
nounced â\200\224 and dangerous.

It is not only the extreme Right that is up in
arms (literally); feelings are running high in
other sections of the White community, par-
ticularly among Afrikaners totally opposed
to Black rule â\200\224 particularly ANC rule.

On the extreme Right, there are organisations
talking of civil war and counter-revolution.
One might easily be tempted to dismiss them
as louts and braggarts who talk big but do

nothing.

However, the arms snatch from the South
African Air Force headquarters in Pretoria,
allegedly with the connivance of national ser-
vicemen, is worrying, not because of the
amount of arms seized â\200\224 certainly not
enough to arm any significant force â\200\224 but
because it was allegedly an â\200\234inside jobâ\200\235.

riddled with Right-wingers â\200\224 and that the Defence Force has more than a fair share of them too. :

- If extremists were to gain direct swpo%tl;fggm x .

within the security forces, this would be a very serious development. 2

Fortunately, the SAP and the SADF are loyal to the government of the day â\200\224 and have been in the past when the authority of the State has been challenged, though in different circumstances. ,

Nevertheless, the arms snatch is a warning that the threat by extremists cannot be taken

lightly.

there are enough people trained to use them,

the Border War who might be tempted to join these extremist organisations to make. - the threat of armed resistance a disturbing

one.

The Conservative Party, which talks of using _constitutional means to oppose the governmentâ\200\231s new South Africa plans, nevertheless backs the right of individuals to defend themselves, assists in the setting up of at least one self-protection organisation, and whips up feelings against the government in unbridled Tanguage. ;

-It is perhaps unwittingly, rather than deliberately, encouraging the â\200\234fight it out mentalityâ\200\235 that is growing among sections of the White population. ; :

â\200\230In this emotional atmosphere, nobody is telling the men who believe they can determine the future through the barrel of the gun that there is no hope whatsoever of keeping the Blacks from achieving: equality with the Whites, no hope. of keeping the country â\200\234White,â\200\235 no hope .of keeping the country

under White control. 3

It is as if the possibility of White violence has
to t?e,!(ept hidden, in case people take fright.

But it is something that should be discussed

. - openly, because of the potential for creating

. another Lebanon if people do not come t.

their senses. alad-om

It is another reason why the African National

. Congress should abandon its â\200\234armed, strugs.

.~ .gleâ\200\235 and put an end to the violence racki

r e LOWNSBIPS . .\ iz e s

<~ Fotithe:more destabilisation there is; the mq

; ;u)lence, the greater the chance.of White ex-

emist groups getting support from peopie-

who are angered by what is happenilrlâ\200\231ge(:lâ\200\230r?:

who adopt the attitude that if the ANC uses

- violence, they can use counter-violence; if

the ANC can achieve its objectives with guns

and bombs, why shouldnâ\200\231t they?

Only if all violence ends can the situation be

defused and the danger of a race conflict

averted.

It is also true that there can be no peace if

there is a new dispensation that is unaccept-

able to the majority of Whites, as well as

Blacks. :

80th Africa needs peace and stability, now

when a new dispensation is about to be nego-

tiated, and afterwards when it is in force,

The alternative could.be too ghastly to con-

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Institute, which special-

ised in agriculture.

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There are also various
other training institutions
which offered a wide

range of courses.

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unions,

Participants who made
use of these programmes
were from various accep-
ted community based or-

trade

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ganisations, such as Oper-

ation. Hunger and World
Vision, and most of the

major
whether affiliated or inde-
pendent.

from
com-
rgon

in Israel

agriculture,

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It was intended to assist
the oppressed communi-
preparation for the post-

The president of Inka-
tha, Chief Mangosuthu

Buthlezi, had also ear-

apartheid era, he said:
made by SAYCO, de-

scribing them as â\200\234untrue

lier denied the allegations
and patentlv ridiculousâ\204ç.

ties of South Africa in

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4

_ Citizen Reporter
INKATHA youths were
being trained in Israel,
where they were instruc-
ted to be against apart-
heid and the African Nat-
ional Congress, the re-
elected president of the
South African = Youth
Congress, Mr Peter Mo-
kaba, said at a Press con-
ference in Johannesburg
yesterday. .

The allegation was
based on information sup-
plied by a dissident Inka-
tha member (whose name
was not disclosed for safe-
ty reasons) involved with
the training and proces-
sing of Inkatha youth.

The vice president of
Sayco, Mr Nyami Booi
claimed that they had vi-
deotaped evidence from
Inkatha defectors.

alteses
el trains
Inkatha " ~

They fiercely expressed
their opposition to the at-
tendance of such a confer-
ence by Chief Buthelezi.

He (Chief Buthelezi).
was accused of being part
of the apartheid regime
responsible for the viol-
ence together with the
Minister of Law and Or-
der, Mr Adriaan Vlok.
and the Minister of De-
fence, General Magnus
Malan.

They had not declared
Inkatha as their enemy.
only Chief Minister Bu-

thelezi, said Mr Mokaba.

Ordinary members of
Inkatha were, however.
invited to join the talks.

Sayco reaffirmed its

tiations and for the inter-
national community to in-
tensify sanctions.

Sayco also announced
their integration into the
ANC Youth Section in
the near future and asked
the youth to help build
ANC structures inside the
country.

These resolutions were
adopted at the first open
national Sayco congress
held in Kangwane town-
ship in the Eastern Trans-
vaal, attended by 1 762
delegates from eleven re-
gions.

Formed in 1987, the or-
ganisation claims a mem-
bership of over half a mil-

lion

young people.

as Hispadrut.

15

The President of Inka- support for the back to
the, Chief Mangosuthu school campaign but The newly elected and
Buthelezi, rejected the al- whether students and enlarged national ex-
legations describing it as teachers would stay in the executive committee com-
â\200\234untrue and patently re- classroom depended on prizes amongst others of
ridiculousâ\200\235. â\200\234So-called de- the attitude of the govern- Mr Peter Mokaba (pres
ident
factors can say what they meant, said Mr Mokaba. dent); Mr Nyami Booie
like in videotaped evi- â\200\234It was not a re-concil- (vice-president); Mr
dence â\200\224what evidence,â\200\235 iation with Bantu Educa- Rapu Molekane (general
he said. tion,â\200\235 he said. Â© secretary); Mr Jerry

Sayco endorsed the call A call was made upon Ndou (administration sec-
for a peace conference of the government to clear retary); Mr Kgaogelo
all organisations opposed obstacles, such as - the Lekgoro (organising sec-
to :apartheid violence by police violence in Scho- retary) and Mr Ignatius
My Nelson Mandela, king. in the way of nego- Jacobs (treasurer).

â\200\230v

eme of training pro-
The three main trainin
institutions attended b
SA candidates were the

The spokesman con-

grammes in the field of
community development,

education,

-+ cooperatives and labour

the Israeli Cabinet to e

tablish a wide ran

sch

in Haifa, specialising in
community development.

- the Afro-Asian Institute.
ation of Trade Unions

known
eratives. and the Rupin

bour relations and co-op-

affiliated to the Feder-
which specialised in la-

on September 16, 1987 b
Mount Carmel Institute

munities had unde

underpriveleged *
such trainin
since 1987.

relations, he said.
' firmed that about. 250

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its members, a spokes-
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assistance or milita

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ISRAEL had not ren-

dered

any milit
to emphatically

equivocally deny
_ allegations,â\200\235

training to the Inkatha
movement, or any of

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He was reacting to alle-, South Africans
A decision was taken

â\200\234The Embassy of Israel

wishes

bassy in Pretoria said
gations made on Wednes-
day by the president of
the South African Youth
Congress (SAYCO), Mr
Peter Mokaba, that Inka
tha youths were under
going training in Israel.
where they were taught to
oppose apartheid and the
African National Con-
gress (ANC).

man for the Israeli Em-:
yesterday.

and un
these
said

less, Friday, April 20,1990 Page 7

The
Natal Witness | Negslwotnest
j.-mtwâ\200\230 \AND

T N

Refugee ' Boldness needed

to restore peace

Ca| I I ps 2 ONLY actions â\200\234far beyond anything any-

thing yet attemptedâ\200\235 would have any

e

: - : - chance of restoring peace in the town-
he Midlands Crisis Relief Commit- ships, according to director of the Inkatha
E, 50%e30()is %s.k;â\200\230ng tthe Plipvill':c% for Institute Mr Gavin Woods.
which, at an estimated ex- : .

oo e g A He said actions for peace would have to
penditure of R20 000 weekly, willlht;e ; be imaginatively planned and would need 2
the cost of feeding the 6 000 townshi to â\200\234impact on all the affected townships 2
refugees currently in camps ln an simultaneouslyâ\200\235. ! :
around Pietermaritzburg for six ; 2 ingis
months. From one point of view the re- The Governmentâ\200\231s strategy of deploying =
quest is modest: it represents a daily extra troops at the same time as imple-

expenditure on eac individual of gxenting socioâ\200\224econom_ic.uplitâ\200\230tment coul
d

. e a good model, but if it were to work it
about 48 cents. By contrast the mil would need far more troops and far more

lions poured by Government into :
township security operations are stag- OB, e gald,
gering. . Mr Woods suggested ideas of helping
Obviously, homeless refugees must create a new â\200\234culture of peaceâ\200\235, saying a
be sheltered and fed. However, refu- sustained â\200\234hearts and minds campaignâ\200\235
gee camps are nothing but camps â\200\224 could be launched which would try to cul-
that is, they are by definition tempo- tivate â\200\234an extreme disgust for violenceâ\200
\235.

{fnrgÃ© at%(xl' tm:tige; ggfï~\201:hglj_â\200\231 I:vagncgg- The campaign would include the
use of

: i the media, pamphlets, marches and mass
come semi-permanent, - as has community functions :

hagpened in, for exampfe, Beirut, is :

both distressing and repugnant. Not He also backed the strategy, supported =
only might their maintenance become by a number of other groups, for Chief Z

an intolerable strain on the resources Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Â£ |

of the province and the local commu- Mandelp to addx_â\200\230ess a series of joint Inka- =
nity, but, prolonged camp life will be tha-African National Congress rallies and
desperately bad for the refugees together call for peace.

themselves. To live in a makeshift %
community, often in enforced idle-
ness and dependent on handouts, is to
become subject to a pathological state
of boredom and rootlessness â\200\224
already manifesting itself â\200\224 which
may lead on one hand to anger and
violence, and on the other to depres-
sion, inertia and despair.
Hand-to-mouth planning â\200\224 by all,
from central Government down â\200\224 is
not enough. There must be recons-
truction and organised rehabilitation,
so that refugees can cease to be statis-
tics and become, once again, people
with a sense of belonging and a stake
in the future.

AT a e

.â\200\234Ek%t

ve-elected

- PRI

- and be elected. ; :

It also indicates which political ||
| than by having elections in which
~ each party is represented accord-

By DR HENNIE LOTTER,

Senigr Lecturer in the Dept of
Philgsophy, at Rand Afrikaans
_erslty

\ :

There seems to be general confu-
sion in South Africa today about
the composition of the group of
people who will be deciding the .
constitutional future of our coun-
try when â\200\234real negotiationsâ\200\235 even-
tually get started.

Some times, it seems as if all
â\200\234realâ\200\235 leaders will be present, at

L B S N, 6L 5

other times it seems as if the Gov-
ernment and the ANC will be the
only two partners.

drawing up of a constitution is a
matter that will seriously affect
all aspects of our future life in tlms
country.

Hopefully South Africans havei
learnt by now â\200\224 through the 1910
and 1983 constitutions â\200\224 that thei
writing of a constitution by a non-

only leads to resentment and re-
sistance and creates the urgenti
need to rewrite.

* The constitution of a socxety can.
be defined as the way in which its|
political institutions are struc-

tured. |8

A constitution defines the political institutions, specifies how their members are to be elected and de-

termines who has the right to elect |

e

offices will be part of the political institutions, what their legitimate functions are, and how office-bear-

This issue is important as the (d

representative group of people: |

3

ers are to be elected and appointed : i

A constitution also has to state the relationships between the various political institutions, such as the parliament, a presidency (if any) or a second chamber, and also the relationships between the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government. :

A constitution has to fulfil these functions in such a way that it simultaneously embodies the political values of the various communities in South Africa and ensures the presence of political processes that will lead to Just political outcomes.

Qualifications

The question now is: who has the right to participate in drawing up a new constitution?

Obviously, there will have to be certain qualifications for prospective participants

If we sincerely wish to learn from our mistakes, then it should be clear that a new constitution should be drawn up by a body of people who are representative of the South African population.

If, for example, any leader whether a homeland leader or an exiled one claims to be representing a specific constituency, then he would have to prove it by gaining support in democratic

" elections.

There seems to be little doubt that South Africa is in a process of democratisation. What better way to give this process the legitimacy it needs than by having elections for representatives to a constitutional convention?

This has the implication that the Government itself would have to fight an election. for the right to participate in the constitutional convention â\200\224 and rightly so, too.

Only those people who are sup-

ported by the citizens of the South African state should have the right

to represent them at such a major event in the history of our country. It will indeed be a major event, involving the remaking of society. Granting effective and equal political rights to all South Africans would also be part of the remaking of South African society â\200\224 not least because it would involve .a full recognition of the equality of â\200\230all citizens and protect the basic human rights of everyone.

If our society is to be remade then every one of us should be represented equally.

What better way to ensure this

ing to the proportion of the votes that it gets?

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b