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CISKEY'S Brigadier Oupa Ggozo this week finally gave evidence before a Bisho inquest court probing the killings of two alleged coup conspirators.

General Charles Sebe and Colonel Onward Guzana were killed during a Ciskei military operation in January 1991.

Brigadier Ggozo issued two decrees to prevent him from having to testify. These were overturned by the homelands' courts before he was compelled to appear before Mr Justice Mike Claasens, who had earlier labelled his failure to come to court as 'unreprehensible'.

The small public gallery was packed with supporters, including cabinet members, as he took the stand on Monday.

The brigadier spent three days giving evidence. Questions focused on an interview he had with Durban journalist Yogin Dgvani after the killings.

Choosing to speak in Xhosa, though

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' SN D A L1 nf'â\200\230\ëÃ@1
,Death of conspirator
pleased me, says Ggozo

By ANDREW TRENCH

breaking frequently into English, Brigadier Ggozo told the court his references to a 'seek and destroy' order and to 'taking out' the two had been taken out of context.

Pressed by Ciskei's deputy attorney-general, Mr Leon Langeveld, to explain the 'seek and destroy' order, the brigadier said: 'That is when we talk about a tracking down or follow-up operation of an enemy. Well, search and destroy, in this case, means if you find such a person or that enemy in a situation dangerous to you, you are supposed to take him down, throw a stone at him, apprehend him, intimidate

him and, if the need arises, you can shoot
that person.

Sitting in a corner of the court was Colonel
Guzana's widow, Vive, who succeeded
in getting the Appeal Court to overturn the
brigadier's two decrees.

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THE Kwazulu government
was forced to leave the nego-
tiating table after it had
exhausted all other available
options and remedies to
ensure the cause of federal-
ism and constitutional guar-
antees triumph over authori-
tarian and centralistic hidden
agendas.

With all the means avail-
able within the process, we
tried to change the course
taken by negotiations. How-
ever, on every occasion we
were overruled, ignored and
even cut short. Our entire
vision for the establishment
of a federation prior to elec-
tions was not even put on the
table.

In fact, on June 15 1993 we
walked out for the first time
precisely because the ANC/-
SACP alliance and the South
African government/-
National Party delegation re-
fused to instruct the technical

el committee to give full con-

sideration to our proposal for
a final federal constitution by

the end of 1994 as an alterna-
tive to their proposal for a

two-stage transition process

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. | centred on the empowerment
" of a constituent assembly and

| a substantially unitary state.

On that occasion propaganda attempted to describe our walkout as a reaction to the setting of a date for a democratic election, while = our
| opposition to the election
| date was based on the fact

| that the ANC/SACP alliance
. and the government/NP

| were steamrolling the process into elections for a constituent assembly and avoid-

- ing the issue of federalism.

Our second walkout was at the meeting of the negotiation forum on July 2, and was caused by the decision to instruct the technical committee to draft a constitution to empower a constituent assembly and to establish a unitary state with some provincial or regional characteristics, rather than a true federation of states, such as the United States, Germany or Australia.

The decisions to instruct the technical committee and ratify the election date were taken over our most fundamental objections, which proved the point that our presence at the World Trade Centre is required only to rubberstamp what the ANC/-

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BEN NGUBANE, leader of the Kwazulu government delegation at the multi-party talks, tells why he walked out a month ago

Overruled,

â\200\234ignored and
â\200\234often snubbed

SACP alliance and the government/NP have already decided.

If the process allows these two organisations to make decisions over our most fundamental objections, our continuing presence in the process is not required.

The hard fact of the matter is that we were right, for the draft constitution submitted by the technical committee conclusively proved our contentions and confirmed our and South Africaâ\200\231s worst fears. :

Under the draft an extremely limited range of powers are considered for the regions, which are far less than those presently exercised by the self-governing territories. However, no power whatever will vest in the regions until and unless a decision in this sense is made by the new government and by two-thirds of the constituent assembly.

This process will decide how much power will be ex-

_ercised by the regions and

whether such power will be exercised as exclusive or concurrent power under the control of the national governmentâ\200\231s overriding powers. Therefore, a one-third minority lobby in the con-

stituent assembly would have effective power to prevent the vesting of any functions in the regions.

Similarly, the regions have no power to truly organise themselves in autonomy to participate effectively in the decision-making of the national legislature due to the limitations set forth on the adoption and contents of regional constitutions, and by

the fact that the senate will have no say on any matter which has financial implications.

However, and most importantly, whatever is written in this draft constitution is totally volatile because the draft empowers a constituent assembly and charges it with a specific constitutional duty to tear apart the interim constitution and replace it with a total revision.

Because of treacherous deadlock-breaking mechanisms, a 51-percent majority will have the effective power to adopt the final constitution and the full discretion to decide on its contents.

Even if the draft provides for a 60-percent majority to ratify the final constitution at a referendum, this requirement is defeated by another provision in the draft which

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makes it political suicide for any party to oppose the ratification at the referendum of the constitution adopted by a

51-percent majority of the constituent assembly. In fact, if a 51-percent

majority of the constituent assembly is defeated at a

referendum it will be entitled to an absolute blank cheque to do whatever it pleases the next time round.

Ostensibly, the draft attempts to circumscribe the discretion of a future constituent assembly, but we strongly believe that the techniques used for such a purpose are totally ineffective and tantamount to a token of faith and good intention.

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tions. R

We are fighting for the establishment of a federation with residual powers to the

member states and with
devolution to the federal
government of only those
powers which cannot be ade- |
quately or properly exercised ||
at state level. We are also ||
demanding the recognition of ||
the constitution of the state of | |
Kwazulu/Natal as one of the
founding blocks of the new
federation.

The draft constitution pre-
sented by the technical
committee excludes the very
notion of federalism and
gives a 51-percent majority
of the constituent assembly a
final say over what our desti-

ny is going to be. To us, this is i A

a formula for sure disaster,
irrespective of whoever con-
trols the constituent assem-
bly.

The Kwazulu government
believes its constitutional
goals should be achieved
through negotiations. Howev-
er, it sees no point in return-
ing to negotiations until the
rules of decision-making

have been either clarified or / :

amended to ensure that its e
participation in negotiations .

is not circumscribed to the || Â¢

role of a mere rubber stamp.

To have true negotiations, |-
the rules of the game need to |
force the participants into Â\$
real give and take. It appears |
clear that, irrespective of the
many promises and high-
sounding declarations, there
have been no real concessions

coming from the ANC/SACP |1t

alliance for 'the cause of AR s

federalism and pluralism in | Â¢ Â°

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our country. vy

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OUR weeks ago a daily newspaper took regional S :

;:D(J '.,\ 'le. | :
Slovoâ\200\231s right on time

: maps drawn up by the main political parties and fed Dominant language areas â\200\230 'SL
OVO took it upon hirmself this week
o them into its graphics computer. ; =Afrikaans =~ Borders ofregions proposed by CDDR e e |
i i i i the mission on regions, that they â\200\234were 5

: What en}erged was a compromise map for English National Park / Game Reserve D ae Jand alb
io Batier, than the
regiOHS in South Africa. e .Northem Sotho menâ\200\235 in the room.
A : ; i~\202 As he chose to launch into his
The exercise in educated guessing by Beeld could have saved the Southern Sotfo â\200\234com
pletely uncontroversial reflectionâ\200\235, as

| democracy talks at Kempton Park a lot of time, because the map B BOTSWANA e e i e o
| tabled by the Commission on the Delimitation of Regions this week o begun to be debated i
n public, it would be

1 > . e 8 charitable to believe that Mr Slovo has a

is almost identical. â\200\230 .Tswana fine sense of irony marred only by dreadful

Th,bre 1S no SUGgeStlon Venda i mĩ~\201:liriĩ~\201er that, or he wouldnâ\200\231t know a
= controversial remark if it bit him on his

that' the commission . .
copied the map, but the The eagerly awaited regional

| coincidence fuels fears map of South Africa was tabled
* | that the body acted as Â¢ ig week, but the haste of its

& Xhosa f slim and shapely ankle.

. Zulu

little more than a com- .Southern Ndebel

puter program itself, drafting may prove to be its

rigidly interpreting its .

bt Vand nover oues. undoing, reports CLAIRE

2 tioning vested interests ROBERTSON

y when it simply married

the maps of the larger

parties.

NAMIBIA

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â\200\230Like some parties said to the commissioners

| who draw up the regional boundaries, | donâ\200\231t

i like your map!â\200\231

il The commission did what e i B w â\200\230

| it was asked to do â\200\224 but was - bl ; i N â\204ç

o doomed from the start by the il o L o , :

Ko instructions it received from â\200\230 %z : , L e Â« :

Â©+ | the negotiating council, and e, e R e T R Gl G RE R

- . | its unwillingness or inability s ; i . i : N e â\202¬ Aue C

| to question these, say detrac- â\200\230 ATLANTIC \{HESE : g ouNsod Times - 8 fus,

| i \ - . | uthelezi by the book

Durban

tors of its report. OCEAN

REDOUBTABLE

Chief Minister

Mangosuthu

Buthlezi has

honed his stone-

walling tactics to a

. point where not

#Â¢ even the most
| pointed :
representations by
foreign dignitaries
make a dent.

- The chief has
long been known
for his lengthy
aide memoires
which he
painstakingly
reads to every % G A
delegation he meets and then distributes *
publicly immediately afterwards. ;

What can now be revealed is that he also
reads off a prepared statement even in

The worst of it is that prob- INDIAN OCEAN

S lems identified weeks ago â\200\224

3 el the PWV and the Natal/- 4 â\200\231 i
.. | eastern Cape border, whether â\200\230

"\ | the eastern Cape should be â\200\230

_ one region or two, whether Cape Town
. ., | the northern Cape should be |

. Â¢ | separate from the Western

East London

Â\$ Port Elizabeth

Graphic: FIONA KRISCH Sources: LANGUAGE ATLAS OF SOUTH AFRICA, HSRC; CDDR

RS Cape â\200\224 have not been solved

4 by neutral experts and are
now back in the hands of the
politicians.

The plea from Miss Ann

Bernstein, Urban Foundation ; J

director and commission :

black sheep for having dared , : i
to submit a minority report, / P
is that the commission be i :
sent back to the drawing-

i board.
; â\200\230Â»1? The commission â\200\224 and the
i negotiating council â\200\224 needed

Y to know several things before : S s . Â« f .]
L : for one slighting reference, had set the commission for stepped in to squash uncon- nel
er actually happened â\200\224 I suspect they ran out of | one-to-one mee i i isi
lrte ci?)lrlxl: R/fiosnSouBn::nSut%(i)E by the neg%tiatslg, councilâ\200\231s delimiting e
ach region had fortale questions. anl ignored the third. time at the end. The commis- Â¢ â
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Yol i) ggue i e (TR planning committee. been adequate. Papers tabled at the com- nother com
mission nod to Sion was given terms of refer- discouraging questions.
what real people living in But, in introducing his mission show that Miss Bern- thfoughnes
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ol real cHliss il illages warl. Â¢ JLGDQRtthe co-chairman, HIS question did not stein asked
right at the start tejlise. Earlyon it agreed tory, and was put under Â\$ sub-text. At Ulun
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& 'I ted for their future economist Dr Bax Nomvete, need to be answered, that the commissio
n receive toippoint a â\200\234senior team of lmmense pressure,â\200\235 Profes- & challe
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ol D t: if spent 10 n}inutes making ex- as it was covered in three things to help it inter
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from reort. R TR R DR e Bu R â\200\230
i answerf dear ler, â\200\230f3Ã°tâ\200\230~lâ\200\2301 ?Ve Indeed, the commission chairma
n of the debate, Mr politicians, a workshop on he men named are among| i R RS faes AR AR A
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i DUSNRLE .st)me. Y gĩ¬\201?râ\200\224â\200\230 ~ was given only six weeks to Pravin Gordh

an of the Natal ~why boundaries mattered t countryâ\200\231s pre-eminent | + ot o - ! e Âç
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(gy ;ielegattltles Dr Nomvete, answered the available time. rles Simkinfse; Cape Town | Vâ
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iversity professor of eco- | J A WS SIS ad i t0 invite \members of the!
economic and developmental gypmissions which had ria were those used in other talksâ\200
\231 planning committee â\200\224 ics Philip Black; Stellen- | - _ By MPHO KOBUE S O%i-
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iteria not take edence e A Ã@ oA : R â\200\230 - i
& criteria not take preceden helped the commission arrive countries and were â\200\234ade-
three men known by the nick- . . sch University professor of | THE ANC, IFP and PAC failed
to representing the Goldstone commis- ceremony.

: over â\200\224 or at least equal â\200\224 = 4Âç'jt5 decisions â\200\224 with the) : ' i
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v Al et i s quateâ\200\235. name â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230the facilitatorsâ\200\231â\200
\231 nomics Colin McCarthy, | tion of more than " edi: â\200\231s chi -ordinator for the
Rat {â\200\231grlil;wbsg ;ssqcia:(â\200\230i? usr?i?(l)li(rjnlcg clear implication that the
se The brief exchange because of their efficiency-at & Natal Universityâ\200\231s Ecg- ?mdf
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\231 ?vi-â\201.hif::,;)i: rBekker,saidhis
| i i were open to other interpre- ~masked a heated debate in . carrying out the will of th
eir ic Research Unit direc- | the SAP in Pretoria this week. loOSAP 'OI::blic relations chi
ef Major- region had not been aware of the invi-
Her temerity was pounced tations. the commission itself. . ' bosses.â\200\224 rejected the
first Professor Gavin Maas- = The SAP invited officials from the GeneralpLeon Mellet said t
he SAP had tation, and had only heard about it
upon by the highly defensive Delegates asked whether Then, as in the counÃ@il'this " reques
t. The commission â\200\230 organisations {0 attend as observers. often been accused of arm
ing itself afterwards.

A member of the National Party "o rininals with firearms confis- . ANC confirmed it had rec
eived
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but said it could not
preselitat ilic FALdEstic a%lsâ\200\231 That allegation, together A attend because of â\200
\234other commit-
despite the fact that nqmerofllsiâ\200\234c al fact that some political organisations o,
for the! public destrllcthIâ\200\230l, o liteigal â\200\230had asked their followel,"s. mgf
4 hand Last year, 891 AK-47 rifles were
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and civic organisations. , ino the present amnesty, ha ;
""The firearms were packed into 25 W8 T X â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

commission and ignored, but the much-criticised criteria it

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Brother had agreed tothe second â\200\224 but it /They never saw the report. |

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- Let merit follow its course

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DENE SMUTS warns against the sort of gender tokenism practised at -

the World Trade Centre talks

TWENTY-TWO years ago, I was vice-chair of the SRC at Stellenbosch University when the opportunity arose to send

a few students to England on

an Abe Bailey Travel Bursary.

I was one of those elected by my fellow SRC members. When the names were sent in, we were advised that females were not eligible.

So someone else went. I didn't like it.

This year, I have experienced exactly the opposite, and I don't like that either.

A decision was taken by sufficient consensus by the planning committee of the Multi-party Negotiation Council that every negotiating party would have two delegates, one of whom had to be a woman.

One of the Afrikaans newspapers featured a cartoon on the first morning of this programme of affirmative action, showing a very muscular person, with hairy legs and dressed in women's clothing, mincing up to the World Trade Centre. One security staff member mutters to another: Should we check for steroids?

We have reached the point

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{D{J ~NA A
where the matter must be
discussed openly, since there
are lessons to be learnt. My
party was not a part. of the
sufficient consensus.

The decision was largely
driven by Inkatha, which pro-
ceeds from an Ulundi deci-
sion that seats should be re-
served for women in all
future public bodies, includ-
ing parliament. This is, in my
view, retrogressive, since it
perpetuates the marginalisa-
tion of women.

Of all the parliaments in
the world, only four reserve
seats for women: Bangladesh,
Nepal, Pakistan and Tan-
zania. But it does not work,
according to a Bangladeshi
delegate who addressed a
recent conference of our
National Womenâ\200\231s Coalition.

Clearly, the non-interven-
tionist approach does not
work either â\200\224 only the Scan-
dinavian countries have 30
percent-plus female repre-
sentation in parliament. Until
very recently, the old democ-
racies â\200\224 the US, Britain and
France â\200\224 have all had only
six percent female MPs.

The position is improving,
but slowly. One of the prob-
lems is structural rather than
the product of prejudice: few

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Buthelezi

On Wednesday, IFP del-
egates revived the war talk RS

by stressing their unhappiness at the sufficient-consensus method of reaching 4 1 [fa decisions. Mr Felgate de-- Al A manded that no decision SEHES S could be seen as binding

Times g

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women with young children can decamp to the legislative capital for part of the year.

The same applies at the World Trade Centre. I am able to be an MP because I live in Cape Town. But I canâ\200\231t decamp to Johannesburg full-time, so I share our womenâ\200\231s seat with one of the DPâ\200\231s most senior elected female officers, Martheanne Finne- more, party leader in the Eastern Cape.

Since few parties or organisations have senior female office bearers, there was a problem to start with.

You run the risk with this sort of arrangement of placing people at a disadvantage, and in the full glare of public scrutiny, instead of the other way around. You run the further risk of inviting unfair questions about their competence and of creating the impression that they are passengers â\200\224 sidecar riders on a machine driven by men. It is important to put senior party women in the hot seats because they have been elected to speak for their parties and because they are

then already part of the process of policy formation. It is expecting the impossi-

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ble of a woman from outside | those structures to slot in â\200\224 |

especially part-time or now~ . = |

and then.

Discrimination is oftend '

simply a pattern of behaviour

that can be broken. But we have to be careful not to disadvantage people all over again by tokenism.

Our policy approach is influenced by Linda Human: bring people into the system and up to the point of selection (or election), but let that take place on merit.

In the case of the World Trade Centre, we proposed a technical committee of women on women, an upgrading of the gender advisory committee which the DP was the first to propose; and once the sufficient consensus started going against us, we pleaded for compulsory inclusion on the full teams, but not reserve delegatesâ\200\231 seats. i

In that way, you are genuinely serving the interests of | the group in need of affirmative action. Beware of empty measures which can backfire! ODene Smuts is DP MP for Groote Schuur. This is extracted from an address to a recent conference on affirmative action at the University of Stellenbosch

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OFrom Page 1 | \i] said it would boycott the e

| talks altogether until it B)
saw the constitution. R
And on Friday, Mr

{)J u\trfh\Â» D% Â\$ tIsâ\200\230irz At el gty IO e SR
CONSTITUTIONAL Development Minister Roelf. o 'o .Â« /o
Meyer accused ANC president Nelson Mandela yester-
day (t)fthwar_xtigg toldictatle discussions with the gover ;
; i ment through unilateral threats. s BEANON
SlÂ©)l;itth?}llngllaï~\201?sreatened to ey Mr Meyer said in a statement the government had
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Bl etor &ay e i 0 taken note of Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s statement on Friday tHat;- sdaeis
e e himsÂ©l Âf to thas S unless a date for an elected interim government was *
LB 5 Tong as the Gt 5 RS set at the next meeting between the two sides the ANC - Âç
constittition was acosts: | N would cut all bilateral links. SN / iy
i e mentix()m' _â\200\230The agenda for the expected bilateral discussions g o e
o fz)rming R e with the ANC has not been determined. It is therefore [Sreli B ARl fys
Srouning Y, a pity Mr Mandela is creating the impression that he. | = . ..

7 wants to determine the agenda and dictate discussionsÂ© |+
3 by unilateral threats,â\200\235 Mr Meyer said. % | :

| event of all others being
~ unacceptable â\200\224 but we .
would like to exhaust all =
other optionsâ\200\235, said Ciskei = |
delegate Mick Webb. 4
Mr Buthelezi has been |
accused on all sides of hav-
ing ulterior motives for
threatening to split the
talks. {

IFP ambivalence is |
attributed in equal parts to - | a0
attempts to stall elections, R R e v o
to internal divisions among . 3 : _ He added tl_'le government had already committed* OS] ;
the partyâ\200\231s constitutional l~ ' . . | itself to the implementation of an elected in
terimge [BERRGET AR St
advisers, and to Mr Buthe- b e e A e government, ; b Pt D 4
leziâ\200\231s fury at being â\200\234mar- d e e o R S R e s N e O 9
ginalisedâ\200\235 by the ANC. o SHRaNTI AR S U RS ST R : A S MR R NS

The, internal divisiongfie Fe btts s s s oo s
were highlighted yesterday: o ;
when a senior IFP negotia=&: | Tk S S R R EHUT Rt ;
tor, asked to explain what | i e R LA e i SRR) s GRS e R : A
lay behind the latestd [t s sl S AoI LG B S SO S R R R I e s R B) A
Ulundi threat, said: â\200\234Domâ\200\231tsÂ\$ || * * Â«Âç = o W0 o S ol e el R S e A s e M
ask me â\200\224 ask the person A GO AN S WA R e B B P A Gk
who wrote the speech.â\200\235 & |

Mr Niehaus said: â\200\234Oneis.
hopes the reason the IFP is%
playing this game is n
simply because they are:
afraid they will not gefet b B AR A R ey Gt SR R
support in elections.â\200\235 " 5@ il e am GERE AR | b e SRS BRI B e e R
Negotiators are growingis |- 7 A TOT TR IR St e el N O AT LT g
dizzy trying to keep up% | SRR B B R O R e S e e e A e e S Y
with Inkathaâ\200\231s constant = | i %l o = â\202~ ey ad oyt e NG B G e R RS SRR
shifts in position. (% rl R P s RO R B O by IS B RN Y

Two weeks ago, Inkatha | . " SR s RN
said it would â\200\234not partici- | .o RSN RSB
pate in the debateâ\200\235 until it |, R e e S e B A e B Rl e T b ST S e N S SESAT e A
saw a draft consitution ||\, O - AR S A AU o S R e N D S el S R SO
which met its needs. . 2) KBt Nl s o R R S O 2 T e e e e o i) i e TR b R

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20 SUNDAY TIMES, August 8 1993

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loose talk about civil war,

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B often expressed as a prediction of descent into Bosnia, M has been around for some time; this week, the reality of 'violence seemed to be catching up with the rhetoric.

! When organised forces ambush trains, rolling boulders onto the rails and attacking with firearms from both sides of the cuttings, or when huge tank traps are dug in the streets so that Casspir crews can be ambushed, or when arms smugglers masquerade as priests, then it is fatuous to talk of 'unrest' or 'riots' or 'faction fighting'. We are

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_ Idealising with paramilitary conflict.

| .The causes of the violence are becoming irrelevant. The killing is driven by fierce hatreds, as Mr

Nelson Mandela discovered '1

when, to a chorus of boos, he asked his followers to seek concil-

iation with members of the In-

'katha Freedom Party. ANC leaders still trot out their ritual accusation that a 'third force', which is an ill-disguised code word for whites, is responsible for the violence, but the accusation has lost credibility; it is sim-

It is not believable that any force
could unleash violence and
slaughter on this scale, month
after month, without being
caught.

| Hatred accounts for the savage
character of the conflict, but the
conflict itself is politically driven,
by the determination of rival
parties to secure their own turf.
Tolerance of dissent, or acceptance
of diversity, are not con-
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Violence gathers,,
new momentum

cepts that govern the hearts and
minds of the people in the town-
ships, the hostels, or the squatter
camps. Instead, rival political
groups are establishing no-go
areas. ;

This situation has been a long
time coming; the new factor, it ap-
pears, is that the police have lost
all control over the illegal arms
trade. They are attacked still with
petrol bombs or primitive instru-
ments, but more and more often
find themselves up against auto-
matic rifles.

Unfortunately, but not unexpec-
tedly, these conditions have at last
driven the police back to using the
paramilitary methods, including
machine guns mounted on ar-

moured vehicles, which have always
been their preference but which
have always failed in the

past. It is not difficult to see why:
the use of armoured vehicles which
separate police from the community,
or of automatic weapons that
can flatten a squatter's hut in seconds,
raise immensely the chances
that innocent people will be killed
or maimed. Sensible people know it
is only a matter of time before the
police, or the soliders, will again
stand accused of massacre.

The long-term answer to violence
is one which our police are
least equipped to apply: a stolid
determination to ensure the
proper administration of justice:

arrest, trial, conviction and

_sentence. But that prospect has,

in the past week, receded farther
than ever before. The outlook is
grim.

Â£

LD school ties always annoy those who do not have

. them, but when they are coloured green, black and
; gold, and the alumnus is the future government, the

- . | ment Corporation (TIC) wears such a tie.

B A year-old firm based in central Johannesburg, it is aggres-
sively committed to black economic empowerment. It runs its
own black-owned companies and brokers deals involving black
investors. It is training people to work in areas previously
inaccessible to black entrepreneurs.

So far, so good â\200\224 and about time in a country to be governed
by its black majority where only two percent of private-sector
assets are black-owned and fewer than 10 percent of top
managers are black.

But the corporationâ\200\231s sole shareholder is a trust whose
| founder-members are the two most senior men in the African

resentment is tinged with dismay. The Thebe Invest-

National Congress; a senior
ANC official serves on the
board; the MD is the former
head of the ANC finance de-
partment.

The TIC runs two divisions,
property and trading, and

seven wholly owned or sub-
sidiary companies operating
in a number of fields from
computers, catering and car

â\200\230| hire to selling ANC badges.

It was originally financed

| with an undisclosed amount
|| of share capital by the Batho-

Batho (â\200\230â\200\230people-peopleâ\200\231â\200\231)

~| Trust, which has ANC presi-

dent Nelson Mandela and
Walter Sisulu as founding
trustees.

Any dividends which Thebe

| decides to declare will accrue

to the trust, whose only pro-

Subject at present is Thebe, and
1 which is bound to use funds

for the benefit of the com-
munity.

Because of its umbilical

! link to the future govern-

ment, the TIC has gathered
itself an astonishingly bad
‘press’ in the year since it

opened for business. Shady
dealings, a corruption, a
something fishy ... it has

| attracted these epithets and

WS more.

It has also had to pull back

", suddenly from other deals be-

cause these would offend the

+ community a discovering
) | rather rudely that being seen

- | as the ANC's company cuts
. | both ways.

We are not part of the

a government and will not be
. | part of a government, insists
. | TIC MD Vusi Khanyile, once

1 known to millions as the
| National Education Crisis
| Committee head, one of the

Kine 3 who took refuge from

T | the police in the US consulate

s S Sy g Æ T

LG

in Johannesburg in 1988.
Frankly, we will not apol-

" | ogise for our relationship
. | with the ANC but that does
| not cloud our business vision.

It is about time people

learnt to live with indepen-
dent black business people.â\200\235

T will be a bitter lesson
for corporate South
Africa. When bids are
made for government

~ | contracts from next year, the
* | issue will probably be decid-

'l ed on race in the same way

that it used to be decided on

â\200\230 1 language.

Whoops of alarm at the

4 turning of the tables will fall

on deaf ears. The government

- | will be able to cite scores of

examples of authorities in
other countries favouring the

. | disadvantaged when handing
| out contracts.

But when one of the black-

| owned companies standing in
| line was founded by the rul-
| ing party, both the company
. | and the government will have
'l to weigh the cost of selling
| textbooks against the taint of

corruption.

And wresting a slice of the

" | corporate cake away from
| those who now own it will be

THE ANC-linked
Thebe Investment
Corporation is
steeped in
controversy, but it
could represent the
new way of doing
business in South
Africa. CLAIRE
ROBERTSON
reports.

difficult enough without

pandering to the view that-

black business will flourish only if fed by the muck of corruption.

Mr Khanyile refuses to admit there is a problem.

Criticism of the TIC and its ANC ties is racist, or a diffuse sort of industrial sabotage, he counters.

â\200\234Anyone who has negative information about Thebe can command a very high premium in the marketplace.

â\200\234The people who have made accusations against us may not have meant them to be racist, but at the end of the day one is left with the feeling that says it is going to be extremely difficult for a black company that is totally autonomous from white control to emerge and to be a power.

â\200\234The kind of criticism we have gone through is a reflection (of this).

â\200\234It makes us tougher; it makes us more resolute.

â\200\234We must be doing something right. If the white establishment that has benefited from apartheid thought we were the best thing to happen we would say: Are we doing something wrong?

â\200\234We recognise that these kinds of desperate attacks which are below the belt happen on the verge of mounting something new. This happened almost days after we had announced the formation of Bhekisizwe Computer Systems and won a lucrative and very impressive contract with Digital (the vast US-based Digital Equipment Corporation),â\200\235 Mr Khanyile said.

The most serious of the criticisms levelled at the TIC involves its part in a proposed deal to enter the educational publishing market.

The market is lucrative, with the supply of school textbooks alone said to be worth

R500-million.

It was reported that the proposed deal traded an easy passage with the education department for a 20-percent cut of the company set up by Macmillan Boleswa to provide the books.

â\200\234But we have been tried and crucified without proper information,â\200\235 Mr Khanyile said of the deal â\200\224 â\200\234one of the

' pitseng Catering

50% TIC

5% "Black investors"

45% Feedem

45% TIC

20% Vela International

259 Persetech Ltd

weâ\200\231ll be working onâ\200\235 â\200\224 which will be completed within a month.

The TIC would be satisfied with nothing less than control of a firm entering this particularly frustrating market â\200\224 one whose main customer is the black child, but which is almost totally dominated by white companies.

â\200\234Macmillan did make an Â°

offer that we would get 20 percent in a company. We indicated that for us it was an important enough sector, if we did get involved, for us to wish to be active in a more meaningful manner.

â\200\234We had an indication that they are not opposed to losing control of that company â\200\224 a black company that could have shareholding by a white publishing firm which has the expertise and critical skills that are needed.

â\200\234We believe it is important for people to find innovative ways of bringing black entrepreneurs to the party.

â\200\234One of the innovative ways is for a company to say: â\200\230We will structure the capital of a company so that we will end up paying more than you do, or giving you some of the shares freeâ\200\231 ... we do not say that is corruption so long as those black entrepreneurs are still in a position of con-

Fe e
Bhekisizwe Computer Systems

10% trust representing staff

Potential
shareholders

Oriole Travel
100% TIC

100% TIC

Sizwe Car Hire
100% TIC

| Movement Marketing
Enterprises

100% TIC

I

100% TIC

Yesizwe Properties

Trading Division
to be officially opened
when sanctions are lifted

to that assistance.

Is Macmillan Boleswa pre-
pared to do this out of the
goodness of its heart?

I cannot say what moti-
vated Macmillan. We have
made it very clear to Mac-
millan that we do not have
the capacity to deliver the
education department
either now or in the future,
Mr Khanyile said.

The TIC is discussing the Macmillan deal with other black-owned companies, a strategy it employs in other ventures.

It is part of one of the three consortiums bidding for cellular-phone licences and should know in September whether it has been successful. ; And we do seek a presence in the printing sector: lot of work has been done. We think it is quite within reach

The corporation is geared in more ways than one to bring life to its trading division once sanctions are lifted it can go public. :

The funds were raised through the Batho-Batho Trust because we felt it would not be prudent to go out and collect funds for an idea which had not been tested, M1 Khanyile said.

At the right time Thebe will be very happy to float the shares in the black community so that we can begin to pay off the loans we have raised. \$ 8

When that happens the trust will be perfectly free to say: Well, our investment has done well. We will reduce and keep 10 percent of the shares. in Thebe, or we'll totally bail out and put the money into Anglo American . . . it will be entirely up to the Trust.

But it is already too late for Thebe, according to Dr Duncan Innes of the Innes Labour Brief.

It would have been so much better to have set up an independent trust, but the reason they have Mandela is that they obviously want to

use his name for clout. These links will always raise in people's minds the question of corruption, he said.

ERHAPS only in

some minds: A Kwa-

zulu businessman,

who cannot expect to benefit if government contracts go to ANC-supporting, rather than simply black, business, said he â\200\234has no problem with any political party setting up a company â\200\224 if they do so openlyâ\200\235 â\200\224 though tendering against Thebe would make him â\200\234uneasyâ\200\235.

Whether or not he shares the new-found ethical concerns of corporate SA, and he is sceptical about their sudden emergence where black companies are concerned â\200\224 Mr Khanyile is making an effort to create distance between the TIC and ANC in the public mind.

A wholly owned TIC company, Movement Marketing

Graphic: FIONA KRISCH

THEBE COMPANIES: Graph shows a breakdown of Thebe Investment Corporation subsidiaries; right, Thebe MD Vusi Khanyile

" there are no stringÃ© attached.

Enterprises, was recently yanked across town from TIC-owned Shell House, which it shared with ANC headquarters, to the Glen-

cairn office block, where TIC is based.

The company markets ANC memorabilia, and recently made the news when staff members who were retrenched threatened to take â\200\230their case to Mr Mandela, having no doubt in their minds about who really ran the company.

â\200\234It was a problem having MME in Shell House â\200\224 to be seen as a department of the ANC,â\200\235 Mr Khanyile said.

â\200\234MME is one clear example of how you cannot have a mix-up between political and business aspects. If a company makes a commercial decision to close certain divisions, that remains so.â\200\235

Thebe is doing well â\200\224 this

week it celebrated the fact
that one of its subsidiaries,
Sizwe Car Hire, had become

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profitable after only three |
months. 2]
Mr Khanyile, more con- |
cerned about brokering i
access to capital for black |
business in almost any way
he can, makes the point that
Thebe will follow ethical |
guidelines if they ever [
emerge. %
â\200\234Our mission is to maxi- | |
mise the value of the wealth
of our equity holders withinh |
certain constraints: public Â\$
morality, public policy and Â¢
the law.â\200\235 4 i
â\200\234It is not for us as a com- |*
pany to start setting these pa- |
rameters or defining them. It &
is society that defines them, i*.
and .the public authority.â\200\235 .
The timing is tricky: If the Â\$
Batho-Batho Trust k_:ps its
stake in Thebe until the cor- j
poration can make it to the Â\$
JSE, it and Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s in- {/
volvement will overlap by at [
least a year with his presi-
dency. b
And that is an old school tie Â¢
that may turn out to be â\200\230ai
millstone. i

lifted â\200\224 â\200\234our projection is
that within three months
Thebe Trading will be up and
runningâ\200\235 â\200\224 having spent the s
past year training staff in this
field. :
Mr Khanyile believes the
headache caused by ANC ties
will go away once the firm is |

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20 SUNDAY TIMES, July 18 1993

Chigf

' ziâ\200\231s latest display of bellicos-

ity has brought him close to

@ the point where, politically,

he will find it impossible to
retreat without serious humili-
ation. At that point he will have
destroyed himself and his cause,
and subjected his people to yet
\greater misery; already it is diffi-

! â\200\230cult to see how he can manoeuvre
l himself out of the tight corner
I linto which his bluster and intran-

'sigence have put him.
Chief Butheleziâ\200\231s warlike utter-

| ances must be seen against a

background of growing weakness
in the Inkatha Freedom Partyâ\200\231s
political position. The ANC is

| 'steadily extending its hegemony

lover new areas of Natal formerly
\controlled by Inkatha chieftains,
'and the opinion polls â\200\224 admitted-
ly scrappy â\200\224 suggest that the
'IFP faces a severe mauling in the
â\200\230coming elections. It may do
'better than expected with Natalâ\200\231s
'dissident Nationalists and eccen-
'tric whites, but among Zulus it is
plainly a minority party, and
losing ground. That, no doubt, is
'why Chief Buthelezi is so bitterly
â\200\230opposed to the April 1994 election
â\200\230date.

| While his support erodes, Chief
'Buthelezi falls ever more deeply
linto a dangerous isolation. He
| 'alone among the major leaders of
the country has been cut off â\200\224 by
his own choice â\200\224 from the soften-
ing influence of Codesa, where
other leaders managed to strip
away each otherâ\200\231s demon-masks

and overcome their own worst
prejudices about each other. Like
the Turnhalle in Namibia, Codesa

i was perhaps most useful in

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Buthelezi
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â\200\230themselves been changed by their

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changing the participants in the|

process, leaving Chief Buthelezi

as the last major inhabitant of the| =

old South Africa, viewing the
world from the village atmos-
phere of Ulundi, and cut off from

the intellectual and political |~

mainstream of the country. -
His isolation from Codesa was |

exacerbated, and continues to be |

exacerbated, by his odd retinue of |-
alienated whites who seem to
regard themselves as honorary
Zulu warriors. Their influence
seems often to offset the amelior-

ating counsel of men like Joe
Matthews and Frank Mdlalose,
who have participated construc-
tively in the negotiations at
Kempton Park, and who have

participation.

Chief Buthelezi, once widely |
regarded as destined to lead |
South Africa to new uplands of |
democracy, has fallen into the
shabby company of white racists |
and black eccentrics like Briga- |

dier Oupa Gqozo â\200\224 people with |

whom a younger Buthelezi would |
not have deigned to associate. His |
international connections are
falling away, and his decline, as
measured by the company he
keeps, is tragic.

Only one thing, ironically, sus-
tains him: the South African tax-
payer. The subsidies from the
government enable him to strut
the stage, building up his para-
military forces as he throw : out
increasingly belligerent chal-
lenges, and puts us all at peril. A
tighter rein on his exper ditures, if
that can be engineered, might /

well prove the most effective
way to curb his warlike passions.

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- AFPâ\200\231s soft-shoe

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crying â\200\230fireâ\200\231

THE ANCâ\200\231s furious reaction to General
Constand Viljoenâ\200\231s call to whites to arm
themselves smacks, as he has correctly
pointed out, more than a little of double

- Standards. Â¢ B

After all, Nelson Mandela has offered to |

arm youths who join Umkhonto we Sizwe.

_However, the war talk by Viljoen and
Mandela, and loose talk about civil war by
Inl;athaâ\200\231s Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has
heightened tensions in an already highly-
charged political environment.

US Ambassador Princeton Lyman
sounded a timely warning to our bellicose
leaders when he said in Durban this week
that they were sending out signals that
confrontation, rather than negotiation, was

the order of the day.

Quoting a US judge, he added: â\200\234Free
speech does not mean the right to shout fire
in a crowded theatre.â\200\235 s

It is a warning all our leaders would do
well to heed.

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SPEAKING of Chief Buthelezi, it isâ\200\235
becoming increasingly difficult to keep up
with the almost daily changes in the
positions his party adopts on developments
at the World Trade Centre.

First, Inkatha announced it would boycott
the talks until a draft constitution had been
tabled for discussion.

Then, the IFP said that even if the draft
constitution was tabled, it would boycott
the talks until its complaints about the
manner in which decisions are taken by the
negotiating body had been satisfactorily
addressed. ,

'~ In a further shift, Chief Buthelezi
announced in Namibia that he wanted a
complete rethink on a new constitution,
which should be drawn up by foreign

experts â\200\224 in other words, ignore all the progress achieved at the World Trade Centre and start over again.

Itâ\200\231s no wonder that some of the IFPâ\200\231s opponents are beginning to question its commitment to a negotiated settlement.

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e together. Take Isaac

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4 | SUNDAY TIMES, July 18 1

[Former foes unite
in drive for peace.

By RYAN CRESSWELL

: bring them
â\200\230 but it can also
i WAR tears people gï¬\201:ï¬\201ï¬\201u and Vasco Hlengwai.terâ\200\231 Sha
s an Inkatha Freedom Party supporter, and
G Isaac ISAIE\â\200\230I% member; not so long ago, 3
: Vasco an ach other. : ether â\200\224
Â\$ e nstotï¬\201ey Spend 8 rea o Natal
But tl;ï¬\201i?)ughytï¬\201e troubled Umbumbu
2 grrll;â\200\231lggest for peace and tolerance.

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'HE LONG HAUL.. . . Isaac Shan

: HORACE POTTER

Pâ\200\231icfu re

i i k. Since they set up i
making their mar b
Thec}Ã@ Z;?)?clgfrfr(ril}i,ttee at Kwall\llia;l;hgggrxl n:(?I{ncidentsl oÃ©
ol e have been killed |
i hip, where hundreds hav i |
| : o IFE rtersin the past. |
3 violence in the T i e |
e h day toge f
in fighting betwee men spend most of eac et
.â\200\230 R driving to townships, rural)
| tical toler:
i e borrowei¬\201uiac;,es to preach peace i¬\201nd rg?r:lg ealirn
R ?;â\200\230gdlclcate people about the forthco kR
fa A ance, an : bl ;
: b3 would have] e
cach Glie Stt?gf â\200\231nlcfw we are good â\200\230frlen;is, viS:ilt b
ol O;he'lâ\200\230(â\200\231ie; to dedicate our lives to
eci 2
gizzs to educate people ab;t;t lll):aâ\200\224c e peacei;â\200\231ll .
; L l-1:iâ\200\234â\200\230\]);ea(cig(c?ded to start with KwaMakhu
ol Vasco added: o
b because it was a flashpoint. M
! khutha, and hope)
Ipfeâ\200\230z';acgdsa:xb-committees by December

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he areas around
east five other

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to get more votes is their
THE ANC and Major-Gen- baby,â\200\235 he told the Sunday

| eral Bantu Holomisa are at 7Tifâ\200\230nes. . i
. odds over the Transkei But if they are shifting
.| military rulerâ\200\231s insistence their position for the

. that the Border-Kej region future, the people of Trans-
. remain separate under a kei will have to reconsider
. new federal dispensation their stance.

. for â\200\234atleast 15 to 20 yearsâ\200\235,
' Transkei sources said

this week that the staunch
| alliance between the
Â» Transkei head of state and
ad begun to show

| cracks after the assassina-
| tion of SACP secretary-
. general Chris Hani, and
. because General Holomisa
. . had failed to take firm

.| action against PAC and
| Apla operatives in Trans-

ei.

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. . â\200\234It appears the general
| is not entirely sure of his
â\200\230il role in a futyre South
{ | Africa, and the ANC is
" starting to regard him as
somewhat of a looge can-
on,â\200\235 sources close to Gen-
eral Holomisa sajd.
General Holomisa said
1| this week the ANC had
never discussed with him
its plans to cut the number
of federal regions from 10

Ll ern Cape and Border-Kej
|| regions with King Wil-
| liamâ\200\231s Town as the capital,
" â\200\234We learnt about the
. | plans only
i | released them last week.
r

â\200\224

{*| ever the ANC is doing now

to eight, merging the East- â\200\230manderin

lished itself and js gainin

Support, saying the ANG |
when they felt

should be bolstered,

L | As far as we know, the new He pointed out that the | â\200\230
|| boundaries are fop elector- ANC Wwas flexible about the |\~
I' | al purposes only, so what- merger and

â\200\234fight and dj

â\200\234All new investment will
to cities with estab. e
lished infrastructures like | ylesin:
Port Elizabeth and Uiten. | e
hage, instead of to rural |
areas,â\200\235 he said. -

â\200\234We are also opposed to | |
King Williamâ\200\231s Town as a
capital. A regional govern-
ment should be close to the
people. Umtata should be
the capital â\200\235

Eastern Cape ANC

Spokesman Linda Mti said
there had been â\200\234minor dif-

ferencesâ\200\235 between the

ANC and General Holo-

misa over the timing of

Transkeiâ\200\231s reincorporation

into South Africa, but the

ANC held the military

leader in high regard, and

his military expertise

go

ti denied "claimsg
ANC was gerry-
g to secure an
ANC majority in the region
Where the PAC has estab-

that the

the entire regionâ\200\231

not about to | -
e for itâ\200\235,

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Do not ask
me, I have

lost control

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk assures us his
government is in control and that
taxpayers's money is being spent wisely.

What then is one to make of replies given
to Democratic Party MP Peter Soal by
new Regional and Land Affairs Minister
Andre Fourie this week?

Mr Soal received reports that homeland
leaders had paid themselves fat bonuses at
the end of last year and sold their official
cars to themselves at drastically reduced
prices. â\200\231

Mr Fourie replied that â\200\234to the best of my
knowledgeâ\200\235 the homeland leaders were
paid according to the guidelines laid down
for political office-bearers. As such matters
were confidential, he added: â\200\234I suggest that
you approach the chief ministers with
whom you hopefully have a relationship of
trust.â\200\235 ,

As for the cars, he reported that â\200\234as far
as I could establishâ\200\235 the vehicles were sold
by tender or auction. :

Strange isn't it? Taxpayers are entitled to know what Mr de Klerk is paid, but not

~ even the minister in charge of homelands

knows how much taxpayers' money Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi or Nelson Ramodike pockets each month. Every 12 months

R 234 million of which 2

Buses and 30 tea parties

BUT, debates in Parliament did provide a little light on how taxpayers' money is being spent. =

It was disclosed that the office of Chief Minister Buthelezi requested 60 buses from the Maritzburg depot of the Kwazulu Natal Transport Company to transport 4000 from Maritzburg to Durban for a Q march in October against the Record of Understanding.

And the National Party spent R3 800 on hosting a tea party for Mrs Marike de Klerk in Atlantis.

Mangosuthu Kissinger

MEANWHILE, the international press corps in London was this week left in no doubt as to Chief Buthelezi's standing on the political stage. ;

At a media conference in the Foreign Press Association offices, housed in the Regency splendour of Gladstone's old home, journalists were handed an Inkatha Freedom Party publicity pack.

- From this they learnt that Mr Buthelezi is not only a world figure whose opinions are sought by world

international forums, but that he is also the most experienced political leader active in South Africa today.

That may come as a surprise to one Or

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. two others who might have fancied that

accolade for themselves. Well, now they know.

"Ddctor :in the house?

NOTICEABLE by his absence in Parliament this week during the constitutional debate was the DPâ\200\231s MP for Berea Denis Worrall â\200\224 he of the former leadership troika.

Dr Worrall, who is the DPâ\200\231s spokesman on constitutional affairs, has recently opened a consultancy in Cape Town.

Perhaps the voters in his Durban

constituency will be able to find him there.

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TO ANYONE familiar with
the pariah status of South
Africa since 1946, the sugges-
tion that it become a perma-
nent member of the UN Se-
curity Council seems absurd.
Yet, this could happen within
a matter of months. .
When the UN came into be-
ing in 1945, the world was a
very different place. Ger-
many and Japan had recently
surrendered unconditionally
to the Allied powers and

~ played no role. The colonial
| empires in Asia and Africa

were still intact and their

peoples also had no say.
The Big Five â\200\224 the US,

Soviet Union, Britain, France

. and China â\200\224 called the tune
. and constructed a world body
. in which they would have the

last word.
Although all sovereign

. states, big or small, were

represented equally in the
General Assembly, that body
could take no binding deci-

sions to maintain peace. This was the domain of the Security Council in which the Big Five had permanent seats.

Power

During the 45 years of the Cold War which. soon followed the founding of the UN, the Big Five were more often at loggerheads than in agreement. Consequently, although the peace was frequently disturbed, the Security Council could not play the peace-keeping role envisaged for it. The collapse of communism has changed all that.

Provided no new rivalries emerge, there is a real prospect that the Security Council will now be able to assume the responsibilities for which

| it was originally designed.

The composition of that body, however, no longer represents the balance of power in the world.

The General Assembly now seats 183 sovereign states instead of the 51 at the outset. More importantly, Germany and Japan are once again among them and, as the two most powerful economies in the world after the US, have a manifest claim on

â200\230a political role which will

match the contribution in money and manpower they are called upon to make. France, Russia and the US have meanwhile signalled

â200\230their support for such a

move, and although Britain is lukewarm about it and China

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great prize

RUDOLPH
GRUBER, the
Bonn director of
the South African
Foundation, says
South Africa, if it
plays its cards
right, can secure
permanent
member status on
the UN Security
Council

has yet to adopt a standpoint,
there can be little doubt that
permanent membership will
come their way.

A reform of the Security
Council which merely added
Germany and Japan to its ex-
clusive ranks would, howey-
er, not adequately reflect the

realities of the contemporary
world. The global south
would also have to be proper-
ly represented.

Accordingly, there is a pro-
posal that India, Nigeria and
Brazil be given permanent
status at the same time as
Asia, Africa and Latin Ameri-
ca respectively. The secre-
tary-general has been in-
structed to take soundings on
these lines and report back to
the world body by September.

The credentials of India
and Brazil need not concern
us here, but Nigeria would
probably not even be consid-
ered if South Africa had a
democratically elected gov-
ernment in power..

Although, with a popula-
tion of 88,5-million at the last

count, Nigeria has more than
twice the number of inhabi-
tants of South Africa, its GDP
is exceeded fourfold by that
of the Republic. Its foreign

debt has reached a level
equal to 113 percent of GDP,
thus making it effectively
bankrupt. ,

On a world league table which measures human development and takes into account such factors as life expectancy, adult literacy, average years of schooling, income levels and media spread, Nigeria is ranked 142nd, South Africa 52nd.

Although South Africa has yet to experience democracy

and prove its credentials inâ\200\231

this regard, Nigeria has nothing to boast about.

Its present impasse is typical. After six years of military rule during which everything got worse, civilian government was due to be restored by way of managed elections on June 12.

The outcome did not please the generals, however, and the poll was annulled. Given their commitment to the restoration of democracy in Africa, the Western powers were incensed, and said so.

Lacking a democratically elected government, Pretoria can hardly exploit this situation in its favour. In particular, it cannot officially stake

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its claim to the African continent in the Security Council. The country best qualified to fulfil the obligations of that post.

Even though President F.W. de Klerk is committed to a non-racial, democratic government, the legacy of apartheid is such in respect of the party he leads and the government he directs that he cannot possibly take the lead.

Nonetheless, the prize is too great and time too press-

ing for the issue to be left

until a . post-apartheid

administration is in place. If | fa B

South Africa is to have the seat at the top table which otherwise would be its for the

taking, it must start lobbying
Now.

This can only be done on
the basis of an all-party ini-
tiative led by Nelson Man-
dela. Only he has the moral
authority and the manifest
popular following to do so.
The -Transitional Executive
Council, once in place, could
be the forum for taking such
an initiative.

Tact

In the event of success, |.
- South Africa would benefit [

immeasurably. It would not
only have a say on all matters
of moment in world politics,
but it would find itself court-
ed by others as a result.

. The domestic bonus in

respect of shared pride at the

enhanced status of the coun- | = = = |
try will also be substantial. [= &0
While many countries in| =
both the developed and devel- | =~
oping worlds are likely to

welcome the candidature of
South Africa on the grounds
of its greater capacity to de-

liver, any canvassing for sup- | '

port will need to be done with
sensitivity and tact.

Nigeria should not be deni-
grated in order to make the
case for South Africa. In-
stead, the capacity to serve

and the offer of partnership [
in the pursuit of common | . -

goals should be made the ba-

Sis of South Africaâ\200\231s candida- =~
ture. Nelson Mandela has '

shown he has the wisdom to
pursue such goals with states-
manship and vision.

It is not too much to be, '

hoped that he will take the
lead and thereby usher South |

Africa back into the family of = |

nations in a manner and with

a role that nobody on either | =

side of the great apartheid
divide could ever have imag-

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By RYAN CRESSWELL

HE son of a once-
great Basotho chief
who was given East

Griqualand .to rule
over by Oueen Victoria wants
to reclaim the region.

Meanwhile, businessmen,
farmers, politicians and
workers in East Griqualand
â\200\224 a farming area at the tip of
southern Natal â\200\224 are squab-
bling over whether the area
should be part of Natal or a
new eastern Cape/Transkei
region.

gIâ\200\230he Commission of Bound-
aries of Regions has recom-
mended to the negotiating
council that East Griqualand
be incorporated into the new
eastern Cape region, but the
area has been part of Na-
tal/Kwazulu for more than
20 years and the decision has
outraged many residents who
fear economic disaster.

While the land battle rages
around him, Mr Nthlahlokoa
Moshesh, 78, sits in his small
home on a hill at Oueens Mer-
cy and broods on how to re-
claim the region for his
family and tribe.

He says that on October 10,
1881, and then on December 3,
1883, representatives of
Queen Victoria met Chief
George Moshesh, ther} head
Griqua chief and parliament
member, at Matatiele apd
Kokstad and promised him
that he would be the indepen-
dent head of the region after
50 years if he kept peace in
East Griqualand.

Mr Moshesh said that at
times the white community
of the area fought against this
decision but failed because
the chief and his people had
the title deeds.

| He said that later, after the Lesotho and Natal borders had been drawn up, the government of the day took back the land. Ly

East Griqualand was originally part of the Cape, but some people in the area felt isolated from the administration there, and in 1978 it became part of Natal.

Businessmen and farmers say it makes economic sense to stay that way, but workers in the area have close ties with Transkei and say that, ethnically, it would make sense to combine the region with the new eastern Cape/Transkei zone.

Mr John Vos, director of the East Griqualand Development Association, said that

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EAST GRIQUALAND

over the years several commissions had looked at the question of where East Griqualand belonged.

â\200\234But we believe the recommendation of the latest commission is economic non-sense.â\200\235 ;

In its report the commission said the border between

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Kwazulu/Natal and Cape/Kei â\200\234is a highly complex issue which would require further consultation with affected partiesâ\200\235.

â\200\234We are waiting to hear what form further consultation will take. As soon as we are aware what channels to pursue we will hold protest meetings, public meetings and even referendums,â\200\235 said Mr Vos.

X small part' of Natal tmit&e\?'Ã@rybod}f Wauï¬\202t@?g

hold the Inkatha Freedom Party also objects to the recommendation.

But Mr Geoff Doidge, a regional executive member of

the African National Congress, said that if the region became part of the Cape people should try to be as positive as possible about the change.

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AFTER three years of unrelenting conflict, both at the

negotiating table and in the streets, the new South Africa is being born into an atmosphere of weariness and disillusion. The streets are soaked

with blood, the negotiations are -
| attended by ill-tempered uproar,

and for millions of people liberation is a matter of being dis-

charged into poverty and want.

South Africa, no longer ruled by apartheid, is ruled instead by fear. :

The negotiations, under such conditions, have been a triumph

of doggedness, resulting finally in
a series of agreements that will,

in the next few days, sketch the

main outlines of the new state: a

o draft constitution, proposals for

joint control of the military
forces, the bill of rights, the geo-
graphy of the regions. The unveil-

| ing of these documents will, no

doubt, elicit the usual ill-
tempered uproar, and the uproar

- will obscure the extent of the

achievement. :

Nevertheless, this is the
moment of truth. The constitu-
tion, given the prejudices and
political interests of the main
negotiators, will doubtless be
flawed; so, too, the bill of rights.
The shape of the regions will not,
and indeed could not, satisfy all
parties. The distribution of
powers will be a compromise
whose greatest virtue is neither
elegance nor philosophical coher-

o -ence, but that it represents the
| . alternative to war.

B .+ The question that now con-

fronts us a and it must not be

obscured by mere political noisi-

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| the new state

ness a is whether, as a nation, we |

have the will to push through an
agreement which is, despite any
faults it may have, the best we
have been able to achieve in three
years of pushing and shoving.
During these years, each of the
parties has tried to fashion the
outcome that would best serve its
own political interests a or, rath-
er, its perceived political inter-
ests. No politician can be expect-
ed to work for his own eclipse,

and no politician in these negotiations has done so; but politicians are frequently deceived in their attempts to discern their own interests in a fast-changing future. The ANC, having acted on the confident assumption that it will sweep the boards in the next election, has lately been confronted with threats from its left, from the militant working class; the National Party, having worked tirelessly to ensure a place for itself in the decision-making mechanisms of the future, is weakening so rapidly that the fruits of its effort may well go to another party â\200\224 to the Inkatha Freedom Party, perhaps. And so forth. .

Such speculations cannot pretend to predict the future; they merely illustrate the folly of trying to rig the game when the future is so murky. Far better to work, as the minor parties have largely done, for a good constitution, for an outcome that will continue to serve South Africa and its people long after the present generation of self-interested leaders is gone.

This is, in a word, a moment for magnanimity.