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Parliament

Govt perturbed at  
suggestions of

â\200\230Whlte vetoâ\204ç

SUGGESTIONS at  
Codcsa and echoed in

â\200\230Codesa groupings  
have common beliefâ\200\231

EACH political party or  
grouping at Codesa had  
its own agenda, but they  
all had one thing in com-  
mon â\200\224 a belief that the  
negotiating process  
~ should continue towards  
an acceptable form of  
power sharing, Mr My-  
burgh Streicher (NP De  
Kuilen) said.

Speaking in debate on  
the Constitutional Devel-  
opment vote, he said it  
was simply not true to say  
Codesa was an auction of  
â\200\230White rights.

South Africans had to  
talk to one another and

they knew that apartheid

mmthei~\202mml  
phase.

The government view  
of such a senate was well-  
known: That the bodyâ\200\231s  
composition should re-  
flect regional and minori-  
ty (on a regional basis) in-  
terests.

â\200\234How this could be -

construed as a â\200\234White

vetoâ\200\235 is difficult to under-

agree to what amounts to  
aâ\200\234Whitcvuo".â\200\235

to a

by the MP for Toe-  
komsrus, Mr Miley

was dead.

Whites were past the  
stage of trying to cling to  
political 2

Codesa II had shown  
clearly that there were a  
few sticking points in the  
process, but a  
lllncssd:dnm make the

he would give an incor-  
rect diagnosis, would not  
be able to supply any  
medicine and would send

Reports by

Richards, that the gov-  
ernment should clearly  
express itself in favour of

wcmtwom

an unaffordably expen-  
sive bill.

The Chairman of the  
Ministersâ\200\231 Council in the  
House of Representa-  
tives, Mr Jac Rabie, urg-  
ed the Labour Party to  
see through the ANCâ\200\231s  
double agenda and to  
stop acting like â\200\234little  
mongrel dogsâ\200\235 around  
the movement.

The National Party was  
now really the National  
Party of SA because it  
represented all races and  
as a result its support base  
was expanding at an un-  
believable rate.

&V.

gional government was  
not exclusively rooted in  
one-sided and ideological  
preferences.

â\200\234Nevertheless, it is of  
course true that surely the  
most fundamental charac-  
teristic of a democracy is  
that government must  
take place â\200\230by the people  
and for the peopleâ\200\231.â\200\235

The governmentâ\200\231s view  
was that justice could best  
be done to a fully demo-  
cratic government at re-

gional and local level, because these levels were physically the closest to the people.

S e ;\ "Q i -\201

MR FERDI Barnard, the man at the

- centre of allegations of State-sponsored killings and harassment of

anti-apartheid activists, makes no

apology for his shadowy role in the  
- service of South Africa.

~ â\200\234My record is rotten with vio-

~ lence, â\200\235â\200\235 the 33-year-old former spy

said. â\200\234But I donâ\200\231t need amnesty.

Thereâ\200\231s no fear in my heart that I  
~ will ever need anything like that. â\200\235â\200\231

Barnard, a convicted murderer

who complains business contacts

think of him as â\200\234James Bondâ\200\231â\200\231,  
added: â\200\234I donâ\200\231t believe there will

~ be any type of Nuremberg trials in

this country, because they will sort

that out at the negotiating table. â\200\231â\200\231

~ He denies accusations that he

- carried out two of Southern Afri-

~ caâ\200\231s most notorious assassinations,

saying a former colleague in a secret army unit might know the truth about them. Â»

The burly former drug squad  
detective served three years in jail

from 1984 to 1987 for two unre-

lated murders of suspected drug  
dealers.

In March 1988 he joined the  
Civil Co-operation Bureau, an  
army special forces undercover  
unit which is accused of killing and

â\200\230| harassing black activists.

Officials of the unit, now disbanded, showed strong opposition to President FW de Klerkâ\200\231s political reforms. They told a judicial investigation into violence that

their job was to â\200\234maximally disrupt  
the enemies of the Stateâ\200\231â\200\231 at home  
and abroad. The unit has destroyed  
files on its work mĩ¬\202e South Af-  
| rica.

For the past three years newspa-  
pers have regularly splashed

\_Barnardâ\200\231s photograph across front

pagereports linking him to the 1989  
killings of South African academic

- Dr David Webster and an anti-

apartheid Namibian lawyer, Mr  
- Anton Lubowski.

In late 1989 Barnard was de-  
tained for three months in connec-  
tion with the killings but released  
for lack of evidence.

In an interview at a friendâ\200\231s  
house, Barnard suggested a CCB  
colleague might know the truth  
about the murders, adding: â\200\234If any-  
one was trained to kill, it would be =  
him.â\200\235â\200\231 =

Barnard described himself as a  
political moderate who joined the  
CCB because it paid well.

All he did, he said, was use con-

tacts in the underworld, â\200\234mostly  
Mandrax, diamond and weapons

smugglersâ\200\231â\200\231, to gather intelligence -

On enemies of the State.  
â\200\234I lost everything when I was in

- jail. All of a sudden I had R5 000 a  
month. I had a brand new car, my  
petrol was paid for. It made it so

much easier forme, that I could live  
like anybody else. You can buy a  
woman a present if you want.

â\200\234That to me was like a godsend.  
I grabbed it with both hands.â\200\235â\200\231

Barnard says the CCBâ\200\231s work

was needed at the time but became increasingly irrelevant as the reform process proceeded.

â\200\234People there did brilliant work,

â\200\234believe me. I was one who operated

alone, going into a black township without backing at night to monitor certain peopleâ\200\231s movements.â\200\231â\200\231

â\200\234It was intelligence concerning anything that damages the economy - laundering money, drug smuggling, weapons smuggling, politically motivated actions against the country, African National Congress activities, MK

The CCB knows who -, killed Webster â\200\224 Ferdi

Davld- Webstr who wa killed in 1989.

(ANC armed wmg) achvmes, you name it. 3

â\200\234If you do the cnme,?you must do the time. Itâ\200\231s a motto of mine. You must face the consequences,â\200\235â\200\231 Barnard said. -

â\200\234But nobody (in the CCB) ever

asked me to do anything illegal or -

to do any strong arm tactics or any

- rough work.â\200\235â\200\231

Hopes of uncovering the truth about the killing and others like it have risen this year with the start of talks on a transition from white rule to democracy.

The ANC says it will guarantee :

amnesty if people who carried out political killings confess, so as to

wipe the slate clean and ensure that -

there is no repetition. Police have been unable to solve dozens of murders of activists.

Barnard, denying new allegations that he currently works for the

armyâ\200\231s intelligence department, said he doubted the killers of Lubowski and Webster would ever apply for amnesty.

â\200\234If it was done (by) the intelli-  
gence world, I doubt it very much  
because that world is a murky world  
of shady characters and nothing is

of nothing.â\200\235â\200\231

really as it seems. Thereâ\200\231ll be no  
smoking gun.â\200\235â\200\231

Barriard estimates he has had  
200 stitches in his body from being  
stabbed five times and shot once in  
the course of his career, which in-  
cluded a stint as a Johannesburg  
club bouncer.

â\200\234I can be violent but Iâ\200\231'm not a  
guy that goes moving around look-  
ing for trouble,â\200\231â\200\231 said Barnard, who  
is about 2m tall and weighs 105kg.

Barnard, who now earns a living  
by recovering stolen commercial  
property, said he wanted a normal  
family life.

But he says he is continually  
haunted by his violent past.

He tried debt collection work,  
but people he visited recognised  
him from newspaper photographs  
and asked for police protection.

He said businessmen impressed  
by his CCB service now offered  
him money to beat up rivals. â\200\234I

- think theyâ\200\231re stark raving mad.  
â\200\230People are trying to misuse me.

What they see in the papers, to them  
thatâ\200\231s for real. (Itâ\200\231s like) I'm the  
biggest James Bond and I'm scared  
- SA Press Associa-  
tion-Reuter :

Codes  
back to sc

| THE African Nationai

Congress has gone into  
serious consultation  
with its constitutional  
committee to review  
the collapse of negotia-  
tions in Codesa's  
Working Group 2.

In the meantime, there  
are fears that negotiations  
between the ANC and the  
Government could revert to  
square one if Codesa's  
management committee  
cannot reach agreement on  
how to resuscitate the talks.

Codesa's management

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By ISMAIL I. AGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

committee meets on Mon-  
day.

The ANC's constitutional  
committee has over  
the past two days been  
locked in serious discus-  
sions after announcing ear-  
lier this week it had with-  
drawn all compromises  
made in Codesa's Working  
Group 2 - which dealt with  
constitutional principles.

Talks in Working Group  
2, which centred on the per-

centage majority required  
to pass a new constitution,  
the question of a senate and  
regional or minority repre-  
sentation, ground to a halt  
as the Government initially  
wanted a three-quarters



majority and the ANC a two-thirds majority but compromised and settled on 70 percent.

The Government also wanted a senate filled with

matlterâ\200\231â\200\231.

hold" veto powers over a democratically â\200\230elected constitution-making body.

One of the ANCâ\200\231s chief negotiators in Working Group 2, Mr Mhammed Valli Moosa, said his organisation regarded the failure of Codesa 2 (to ratify agreements reached) as â\200\234an extremely serious

â\200\234After five months we have nothing to offer the public.â\200\235â\200\231

Moosa said the ANC would withdraw all com-

e,

e one

promises it had made at Codesa, and that it would start widespread consultations withits regional structures to, among other things, re-assess the way forward. it

The Minister yesterday reacted with concern over the ANCâ\200\231s announcement that â\200\234they would start anewâ\200\231â\200\235 in Working Group 2 negotiations, adding that the Government believed that agreements reached in other working groups should stand.

Clerics

Weekends Mecrculy

for peace

CAPE TMâ\200\224Violence has again gripped the country and churchmen have moved to bring the countryâ\200\231s three most powerful leaders together in joint peace rallies.

Parts of Natal have been identified by the Government as among the worst-affected areas

in the recent escalation which is threatening to turn 1992 into one of the most violent years on record.

The South African Institute of Race Relations yesterday estimated that 2800 people could die this year if violence continued at present levels.

Deputy Minister of Justice Danie Schutte revealed that in March almost 300 people were killed -â\200\224 the highest figure since August, 1990 â\200\224 and more than <3) in April.

He identified Natal, with 86 fatalities in March and 55 in April, as one of two regions â\200\234primarily identified with violenceâ\200\235. Trouble spots in the province were Empangeni, Imbali and Umlazi.

minorities which would

By Chris Whitfield  
Political Correspondent

The other region being ravaged by violence was the PWV area, said Dr Schutte.

Yesterday President de Klerk

held a meeting with a delega- -

tion of church leaders to discuss violence and the National Peace Secretariat met in Johannesburg to discuss the issue.

A delegation of church leaders who met with President de Klerk yesterday have moved to bring the countryâ\200\231s three most powerful leaders â\200\224 Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr de Klerk and Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi â\200\224 together to address joint rallies.

It is understood. President de Klerk was sympathetic to the proposal on condition both-other leaders agreed.

The churchmen, led by the general-secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, presented a

appeal

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rallies

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memorandum on the violence to  
President de Klerk.

They charged that recent ex-  
posures on the involvement of  
security forces in violence ha:  
â\200\234led to a loss of confidence in  
the police by the majority of  
South Africansâ\200\235.

They pointed to the alleged  
training of Inkatha Freedom  
Party members at a secret  
SADF base in the Caprivi, the  
assassination of Matthew Gon-  
iwe, the Trust Feed raassacre  
and the incident at Phola Park  
involving the 32 Battalion.

These â\200\234all serve a trend of a  
deterioration of the relationship  
between the community and the  
police, as well as with the Gov-  
ernment in generalâ\200\235, said the  
memorandum. .

It charged that the violence  
was â\200\234orchestrated and control-  
ledâ\200\235.

It said Government should as-  
sert its â\200\234political authority on  
the security forcesâ\200\235.

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Power struggle

has just begun

WE are learning an important lesson. It is that, despite negotiations, no ruling class gives up power and privilege without a struggle - no ruling class voluntarily abdicates from power.

The Codesa experience is a good example. Up to the time of writing, Government representatives were making concessions on minor issues. But on the central issue of power they have refused to budge.

It is important that we concentrate on this major issue - not on petty details in the piles of agreements which will come out of Codesa. .

The issue of power raises the questions: who exercises power, who controls

the negotiation process, what is the objective of the process and will the agreements predetermine the outcome or will they allow for democratic decision-making by all the people?

The ANC achieved cer-

"

The Government and the ANC have

hardened their stands after last

weekend's deadlock. In this article, reproduced from the Western Cape's

South weekly, DULLAK OMAR, of the ANC's personal view of the stalemate.

s constitution committee gives

the Declaration of Intent  
and the Terms of Reference  
of the various Working  
Groups at Codesa.

But, compared to the  
major issues at stake and  
the tasks ahead, central to  
which is the achievement  
of an elected Constituent  
Assembly with sovereign  
powers to draw up a new  
constitution, these victorings  
must not be over-stated. = -

Elected body

Forexample, on the con-  
stitution-making \* body  
(which Working Group 2 is  
dealing with), the regime  
has agreed to an elected  
body to draw up the consti-  
tution.

This sounds like an ad-  
vance on the regime's pre-  
vious position. '

However, an elected

body is not a Constituent

Assembly.

A Constituent Assembly  
is a single-chamber body

elected on the basis of one  
person, one vote by all the  
people of South Africa, in-  
cluding the homelands,  
with sovereign power to  
draw up and adopt a new

" constitution.

Many agree that such a  
body should adopt the new  
constitution on the basis of  
a two-thirds majority. No  
other body or structure

should have the power to -

vet its decisions.

President FW de Klerk  
envisages a structure with  
two chambers - one which  
will be based upon one per-

son, one vote and a second -

in which minority parties  
would dominate.

The ANC has dubbed the

second chamber the House

of Losers. In terms of De  
Klerk's proposals, it would  
be able to veto decisions of  
the democratically elected  
first chamber. e

On the issue of transi-

(Working Group 3), there  
are similar problems. De  
Klerk is not prepared to  
give up the sole monopoly  
of power which presently  
resides in his hands.

The Government is say-  
ing: "You can have your  
interim governing council  
and you can have your  
multiparty commissions -  
as many as you like - and we  
will listen to you, but real  
power will remain in our  
hands.

No sense

"Because you cannot  
have two parallel govern-  
ments existing side by  
side," they say.

Of course, its reasoning  
does not make sense be-  
cause, through constitu-  
tional amendments, it is  
possible to create the kind  
of sovereign structure pro-  
posed by the ANC. It is a  
question of the regime  
clinging to power. .

If the Government has its  
way, it will ultimately be in  
control over all aspects of  
the election process and  
even the result.

The regime is putting up  
a facade that it is interested  
in democratising the coun-  
try. Because of the serious  
crisis it is in, it has no option  
but to concede some ver-  
sion of one person, one  
vote.

However, it is deter-  
mined to create structures  
and procedures to nullify  
one person, one vote.

'Without majority rule as

a very minimum, there can be no settlement.

Remember the Smith-Muzorewa attempt to prevent majority rule in Zimbabwe a decade ago. Remember also the slogan of the Patriotic Front at the time: "No independence without majority rule."

But let us not pretend that the winning of a democratically elected Constituent Assembly or a formula for majority rule will be the end of the struggle. Far from it.

FW de Klerk ... a structure with two chambers.

will also open a new phase of struggle.

For the simple reason that a one person, one vote constitution will not end monopoly domination of South Africa's economy, the homelessness and poverty of our people or the imperialist domination of the sub-continent and the stranglehold of the so-called new order. "¢

About three decades ago a leading Kenyan political figure Mr Odinga Odinga, wrote a book entitled Not Yet Uhuru. :

It was a devastating ac-

the Kenyan people had been aborted by the independence negotiations. This may also be true for Zimbabwe's negotiations at Lancaster House. : South Africa will escape this fate if the working people use the opportunity provided by the political processes to embark upon a pro-

- gramme of struggle to end

capitalist exploitation. The lessons our people have learnt in struggle over the past 20 to 30 years will stand them in good stead.

tain victories when it won tional arrangements - It will be a victory but it counts how the struggle of ;





Numsa â\200\230workers

AN APPEAL by the National Union of Metal-

workers of South Africa and 17 of its members

against a judgment of the Labour Appeal Court was dismissed by the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein yesterday.

The case arose from a wage dispute and disruptions at plants of Macsteel (Pty) Ltd, Germiston, in 1988.

An industrial court found that the collective overtime ban by Macsteel employees, with the knowledge and concurrence of the union, was neither unlawful nor an unfair labour practice.

- The industrial court had found that the ban by employees of voluntary overtime in wage negotiations was a

use of their appeal

legitimate industrial relations pressure must be

On July 24, 1990 Mr Justice WJ Hartzenburg and assessors, in the Labour Appeal Court, set aside the industrial court's determination and substituted an order that the union's conduct to introduce, instigate and persist in an overtime ban was an unfair labour practice.

Yesterday Mr Justice Goldstone said there were ample grounds for the lower court to hold that the overtime ban was an unfair labour practice. There was no reason to interfere with the order made by the Labour Appeal Court.

Mr Justice van Heerden, Mr Justice Smalberger, Mr Justice FH Grosskopf and Mr Justice Nicholas (acting judge of appeal) concurred. - Sapa.

Toll-free hotline  
for pensioners

A 24-hour toll-free telephone service would be instituted where black social pensioners could air their grievances, the Minister of Local Government, Mr Leon Wessels, told Parliament on Wednesday.

Speaking during an interpellation debate, he said pension and disability grant payments - made by the Provincial Administrations - were complicated by the high illiteracy rate, rapid urbanisation and identification problems.

The payments were being done with compassion by officials and no malice was borne by them at any level.

Mrs Carole Charlewood (DP Umbilo) said the current pay-out system resulted in chaos, deprivation, illness and even death for the elderly and disabled.

- There were reports of old people collapsing regularly at

the pay-out points, having walked all day and sat up all night to get into the next day's queue.

Many were turned away being told 'you're too young.'

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al leaders  
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By RUSSEL MOLEFE  
TRADITIONAL leaders were being excluded from Codesa because the system they represented was regarded as backward and barbaric, Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu said this week. :

Makwetu was addressing more than 200 traditional leaders at Lebowakgomo Showgrounds in Seshego on Wednesday.

He said traditional leaders were neqmred to be satisfied â\200\234with a goodwnll gestureâ\200\231â\200\231 of their presence at Codesa as observers since their contribution would be again regarded as irrelevant.

Calling on the traditional leaders to join hands with the PAC, Makwetu said the land question could not be solved without the direct involvement of the rural poor and traditional leaders.

He appealed to them not to allow themselves to b used against their own people.

gs.

THE number of pohu assassinations since the start of the reform process in 1990 is five times that of the preceding five

By MATHATHA TSEDU i  
Investigations Editor â\200\231

years, the Human Rights Commission revealed yesterday.

The HRCsaidinareport released yesterday that 119 people had been eliminated in â\200\234low intensity copflictâ\200\231â\200\231 methods used â\200\234to frustrate and destabilise the liberation struggleâ\200\231â\200\235.

times higher with 119 deaths.

Of these, more than 100 were clearly identifiable as belonging to the anti-apartheid campâ family members of activists.

The HRC said recent revelations in the

, some as ofhcmis meÃ©mbers or

The report points out that during the [ive

years from 1985 to 1990, which encompass-

the years of the State of Emergency, 45 political deaths were recorded.

During the same period five people disappeared without trace and 160 attempted murders were recorded.

The figures for the 28 months from February 1990 to April this year were five

media about alleged State involvement in the murders of activists raised questions about the role of the National Security management in the continuing killings. The increased tempo of politically motivated killings was further evidence, âif it were neededâ, that elements existed within State structures which had no interest in a peaceful advance to genuine democracy,

the HRC said.

SOWETAN Friday May 22 1992

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State

~ call for closer

- regional trade

by Zambian President Frederick Chiluba on Wednesday

LUSAKA - The presidents of Zambia and Bot-

-swana have called for strengthened regional

trade and co-operation as a way of boosting the

- weak economies in Southern Africa.

Speaking in Lusaka, Botswana President Quett Masire

said countries in the region should ensure that trade =

between them was consolidated. '

â\200\234This is even more apparent now that South Africa has  
joined the league of democratic countries in the world and  
Southern Africa in particular,â\200\235â\200\231 he said.

Masire was speaking at an official dinner hosted for him

night.

â\200\234It is regrettable that trade among developing countries  
in Africa is minimal compared with developing coun-

tries,â\200\235â\200\235 Chiluba said. â\200\234It is time that we t\_oosted trade |

amongst ourselves now.â\200\235â\200\231

Masire said his country would assist in hastening food  
relief moving through Botswana.

The two leaders began bilateral talks yesterday on,  
among other things, the effects of the drought in the region,  
including the shipment of food relief from overseas  
through Botswana. - Sapa.

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- â\200\224â\200\224

THE Congress of South African Trade  
Unions on Wednesday warned that any

action against Alexandra Civic Associa- -

tion chairman Mr Moses Mayekiso would  
provoke a major reaction from its 1,5  
million members. e,

Cosatu was reacting to the arrest and  
appearance in court of Mayekiso and three  
others on charges of illegal possession of  
firearms. :

Mayekiso, who is also general secretary  
of the National Union of Metalworkers of  
South Africa, and three bodyguards were  
arrested in Alexandra township on  
Tuesday night. He was found in possession  
of two Makarov pistols.

The four men appeared in the Wynberg  
Magistrate's Court on Wednesday charged  
with the illegal possession of firearms.

Cosatu said it viewed the arrest of the  
four men as a concerted campaign by the  
police and the Government to strip us of

any measures we undertake in an effort to

defend our lives. .  
It said that if Mayekiso had acquired or

hungry at  
Mayekiso arrest

of their hit squads, which convinces us that

10 be dropped as it had a convincing evi-

DD |

possessed arms illegally for his defence, |  
the Government should take the blame. =  
After receiving death threats and being  
subjected to constant surveillance,  
Mayekiso applied for a legal firearm |  
through the African National Congress and  
has since received no response from the  
police.

The police have also failed to assure  
him of his safety despite being on a hit list

they have no interest in defending those  
who are opposed to the policies of the  
Government. a

In a separate statement, Numsa said it  
was calling for all charges against its leader

dence that Mayekiso's name appeared on  
several hit lists and he had been under  
surveillance by unknown people for a  
long period.

Numerous Numsa staffers and mem-  
bers have been murdered and their houses 1  
burnt, but no serious action has ever been | -  
taken by the SAP, a the statement said.

I A A AR T G e b e

RTAL

JOHANNESBURGâ\200\224The security police kept a dossier on, and taped the private telephone calls of, Natal Judge, Mr Justice John Didcott, a former security police colonel has told the Vrye Weekblad newspaper.

The newspaper yesterday evening released a copy of the story it intends publishing today concerning an interview conducted with Colonel John Horak, who was under cover as a senior journalist at the Rand Daily Mail, the Sunday Express and the Star for several years.

In the interview Col Horak confessed that while he was desk chief at the security police headquarters in Pretoria, he kept a thick file on Mr Justice Didcott.

The file included several transcripts of the Judgeâ\200\231s private telephone conversations.

A spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order last week denied a report that Mr Justice Didcottâ\200\231s telephone had been tapped and that a file was kept on him.

The spokesman also said police had no knowledge that Col Horak once tried to leak information on Mr Didcottâ\200\231s past as a Nusas and Liberal Party activist to an Afrikaans newspaper reporter.

Col Horakâ\200\231s reaction was indignant: â\200\230â\200\230How dare the

Didcottâ\200\231

Police â\200\230taped Judge S/ C,â\200\231S/ G2

Without Buthelezi

â\200\230SA is?gondemned;[

ministerâ\200\231s spokesman declare me a liar when the police know full well it was the truth?â\200\235

He claimed he had attempted to smear Mr Justice Didcott by leaking information

from the secret file to the press on the direct orders of his security police superiors. â\200\234I never did anything that was not an order,â\200\235 he said.

Col Horak said he had complained to the SAPâ\200\231s senior legal adviser, Brigadier Koos Joubert, who agreed the reaction from the ministerâ\200\231s office was â\200\234a mistakeâ\200\235.

Brig Joubert advised Col Horak to â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230put the matter straight without divulging more details of police actions of the timeâ\200\235, Vrye Weekblad said.

The report said Col Horak challenged the ministerâ\200\231s office to ask his commander at the time if he (Horak) had acted on his own or whether he was ordered to leak information on Mr Justice Didcott to the newspapers.

The Law and Order spokesman, former Star journalist Captain Craig Kotze, said: â\200\234We categorically deny that the SAP at any stage listened in on the telephone conversations of Justice Didcott. If telephone conversations were listened to, it happened unlawfully and Vrye Weekblad is requested to make available the witness who alleges this.â\200\235 â\200\224 (Sapa)

s call

K

LONDONâ\200\224IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi must be involved more closely in the peace process or the country â\200\234will almost certainly be condemned to continuing instability and violenceâ\200\235, according to the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies.

In its 1991-92 Strategic Survey released yesterday, the institute said: â\200\230â\200\234The positive



(referendum) vote has ...  
strengthened (President de  
Klerk) for his long-delayed  
confrontation with those in  
the security establishment  
who have been stoking black-  
on-black violence for their  
own purposes.

As negotiations move into

the final stage, however, the

most immediate and impor-  
tant task facing both Mr de  
Klerk and (ANC president  
Nelson) Mandela is the need  
to involve Dr Buthelezi more  
closely in the process, to allay  
his fears of exclusion and to  
accommodate at least some of  
his ambitions in the interim  
government and beyond.

Failure to do so will almost  
certainly condemn SA to con-  
tinuing instability and  
violence.

It concluded: On March 17,  
1992, Mr de Klerk persuaded  
white SA to finally turn its  
back on the country's apart-  
heid past. His and Man-  
dela's biggest remaining  
challenge could be to avoid a  
Zulu veto on its future. (Sapa)

Split emerges as

group demands  
Winnie's return

ANC best hope  
for new SA,  
says Haswe

JOHANNESBURG A split  
emerged within the African  
National Congress yesterday  
over Winnie Mandela's resigna-  
tion as head of the ANC social  
welfare department.

A newly formed support group, from within the ANC PWV Women's League, publicly demanded her reinstatement as head of the department.

Members of the group occupied the PWV Women's League office in central Johannesburg for most of the day, until they received a reply to their petition from ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, whose office is a few blocks away.

The group calls itself the Social Welfare Support Committee. It is

According to a spokesman for the committee, Mr Ramaphosa relayed a message that the matter would be dealt with when ANC president Nelson Mandela returned from his Nordic trip.

We are crying for Mama, said spokesman Sally Peterson, a member of the PWV Women's League regional executive committee, referring to Mrs Mandela. (Sapa)

FORMER Democratic Party MP, Mr Rob Haswell, one of the five DP MPs who defected to the ANC, said last night he had joined the ANC out of conviction that it offered the country by far our best hope of attaining a truly new South Africa.

Addressing a large and enthusiastic crowd in the Pietermaritzburg City Hall at an ANC Natal Midlands region meeting, Mr Haswell who is the city's deputy mayor, said he wanted to help build a really new Maritzburg which meant allocating land and finding funds to house its poor people close to work.

Mr Haswell shared the stage last night with former DP colleague Mr Pierre Cronje; ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa and ANC natal Midlands region deputy chairman Reggie Hadebe.

Mr Cronje said the only organisation which could lead the second liberation struggle to rid the country of real apartheid, poverty and hatred among

people was the ANC. â\200\224 (Pieter-  
maritzburg Bureau)

Business leader warns workers  
V72 /94.. MELC LY

Bruised e

â\200\230canâ\200\231t take striktâ\200\230?&

CAPE TOWNâ\200\224Companies  
could be forced to take  
â\200\234the strictist possible dis-  
ciplinary measuresâ\200\235 if the  
general strike being  
threatened for next month  
by the ANC and Cosatu  
went ahead, Sacob direc-  
tor-general Raymond Par-  
sons warned last night.

The â\200\234battered and bruisedâ\200\235  
state of South Africaâ\200\231s econo-  
my had been aggravated by  
prolonged recession and  
drought, he told the Tyger-  
berg Chamber of Commerce  
and Industry. â\200\230

â\200\234To impose a general strike  
on these economic circum-  
stances could have negative  
consequences for the workers  
themselves, who can ill afford  
to jeopardise their jobs or in-  
come in these tough times.â\200\235

Mr Parsons said he believed  
that most employers were  
likely to take the usual stance  
of â\200\234no work, no payâ\200\235 if the  
ANC-Cosatu alliance gave the

green light to a strike when

they met to decide on the is-

Political Staff

sue on May 28.

Cosatu has mentioned the  
possibility of a five-day strike  
to press home its demand for  
the speedy installation of an  
interim government.

Mr Parsons said yesterday  
that Sacob estimated that if a  
two-day general strike was  
observed it would cost work-  
ers about R250 million in lost  
pay. For workers and their

families this was about 10% of

monthly earnings.

â\200\234In the present difficult eco-  
nomic climate and poor busi-

ness conditions a general strike in the near future could force companies to take the strictest possible disciplinary measures.

â\200\234This must be seen against the background in which retrenchments and job shrinkages are already inevitably taking place. I appeal to those who have to take the decision to bear these realities in mind,â\200\235 he said.

22 /o5 /g2

conom

CAPE TOWNâ\200\224The Government has warned that mass action could delay the transition to a democratic constitution.

Constitutional Development and Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said there was â\200\234no room and no needâ\200\235 for the ANC to embark on a programme of mass action in a bid to speed up the transition democracy.

Mass action could â\200\234bedevil the processâ\200\235, said Mr Meyer.

He remained â\200\230â\200\234positiveâ\200\235â\200\231

â\200\230No needâ\200\231

Political Correspondence

lowing the failure of the

that work left unfinished by the now suspended Working Group 2 and other matters could be resolved â\200\234in a fairly short timeâ\200\235.

" There have been indications that the ANC and its al-

lies are preparing to embark  
on a mass action campaign

Coltesa 2 plenary session to  
reach substantial agreement.

Mr Meyer said the gap be-  
tween the current tri-cameral  
constitution and the envis-  
aged final constitution for a  
democratic South Africa was  
so vast that it might be good  
to have a reasonable period of  
transition to bridge the gap.

for ANC mass action

Deputy Constitutional De-  
velopment Minister Dr Terti-  
us Delpport acknowledged  
that there were significant dif-  
ferences between the Govern-

ment and the ANC when it

came to time frames for the  
proposed interim or transi-  
tional constitution.

He did not believe the  
ANC's insistence that a final

constitution be written in  
merely six months was rea-  
sonable as constitution-mak-  
ing is too serious to be dealt  
with in this way.

He stressed during debate  
in Parliament on the Consti-  
tutional Development budget  
vote that federalism was the  
only way in which the diverse |  
cultures of South Africa could  
be accommodated.

. He pointed to Natal, saying  
it could well require a special  
dispensation to accommodate  
the Zulu king.

LB

CAPE TOWNâ\200\224The South African Defence Force has already started bilateral talks with Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) on the shape of the future defence force. it was revealed for the first time yesterday.

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer told a media briefing that the talks were being held â\200\234to see how arrangements can be made to rationalise not only the defence forces of the TBVC states, but also 'para-military forces like MKâ\200\235.

Mr Meyer said the Government and ANC had achieved about 80% agreement in talks about the â\200\234principlesâ\200\235 of the rationalisation process.

His comments yesterday are the first indication that the oADF and MK itself are

Eâ\200\230Ciuï¬\201jclâ\200\235

engaged in talks and:an apparent signal that the issue is close to resolution.

But Mr Meyer stressed that the termination of the armed struggle and ANC compliance with â\200\234outstandingâ\200\235 agreements from the DF Malan and Pretoria Minute accords was

a Government pre-condition: to the rationalisation process. Â°

He welcomed ANC leader Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s comment in Oslo this week that the armed struggle was not an option if negotiations fail.

My Meyer said at a media briefing yesterday that â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230we welcome that indicationâ\200\235.

â\200\234It is the first clear indication) process is irreversible,â\200\235 said Mr Meyer, who is relieved

of the Defence portfolio at the. - â\200\234~â\200\234tion~of peace,â\200\231â\200\235â\200\231 said Mr

" Mandela.

end of the month.

Mr Meyer made it clear that..  
the Government would not

proceed with transitional ar-  
rangements unless the armed .  
struggle was abandoned.

- Speaking in Oslo on Tues- .  
day, Mr Mandela appeared to

give a clear and unconditional.  
indication that the ANC.

would not go back to the  
armed struggle.  
According to Reuters, the

ANC president said in re-  
sponse to a question about:

talks and the armed struggle  
that: "We are optimistic, but

- we have made it clear that we

are embarking on negotia-

tions not because it is the

only method open to us.  
"If you want us to go

. to:armed struggle, we won't

do that. We are an organisa-

"He added that a general  
strike :was one alternative  
that could be used if negotia-  
tions broke down.

" M: Meyer yesterday refus.d

to be drawn on a question of  
whether he had full confi-  
dence that members of the  
security establishment had  
not been involved in the as-  
sassination of anti-apartheid  
activists.

He said he would return to  
the issue in the Defence Bud-  
get vote next week.

Swedes to look  
at funding of ANA(



STOCKHOLMâ\200\224Swedish Parlia-  
. ment will consider next week wheth-  
er to continue Swedenâ\200\231s vital  
funding of the African National Con-  
gress, officials said yesterday at the  
close of a two-day visit by ANC  
president Nelsonâ\200\231 Mandela.

The Swedish International Devel-  
opment Authority is recommending  
an allocation of 110 million crowns  
(about R53,2 million) to the ANC in

~ the year startlng July 1 compared  
with 120 million crowns (R58 million)  
this budget year.

â\200\234Ot{cburse, we will reach a point at  
some stage where it is no longer pos-  
. sible for us to support the ANC as  
' such,â\200\235 Mr Johan Brisman, head of  
thedauthorityâ\200\231s southern Africa desk,

. Prime Minister Carl Bildt said  
after a meeting with Mr Mandela on  
Wednesday that when SA adopted  
multiracial democracy, Sweden  
could not keep supporting only one  
party.

Opposition Social Democrats will  
ask Parliament to approve the R53,2  
million request on Wednesday dur-  
ing a debate on trade sanctions  
against SA, a parliamentary spokes-

Reef erupts in  
~an orgy of violence

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURGâ\200\224The Reef  
erupted yesterday as rampaging  
Soweto pupils set a woman alight,  
police and gunmen exchanged fire in  
the Phola Park squatter camp and  
train violence flared up.

At least 11 people were reported  
killed in the latest violence.

Troops were rushed to Soweto yes-  
terday to help quell the third day of  
rioting by thousands of pupils who  
ran riot, stoning vehicles and homes  
and setting them alight.

Volatile Phola Park on the East  
Rand was turned into a battlefield  
yesterday when police and unknown  
gunmen exchanged heavy gunfire.

Police alleged the gunmen were at-  
tacking security forces from behind  
a â\200\234safety shield of children and wom-  
en, knowing the gunfire could not be  
effectively returnedâ\200\235.

Four men died in a resurgence of Reef train attacks on Wednesday. Yesterday's unrest report said the men died in two separate incidents on the East Rand.

In Alexandra three people were

unknown gunman opened fire on a minibus, apparently shooting indiscriminately. Another three people

man said. (Sapa-Reuter)

were injured

killed yesterday morning when an |

ANC in joint govt

CAPE TOWN The ANC and P

do not know if Joe

| De Beer hopeful  
over Codesa work

JOHANNESBURG The daily management committee of Codesa had done constructive work at its meeting on Tuesday and it was hoped that the Transitional Executive Council could be legislated for before the end of the present session of Parliament, DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday.

He told an SA British Trade Association lunch that the DMC hoped that agreements reached by the working groups at Codesa could be reinstated in time for Parliament to legislate for the council.

The agreements reached by working groups had almost been derailed at the second plenary session of Codesa at the weekend when the working group dealing with constitutional principles failed to agree on the majority required in an interim parliament to vote in the clauses of a new constitution. The group could also not agree on the role of a second house of the interim parliament.

Those dealing with transitional arrangements made the implementation of its agree-

- ment on the creation of a TEC dependent on

Working Group 2 reaching agreement.

Group 2 reported the absence of agreement (to Codesa 2) and rendered the agreement in Group 3 invalid.

Dr De Beer said the lack of agreement had reduced Codesa's second plenary session to a damp squib.

Only by placing the need for a democratic future higher than party-political ambitions could Codesa be put back on track. (Sapa)

the National Party would govern jointly as neither party could survive without the other, Dr Johan Steenkamp (NP Umhlathuzana) said yesterday.

Speaking in the Constitutional Development Vote debate, he said the ANC had to dismiss immediately any ideas of domination.

Mr Thabo Mbeki would jointly hold the foreign affairs portfolio with Mr Pik Botha and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Chris Hani would have a hand in the running of the Defence Force.

Slovo would be able to manage a trade and industry post and Mrs Winnie Mandela would not be given the social welfare portfolio.

It was impossible to accommodate all South Africans with their wide diversity in one political party.

The current power struggle in the country was a dangerous game and the ANC and its ally the SA Communist Party had to give up its dream of absolute power. (Sapa)



â\200\230

o e B e I

Y G\(\Qâ\200\234\L\ =

What legitimacy  
+has ANC got?

WHAT happened to  
â\200\234freedom of the Pressâ\200\235,  
â\200\234investigative journa-  
lismâ\200\235 and similar balder-  
dash?

What is the reason that  
the Press, as well as the  
government-controlled  
TV, never hesitate to  
hammer the government,  
yet they treat the ANC,  
PAC and SACP with the  
greatest reverence: Let  
me quote the latest two  
examples:

Saturday night we  
heard Mr Slovo informing  
the TV and local/foreign  
journalists that â\200\234the gov-  
ernment is afraid of  
democracyâ\200\235 and Sunday  
Mr Mandela, for the  
umpteenth time, again la-  
belled the government  
â\200\234illegitimateâ\200\235.

Fair enough, looking at  
it from a traditional,  
Western parliamentary,

democratic viewpoint the  
South African Govern-  
ment was elected by the  
White minority, which is  
hardly 20 percent of the  
total population.

But at least this 20 per- .

cent took part in a free  
and fair election, where  
several parties contested  
the seats and the voters  
were given the opportu-  
nity to exercise their free  
will and eventually they  
got the government they  
deserve.

But this means that the  
government is at least â\200\23420  
percent legitimateâ\200\235.

However, there was  
nobody among the Press  
and TV representatives

who had the guts to ask  
Mr Mandela what legitimacy the ANC can claim?

Who elected the ANC

. officials, who are they  
representing (certainly

not the Zulus and not  
even the other Black nations who are well represented at Codesa), where and when did this democratic election take place, and who were their opponents? .  
Until Mr Mandela gives

a satisfactory reply to .

these questions, he  
should refrain from labeling the government â\200\234illegitimateâ\200\235. After all, 20 percent is more than nothing.

And as for Mr Slovoâ\200\231s lecture concerning democracy, it was a sad event that nobody dared to laugh when a Communist, who always â\200\234winsâ\200\235 unopposed elections with 99,8 percent, shows how to be a hypocrite.

Z KARMOS  
Alberton

Demeaning, sneering

THE Citizen is a pleasure to read. Its wide coverage of news, both local and international, is terse, factual and unslanted in contents and captions.

Its leaders are worth reading because they are balanced and well thought through. Alone among papers in the country, it has no ideological bias, other than a sound patriotic South African realism. Its analysis of cultural activities is on a par with the best in the country.

The demeaning, sneering language wused in â\200\234Spate of Afrikaans LPâ\200\231sâ\200\235 in Gordon Engel-

brechtâ\200\231s Take Note on  
May 16 was, therefore, a  
jarring sound.

I agree that Afrikaans  
music should be publish-  
ed on a much more selec-  
tive basis, both as regards  
the quality of the music it-  
self as the vocal quality.

â\200\234If the garra-garra brig-  
ade really have their  
broekies in a knot, then  
they should take comfort  
from the justified assump-  
tion that seemingly any-

one who can sing or play  
3 S

criticism ;74

an instrument and hap-  
pens to be named Van der  
Merwe or Visagie is in-  
stantly a potential record-  
ing starâ\200\235, is, therefore,  
fair comment, albeit acid-  
ly put.

Records such as Hoe  
Groot is U (Hymns sung  
by Rina Hugo, Carike  
Keuzenkamp and GÃ©  
Korsten) and GÃ©  
Korstenâ\200\231s Lied van my  
Lewe, however, do not  
fall in this category.

To refer to Hoe Groot  
is U as â\200\234Boere Gospelâ\200\235  
and fit only for â\200\234converts

and those who enjoy  
reading funeral noticesâ\200\235,  
and to GÃ© Korstenâ\200\231s re-  
cord, â\200\234But would I play it  
a second time? Would  
you skinny-dip at a sewer-  
age farmâ\200\235, is not clever  
but in very bad taste.  
Incidentally, the term  
â\200\234Die Taalâ\200\235 (should read  
â\200\234The Taal), dug out by  
Engelbrecht, is a very old  
derogatory reference to  
Afrikaans, the use of  
which went out with Lord  
Milner.  
H du TOIT :  
Pretoria

Probe all

I MUST echo the Rev  
Peter Hammondâ\200\231s opin-  
ion (The Citizen, May  
19).

I cannot understand  
why the crimes of the  
UDF/ANC/SACP over  
the past years are not be-  
ing investigated and  
tried by newspaper.

Yet our glorious Press  
is quite happy to do this

for alleged crimes, in

1985, by supposed gov-  
ernment agents.

In fact, some probably  
were jailed and have now  
been set free as politi-  
cal prisoners.

Surely, a crime against  
the people applies to  
all. Let justice be done  
and may no individual or  
organisation be exempt  
from investigation.

Mrs D MARITZ  
Phalaborwa

| sponsibility for unveil-

IETE

Secrecy is  
paramolint

IN what appears to be  
an on-going trial by  
speculation in the media  
of the security forces, a  
number of worms are  
crawling out from the  
once termite-proof  
structure.

The radical Press  
once again makes a  
splurge about safe  
houses and secret  
networks allegedly op-  
erated by the SAP.

So what's new! The  
CIA, Mossad and  
other foreign national  
security forces all follow  
the strategy pattern. In-  
deed, the British MIS  
has taken over the re-

ing the destructive and  
death-dealing schemes  
of the IRA.

As with those Judases  
who betray the path of  
secrecy to their own



country to the media, so there are those anarchists who cross the floor. However, it is the latter who need highly secure protection from their former comrades who need to eliminate them before they give state evidence.

In the RSA's present situation, characterised by crime and near-anarchy, mostly caused by essentially foreign trained and AK-47-armed terrorists of various tribal orientations, secrecy is paramount if we are to uncover and deal with the perpetrators of the ongoing internecine violence in the townships.

SELWYN  
: Pretoria

Ron Schurink suggests a way out of the impasse.

There is a kink in one of the interlocking and superimposed

â\200\230mazes Codesa is trying to traverse has held it up.

South Africans now have a better idea of the complexities of interim government and a new constitution.

Maybe it's time for real simplicity. g  
- Our society has to be restructured precisely because its guiding institutions and privileges excluded the majority of the population. But there has been one facet of society we are all â\200\234inâ\200\235 willy-nilly â\200\224 as limited purchasers or giant marketers, labourers or managing directors â\200\224 and that is the economy.

Doesn't it make sense, as we move towards a new order, to

STR

first carry unity and common effort through to new institutions? Can't we thereby avoid division over voting percentages and an upper chamber?

As I move around among businessmen, I find many instinctively understand how a universal pool for an economics parliament could ease our path.

It would transfer huge power to the majority quickly and smoothly, without every nook and cranny of proposed societal change having to be investigated in case it should hold a nasty surprise for someone.

Across the world today, advanced and advancing societies are moulding themselves round their economies rather than time-worn nation-state institutions and

The Star Friday May 22 1992

2.2 ol Y  
not try this road, Codesa

l's it becoming much more business-e.

In the last century Abraham Lincoln and his like in the United States identified a new and better national core â\200\224 â\200\230â\200\234government of the people, by the people, for the

peopleâ\200\235.

But we cannot doubt that today they would also be in the Von .

Hayek-Fukuyama fan club â\200\224 reaffirming and advancing the link between democracy and free-enterprise economic progress.

From some of our people, of

course, we could expect a huge outcry that an economics parliament was a â\200\234capitalist conâ\200\235 to preserve privilege for the minority. That would be absolutely untrue. i

As the European Parliament

?><â\200\230 |

gains authority at the expense of 12 national parliaments, democracy is not being diminished but rather enhanced as it gets a different focus.

In this country, an economics parliament would serve and not undermine the paradigm of Lincoln. 3

Non-interim and functioning with all state-side levers of the economy (including the Budget) in its hands, it could work wonders for the spirit of our people. We could become so much more perceptive about getting out of our other mazes.

Codesa should seriously consider changing tack. O

H Ron Schurink is a specialist writer on financial affairs.

11

Time to consider bombs, necklacing

Members of the DP have, over the years, been vociferous in demanding the withdrawal of the troops from the townships, and in calling for inquiries into police actions. As a result, many

police have been severely punished. Some have received the death sentence.

Fair enough, you may say, but what about the other side of the picture? How many inquiries have there been into necklace murders, the stabbing and murdering of innumerable people and deaths and injuries by bomb blasts? The DP now demands an inquiry into the deaths of four UDF activists who were killed in 1985. What about an inquiry into the Pretoria bomb blast which killed 21 people and injured 200?

Joe Slovo was suspected of master-minding many of these acts of terrorism from Mozambique. He doesn't ever seem to have been subjected to an inquiry of any sort.

A list was published well over a year ago: a preliminary list of dead, murdered, tortured and

missing ANC/MK cadres in ANC punishment camps. Those who have managed to return to South Africa say that they were sickened to find that the very people who had tortured them for wanting democracy in MK and the ANC, were negotiating with the South African Government for what they called a New Democracy for the people.

The hundreds, if not thousands, of these people in ANC punishment camps were South African citizens. Why has there been no demand for an inquiry into these camps which have been known to exist for years, and are alleged still to be holding over 200 prisoners?

Members of the Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee (Recoc) have tried in vain to get some action from South Africans. The United Nations blew Sharpeville and the Biko case sky-high, but deaths and torture in ANC camps are ignored by the UN and the DP.

Gwen Baragwanath  
Lydenburg



TS SV =D

HE wonders .o then SA  
never cease. Ity this: Nelson  
Mandela is now warming a chair  
occupied for decades by the Afri-  
kaner Broederbond.  
The University of the North,  
once figureheaded by arch-ideolo-

gues of apartheid such as Dr .

W WM Eiselen and Professors  
Potgieter and Boshoff, is now in  
the hands of the ANC.  
Pendulum-like, the chancellor-  
ship of Turfloop â\200\234bushâ\200\235 college

has swung from the far right to |  
the left of the political spectrum.

Intriguingly, the change -of  
power goes beyond Pietersburg in  
what appears to be a systematic  
ANC strategy to take over past  
domains of apartheid rule.

Recently, too, Walter Sisulu be-  
came chancellor of the University  
of Venda and last year, Oliver  
Tambo was installed as ceremoni-  
al head of Fort Hare.

Now word is about that next,  
the liberation movement is target-  
ing the pride of liberalism (Wits),

the bulwark of capitalism (UCT).

and the citadel of Afrikanerdom

(Stellenbosch). :

Eina!? But these days, even the

unthinkable is rapidly becoming  
thinkable.

0. 8o

ASKED about bomb allegations

against Koos Botha MP that first '

appeared in Rapport recently, the  
pious Andries Treurnicht deftly  
sidestepped by saying: â\200\234I never  
read newspapers on Sunday.â\200\235

Assuming the good doctor reads  
papers on Tuesdays, it cannot  
have escaped his notice that a few  
more of his senior CP men are  
having to help the police with  
their inquiries, as they say, over a  
bomb blast.

Maybe Dr T could spend next

Sunday praying for guidance on |

the moral dilemmas that arise. Or  
doesnâ\200\231t he have any?

g.0-0

\* â\200\234kaffirboetiesâ\200\235.

UNLIKE . his predecessor, President de Klerk isnâ\200\231t used to taunts ' about failing to cross the Rubicon. But at Codesa 2, Nelson Mandela ended his speech by appealing to De Klerk to cross the hack-

The  
Inside  
Track

neyed stream. :  
â\200\230Asked to comment, FW said:  
â\200\234When I look back, I canâ\200\231t even  
see the Rubicon any more.â\200\235  
e

ANOTHER leader whose strictures stung the Government was Transkeiâ\200\231s Bantu Holomisa. :

It was too much for the Ministers in the front row when Holomisa â\200\224 who came to power via a â\200\230military coup â\200\224 accused them of being dictators. )

â\200\234Us, dictators?â\200\235 came an indignant interjection from the team which often demands that Holomisa keep his promise of returning Transkei to civilian rule.

â\200\234Yes, that's what I said, dictators,â\200\235 said the general, unabashed.

7. B I o o  
LAST Sunday, day after Codesa 2, was the 37th anniversary of the first breakaway of Afrikaner intellectuals from the NP.

It was on May 17 1955 that a petition by 13 senior academics at Pretoria and Unisa, protesting against the removal of coloured voters from the Cape common roll, appeared in The Star.

Their dissent duly led to their being cast out of the Afrikaner establishment as â\200\234traitorsâ\200\235 and

- A .

YR

Now Nelson warms a chair where arch-Broeder

\Liao

8 8 e .

WHO does the Governm ink itâ\200\231s fooling when it tries to obfuscate the SADFâ\200\231s credibility crisis by raising allegations of murder in ANC camps?

Those may be no more defensible than security force murders, but anyway Pretoria is comparing apples with pears.

One point to be noted is that taxpayers pay for security forces, and donâ\200\231t expect their money to be misused on dirty tricks against fellow South Africans.

o 00 .0

IN THIS day and age, I suppose one shouldnâ\200\231t have been surprised by the ad in Business Day where a familiar face caught the eye.

The SABCâ\200\231s Freek Robinson it was (â\200\234Artes Award winner 1992â\200\235) with a caption offering â\200\234All your professional and entertainment requirements under one wingâ\200\235.

This firm of â\200\234creative brokersâ\200\235 went on to list its detailed services: â\200\234Celebrities, masters of ceremony (sic), bands, comedians, public speakers, corporate extravaganza, flower arrangements, invitations, stage, - decor, background music, string quartets, corporate themesâ\200\235.

No doubt Freek fits in under the head of celebrities and MCs rather than comedians or flower arrangements.

o.no -

SPARE a thought for the National Council of Women â\200\224 presumably an outfit acutely aware of gender



discrimination â\200\224 which recently  
complained about The Star send-  
ing a male reporter to cover the

-~

opening of its congress.

A PR person couldnâ\200\231t be con-  
vinced that The Star doesnâ\200\231t dis-  
criminate between male and fe-  
male reporters. She politely re-  
quested that a woman cover the  
next dayâ\200\231s discussions.

A woman, she said, would un-  
derstand the issues better. |

| [R5 [ s T

A MEMBER of John Majorâ\200\231s new  
Cabinet, Virginia Bottomley,  
made a big impression in her first  
speech to the House of Commons,  
The Observer reports. .

\_ Some sexists attributed her con-  
fidence to the startling pink outfit  
she wore. One male colleague  
punned admiringly: â\200\234I have seen  
â\200\230he [uscia, and it worksâ\200\235. .

a0 5 i  
A QUOTE from Winnie Mandela:  
â\200\234Politicians are not lovers.â\200\235  
Ja-nee, Sauer isnâ\200\231t convinced.  
Think of Allan Boesak. g

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Call for Wlnme  
to get job

Daily News  
Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: A group of women from the PWV region of the ANC women's league yesterday marched to the organisation's headquarters to demand the return of Winnie Mandela as the head of the department of social welfare.

In a memorandum handed to ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, the women also called for the re-instatement of Mrs Mandela's alleged lover, Dali Mpofu, who was sacked from his position as the deputy head of the organisation's welfare department.

The memorandum also called on the ANC to refrain from interfering with the domestic affairs of some of its leaders by applying pressure on them.

ANC women's  
league group

hand in demand  
The ANC is charged only with  
the task to liberate us from the tyr-

anny of racial oppression known as apartheid, the statement said.

A spokesman for the women, Sally Peterson, told a Press conference in Johannesburg that more than 700 women had gathered at the leagues' offices to deliver the memorandum.

She denied that there was a march or a sit-in at the offices.

Only two women had handed the memorandum to Mr Ramaphosa, who then told them the matter would be dealt with when ANC president Nelson Mandela returned

ack

rom his overseas trip in two  
â\200\230weeks.

Ms Peterson said the women  
were upset because several re-  
quests for a meeting with Mrs .  
Mandela had been ignored by the  
regional executive committee of '  
the league.

â\200\234We were refused access to see  
Mama. We then sent a letter saying  
we needed her at Phola Park be-  
cause children were being tear-  
gassed and women were being  
raped. Mama was helping us all . ..  
we are crying for Mama.â\200\235

Asked if it was not right that  
Mrs Mandela should step down

' pending the outcome of her appeal

against kidnapping charges, Ms

Peterson replied that whatever the .

courts foâ\200\234iâ\200\231!nd., would be â\200\234this jus-  
tice that we get as blacks. We

;vonâ\200\231t judge her the way the law  
oesâ\200\235.

%Miâ\200\230} K1

In particular his

We appeal

at (031)287304.

ing on a video biograph on the  
life of the late Chief Al  
?5161â\200\2310 Nobel Peace Prize winner

One of the difficulties is find-  
ing material, anecdotes, letters  
photographs, reminiscences etc.

he became politically active is  
not well documented.

to anyone who may  
be able to help at all to contact  
us by writing to us at 15 Somme  
Road, Durban or by telephoning

PETER CORBETT  
CHARLOTTE OWEN  
Durban

life before

e\f Lutuli sought

Chief Luthuli.

\ Political assassinations soar

Killers on the rampage  
Sl i 3 P A g

) W

The reform era has become the bloodiest period of South African history  
and 1992 is set to become one of the most violent years on record, un-

rest monitors warned last night.

The warnings came as brutal attacks continued on the Reef yesterday, with at least five people being killed and many injured as gunmen and roving groups of youths ran amok.

If the violence continues at its present levels, 2800 people could die in political unrest before the end of the year, according to the South

frican Institute of Relations. (SAIRR). And the Human Rights Commission said yesterday that the rate of political assassinations in the reform era of the '90s was more than five times that during the repressive period of 1985 to

John Kane-Berman, executive director of the SAIRR said that if the violence continued at its present rate, 1992 would be second only to 1990 as the most violent year recorded in SA history.

In the first four months of this year 923 people had been killed. A total of 12867 people had been killed for political reasons since September, 1984.

The total rose by three in Alexandra yesterday in a typi-

cally callous attack.

In a k in First  
A

in

AK-47 gunfire.

old driver and a assenger  
were killed instantly.

A second nger later  
died in the A exandra Clinic.  
Two other injured commut-  
ers were treated at the clinic  
and transferred to Hillbrow

Hospital. None of the victims

| had been named by last

ni%ht.  
n Soweto, where tensions  
have been heightened by 2  
tt and teachersâ\200\231  
nidentified  
woman was stoned and then  
set alight outside house  
No 1689 in Meadowlands  
Zone 5 yesterday.  
She died on the scene.  
Police spokesman Lieu-

down by gunmen  
automatic rifles at the en-

trance to the hostel.

Colonel Halgryn said that

at 11 am police dispersed 2  
f

of armed youths and

seized two shotguns.

By 2pm youths had set at

least three delivery vehicles

alight â\200\224 tWo in Meadow-  
lands and one in Orlando

East, Colonel Halgryn said.

Phola Park on the East

Rand was ly quiet  
yesteâ\200\230rday

0  
ammunition â\200\224  
late on Wednesday night.

In its unrest report for

Wednesday, the SAP said  
four men were killed in another  
spate of attacks on  
Reef train commuters.

@ Political killings soar in

reform era â\200\224 Page 5

DP: Committees shoul

e â\200\230fomâ\200\231i-â\202?fâ\200\234â\200\23011fgâ\200\231; ~

PARLIAMENTARY

standing = committees  
should be appointed to  
monltor the cxpen&tute

which would have thc  
authority to call on Minis-  
ters, officials and other  
speaahststoqapurbeâ\200\224

Codesa a political 2  
miracle â\200\224 Carlisle -

CODESA was a political  
miracle which had  
achieved through negotia-  
tions what was normally

i on the

SpeakmgmtheConsu  
tutional Affairs vote de-

bate, he said negotiations  
should never be dis-  
carded.

At present the ANC  
. and. the National Party

were reaching for their  
Itmdmonalweaponsâ\200\224the  
NP time, and the ANC  
falling back on mass mo-  
Siadion.

Both would have viol-  
ent Tepercussions.

The NP was playing for

extended its stay in pow-  
er, time would favour it  
electorally against the

\* ANC and it was awate thie -

ANC needs to be seen to

k.

even the â\200\234 consti-  
tutionâ\200\235 could be â\200\234thrown  
out of the windowâ\200\235.

Mr Michael Abraham  
(DP Tongaat) said power  
sharing would fail unless

all parties had the will to  
makeltwmâ\200\230k



1In a written reply to a

deliver something to its  
constituency.

â\200\234The increasing intol-  
erance of the NP and the  
ANC in insisting they be  
the only players must ine-  
wtzbly escalate viol-  
ence.â\200\235

Antidotes to this strug-  
gle were a liberal demo-  
nised the federal impera-

â\200\234 tive, and \*CodÃ©sa " which .

should not be discarded.

90 sentenced to  
death in 1991

from Mr Peter

5 R S P AN eSO

MEE: T3 Ã©m

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FERDI Barnard, the man at the centre of allegations of state sponsored killings and har-

assment of anti-apartheid activists, makes no apology for his shadowy role in the service of South Africa.

â\200\234My record is rotten with violence,â\200\235 the 33-year-old former spy told Reuters. â\200\234But I donâ\200\231t need amnesty. Thereâ\200\231s no fear in my heart that I will ever need anything like that.â\200\235

Mr Barnard, a convicted murderer who complains business contacts think of him as â\200\234James Bondâ\200\235â\200\231, added: â\200\234I donâ\200\231t believe there will be any type of Nuremberg trials in this country, because they will sort that out at the negotiating table.â\200\235

He denies accusations that he carried out two of southern Africaâ\200\231s most notorious assassinations, saying a former colleague in a secret army unit might know the truth about them. -

The burly former drug squad detective served three years in jail from 1984 to 1987 for two unrelated murders of suspected drug dealers.

In March 1988 he joined the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB), an army special forces undercover unit which is accused of killing and harassing Black activists.

or serving SA

Officials of the unit, now disbanded, showed strong opposition to State President De Klerk's political reforms. They told a judicial investigation into violence that their job was to â\200\234â\200\230maximally disrupt the enemies of the stateâ\200\235 at home and abroad. The unit has destroyed files on its work inside South Africa.

For the past three years newspapers have regularly splashed Mr Barnard's photograph across front-page reports linking him to the 1989 killings of South African academic David Webster and an anti-apartheid Namibian lawyer, Anton Lubowski.

In late 1989 Mr Barnard was detained for three months in connection with the killings, but was released for lack of evidence.

In an interview at a friend's house, Mr Barnard suggested a CCB colleague might know the truth about the murders, adding: â\200\234If anyone was trained to kill it would be him.â\200\235

He described himself as a political moderate who joined the CCB because it paid well.

All he did, he said, was to use contacts in the underworld, â\200\234mostly Mandrax, diamond and weapons smugglersâ\200\235, to

gather intelligence on enemies of the state.

â\200\234I lost everything when I was in jail. All of a sudden I had R5000 a month. I had a brand new car, my petrol was paid. It made it so much easier for

me, that I could live like anybody else. You can buy a woman a present if you want.

â\200\234That to me was like a godsend. I grabbed it with both hands.â\200\235

Mr Barnard says the CCBâ\200\231s work was needed

at the time but became in--

creasingly irrelevant as the reform process proceeded.

Operated alone

â\200\234People there did brilliant work, believe me. I was one who operated alone, going into a Black township without backing at night to monitor certain peopleâ\200\231s movements.

â\200\234It was intelligence concerning anything that damages the economy â\200\224 laundering money, drug smuggling, weapons smuggling, politically motivated actions against the country, ANC activities, MK activities, you name it.

â\200\234If you do the crime, you must do the time. Itâ\200\231s a motto of mine. You must face the consequences,â\200\235 Mr Barnard said.

FERDI BARNARD ... makes no apology

â\200\234But nobody (in the CCB) ever asked me to do anything illegal or to do any strong arm tactics or any rough work.â\200\235â\200\235

Mr Barnard, denying new allegations that he

currently works for the

armyâ\200\231s intelligence department, said he doubted the killers of Mr Lubowski and Mr Webster would ever apply for amnesty.

â\200\234If it was done (by) the intelligence world, I doubt it very much be-

cause that world is a murky world of shady characters and nothing is really as it seems. Thereâ\200\231ll be no smoking gun.â\200\235

He estimates he has had 200 stitches in his body from being stabbed five times and shot once in the course of his career, which included a stint as a â\200\230Johannesburg club bouncer.

â\200\234I can be violent but I'm not a guy that goes moving around looking for trouble,â\200\235 said Mr Barnard who is 1,88 m tall and weighs 105 kg.

Mr Barnard, who now earns a living by recovering stolen commercial property, said he wanted a normal family life.

â\200\224 Sapa-Reuter.

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Ttae oï¬\201â\200\224n

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min insistence on pro-

vision for a senate with  
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constitution had caused  
the deadlock in Codesaâ\200\231s  
â\200\230Working Group Two, Mr  
Cliffie Nasson (LP

gaining chipâ\200\235 in getting  
the ANC to agree to a 75  
percent majority needed  
to approve a final consti-  
tution.

The government rep-  
resentative, Dr Tertius  
Delpont, had indicated  
that the proposal for a  
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mqned 66,7  
to approve a constitution

\_and had agreed to 70 per-

cent, but this was not ac-

at Codesa

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Mr Nasson called on  
the National Party to  
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panentma;ornyapp:vval  
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Spedmgdmmgi¬\2021c  
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at Codesa than it would by not negotiat-  
mg,MrPdamsmyDevan(SolCavend:ïï\201)smdyester

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;ïï\201'gymwmsmwp i

ïï\201nckeyoanceïï\201sofrts  
poinoy creating the im-  
that members

were talking about, or  
said what they liked.

Turn to Volkâ\200\231  
and use VoteOQ  
â\200\224 Hartzenberg

THE government  
should turn to its â\200\234volkâ\200\235

AN Câ\200\231s mass action plan  
â\200\230borders on blackmailâ\200\231 p(

THE ANCâ\200\231s attempts to The deadlock in nego-  
suspend agreements tiations at Codesa was  
wdlednCodesashu' symptomatic of a funda-  
mental difference of in-  
terpretation between the  
government and the ANC



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assessment of anti-apartheid:  
makes:

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Teridi makes no apology  
for serving SA

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insistence on pro-

. vision for a senate with

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constitution had caused  
the deadlock in Codesaâ\200\231s  
Working!Group Two, Mr  
Cliffie Nasson (ER  
Bokkeveld) said yester-  
day. :

Speaking - during the  
Constitutional Develop-  
ment vote, he said the  
government had then  
used its proposal for an  
upper chamber as a â\200\230â\200\230bar-  
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THE CP was a victim of  
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CP â\200\230A victim  
of circular  
thoughtsâ\200\231

â\200\230stands to gain  
châ\200\231 at Codesa

THE Conservative Party would gain far more through  
negotiations at Codesa than it would by not negotiat-  
ing, Mr Palanisamy Devan (Sol Cavendish) said yester-  
day.

Speaking in the Constitutional Affairs Vote debate,  
he said as long as there was distrust at the negotiating  
forum there would be no progress towards the future.

He called for reconciliation between the ANC and

the â\200\230National Party saying: â\200\234Reconciliation is to nggo; Â« }  
tiations what fresh air is to livingâ\200\235.

CP was still trying to de-  
fine key concepts of its  
policy, creating the im-  
pression that members  
did not know what they  
were talking about, or  
said what they liked.

The CP would have to  
hurry up if it wanted to  
join the final stages of  
drawing up a new con-  
stitution at Codesa.

The problem with CP  
thought was that it had  
become stuck in a bog  
of indecision, lack of di-  
rection and stagnation.

â\200\230Because of this, the  
CP felt alienated and  
threatened. il

The CP would not  
emerge from its bog,  
but rather take its bear-  
ings from will-oâ\200\231the-  
wisps. â\200\224 Sapa.â\200\231

Saio i e et e

Mass action wonâ\200\231t  
solve SA problems,

By Brian Stuart 3  
CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 The  
threatened use of mass  
action by â\200\234the ANC/ .  
SACP/Cosatu alfiance

â\200\234-was , â\200\234certainly - not the  
way we are going to solve  
problems in South Afri-  
caâ\200\235, Mr Roelf Meyer, Mi-  
nister of Constitutional  
Development, said yes-  
terday. 5

Negotiations were  
under way, and Mr Nel-  
son Mandela, president of

the ANC, had said in .  
Norway that there could  
be no return to â\200\234armed  
struggleâ\200\235.

There was a positive  
spirit in Codesa about re-  
solving problems, and  
even the differences that  
had arisen last week in  
Working Group 2 could  
be worked ont.

â\200\234I'm still positively in-  
clined to say we can resol-  
ve even those outstanding  
matters in a fairly short  
time. This will enable us  
to go back to 2 plenary  
session of Codesa and get  
the nccessary agree-

ments.  
Â«1 would also like to re-

Assassinati

- say

fer to the use of mass ac-  
tion: to develop political  
objectives. Mass action  
can bedevil the democrat-  
ic process, and all partici-  
pants -should carefully  
consider their positions in  
connection with mass ac-  
tion, and the effect it will  
have on negotiations.

; - Agreements

â\200\234There is no reason  
whatsoever, at this point,  
why we canâ\200\231t process in  
.the fastest possible time



towards . reaching agree-  
ments in Codesa,â\200\235 Mr  
Meyer said at a media  
briefing on Codesa issues.  
Codesaâ\200\231s. Management  
Committee would meet  
on Monday, and he was  
confident this could move  
the process further to-  
wards resolving the re-  
maining problems.  
Â«There is no need for  
mass action or anything of  
that nature, becausc the  
government and other  
parties are preparcd to

ons.

ations\_\-

s Me

move forward and find  
solutions to the outstand-  
ing differences.

â\200\234So there is no room  
and there is no need for.  
mass action. It raises se-  
rious questions about the  
intentions of mass action  
at all,â\200\235

Mr Meyer said Mr  
Mandelaâ\200\231s statement in  
Oslo was the first clear in-  
dication that the ANC  
would end the arnfed -

yer |

â\200\234That is the condition,  
and we have made it very  
clear to the ANC.â\200\235

Askedâ\200\231 about the  
ANCâ\200\231s statement that it  
might withdraw its â\200\234con-  
cessionsâ\200\235 made at Work-

: lng Group 2, Mr Meyer  
Said this suggested that  
negotiations on these is-  
sues might have to start  
anew,

â\200\234As far as we are con-  
cerned, the agreements

struggle.

â\200\234jt means that the reached in other working  
ANC also knows that the . gronps should stand. Cer-  
process is irreversible, \_ tain matters have been re-  
and they are preparing to solved, and we should be  
participate, hopefully as a prepared to follow up  
political party, in the pro- those agreements, such as  
cess leading up to an elec- legislation in certain cir-

cumstances.â\200\235â\200\231

In Working Group 3

there had been agreement

tion and towards prepara-

tory arrangements.

Condition n &

â\200\234The main condition Â¥ transitional ex-

" that has to be resolved be- ecutive council and sub-

' councils. However, Code-

fore we can move into.any

form of transitional ar-

rangement, is the termin-

ation of the armed strug-

Govt t

sa 2 had not confirmed

these and other agree-

ments, so there would

have to be another ple-

nary session of Codesa to

reach formal agreement.

before implementation

could take place.

The ANC-was suggest-



answer alleg

CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 The government will give Parliament a full response next week to allegations that senior security force officers werÃ© involved in the assassination of activists.

The former Minister of Defence, Mr Roelf Meyer, gave the media this undertaking when answering questions at a weekly briefing on Code-sa here yesterday.

He said he would raise the matter in the debate on his Budget vote next week and answer the alle-

gations as completely as the sub judice rule would permit.

Mr Meyer was asked why the government had not yet commented on the authenticity of documents alleging the official sanctioning of the assassinations of Matthew Goniwe and others. He was also asked whether he was able to give assurances

that he had full confidence that senior Defence

Force officers had not  
been involved in sanction-  
ing the assassinations.

He pointed out that  
ing it would stall on the  
there was a judicial in- S

quiry in progress and â\200\234I activities of all other  
have not had clear advice working groups until  
on the sub judice ruleâ\200\235. there was sgreement. o6  
He hoped to be advised Working Group 2 issues. '  
by next week when the Symptom  
matter came up in his de- Dr Tertius Delport,

Deputy Minister of Con-  
stitutional Development,  
quoted the ANC's Nego-  
tiation Bulletin as stating  
the deadlock over per-  
centages was a symptom  
of a much deeper prob-

partmental Budget vote.  
Â«Then 1 will have a

clearer position on what |  
can and cannot say,â\200\235 he  
said.  
In the meantime he

could but repeat the State

Presidentâ\200\231s assurance that lem.  
the government and the Â«We were forced to  
State Security Council at deadlock rather than

make such an unaccept-

o time sanctioned such  
able compromise.â\200\235

killings. â\200\224 Sapa.



DP Committees should  
i-\\202?i-\\201ndltureÂ»Â«

l@â\\200\\230\\F

\\-\\Q  
lâ\\200\\231ARLlAMbN I'ARY  
standing. committees

should be appointed to  
monitor the expenditure,  
administration and policy  
of each state department  
and associated compan-  
ies, Lieut-Gen Bob Rog-  
ers (DP Walmer) said.

Speaking during debate  
on the Constitutional De-  
velopment vote, he said a  
similar system had been  
introduced in the British  
House of Commons.

All parties would be  
represented proportion-  
ately on such committees,  
which would have the  
authority to call on Minis-  
ters, officials and other  
specialists to appear be-

Mr Fame Jacobe (cp )

Losberg) said the biggest  
deficiency im the â\\200\\234De

Klerk/Mandela planâ\\204ç was

that provision was only  
being made for those

propagating power shar-  
ing, and not for those in  
favour of self determina-  
tion.

The CP had chosen the -

path of peaceful bargain-  
ing to put its nationâ\\200\\231s  
case, but if this did not  
work, â\\200\\234we will use every  
methodâ\\200\\235.

The government should  
not accept that Codesa  
would have the last say on  
a new constitution for  
South Africa â\\200\\224Africaâ\\200\\231s

~ history had shown that  
even the â\\200\\230â\\200\\230prettiest consti-  
tutionâ\\200\\235 could be â\\200\\234thrown  
out of the windowâ\\204ç.

Mr Michael Abraham

(DP Tongaat) said power

sharing would fail unless all pames had the will to make It work.

NINETY people had been sentenced to death in 1991, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said.

In a written reply to a

Codesa a political \_|

miracle â\200\224 Carlisle -

CODESA was a political miracle which had achieved through negotiations what was normally only accomplished on the battlefield, Mr Robin Carlisle (DP Wynberg) said.

Speaking in the Constitutional Affairs vote debate, he said negotiations should never be discarded.

At present the ANC and the National Party

were reaching for their traditional weapons â\200\224the NP time, and the ANC falling back on mass mobilisation.

Both â\200\230would have violent repercussions.

The NP was playing for time because every delay extended its stay in power, time would favour it electorally against the ANC and it was aware the ANC needs to be seen to

deliver something to its consmucncy

â\200\234The increasing intolerance of the NP and the ANC in insisting they be the only players must ine-



vitably escalate viol-  
cm.â\200\231\

Antidotes to this strug-  
gle were a liberal demo-  
cratic option which recog-  
nised the federal impera-

.~ tive, and 'CodÃ@sa . .which

should not be discarded.

90 sentenced to  
death in 1991

question from Mr Peter  
Soal (DP Johannesburg  
North), Mr Coetsee said  
the courts would con-  
tinue to apply the law  
and pronounce death  
sentences despite the  
suspension on the ex-  
ecution of those sen-

tences.

â\200\234The State President  
will also continue to  
consider possible re-  
prieves in those cases in  
which the Appellate  
Division confirms the  
death sentence, because  
it would be grosly un-  
fair to keep prisoners  
who may benefit Trom  
reprieve on death row.

Death . sentences  
would not be carried out

: pendmg the outcome of

negotiations on an inter-  
imBill. of Fundamental  
Rights, he said. â\200\224Sapa.



The Daily News

Gerrit Viljoen

â\200\224 can he lï¬\201\stâ\200\230? N4

T e M\j HeÂ»cï¬\201;â\200\231}? .i Ma.. VR

THE lÃ©sson of the beleaguered Dr Gerrit Viljoen is a crisp and clear one. No government can afford to continue giving shelter to a cabinet minister whose performance has fallen short of what the tax-paying public demands. The longer it attempts to do so, the wider the infection spreads. Individual ministerial responsibility becomes collective cabinet responsibility; a lame duck ministry becomes a lame duck cabinet. The quality of government spirals downward.

Nothing could illustrate this better than the Viljoen case, where there is a strong suspicion that it is not just his health which prevents his taking up the post of Acting State President, in the absence overseas of De Klerk, but the cloud hovering over him of the Department of Development Aid scandal. Nobody has suggested that Dr Viljoen is anything but an honest man. However, he did preside for years over a department which a Supreme Court judge has found to have been rotten and corrupt to the core, its officials having filched millions, if not billions, in public funds. Dr Viljoen cannot escape the political fall-out. The principle of a cabinet accountable to Parliament for its stewardship of the public purse is an unforgiving one.

Over the years the Nationalists have treated the public service as their fiefdom and have allowed the principles of cabinet responsibility to go by default. But every now and then even they find it impossible to continue protecting their own. Prime Minister John Vorster attempted to use the State Presidency as a lifeboat following the Information Department scandal. But the pressure countrywide for his being called to account swelled so inexorably that he had to resign.

In cash terms, the Information scandal was a bagatelle in comparison with the DDA affair. If John Vorster at the height of his power could not be saved, how can Dr Viljoen continue in office?

Cronje, Independent Mp ytown,  
- Predicted at ap African National Cor-  
8ress meeting in the  
City Hall last night.  
Ramaphosa, Secretary-general of  
the African National C  
broad(1â\200\231y and waved at Mr Cronje when  
he said that jt Was an honour to share a

: plzâ\200\230ltf'o!'m with Mr Ramaphosa

Pietermaritzburg

He is one of five former Democratic

\

17 Knid, whitg

HOSA WiLL BE |

Party MPs who signed up as members  
of the ANC last month.

The ANC, Mr Cron  
it

ed and inequality. :  
â\200\234These things will not disappear  
overnight whep a new constitution js  
accepted. y

â\200\234The ANC, which has been fighting  
for decent values, is the only organisa-  
tion that can bring a]] types  
in South Africa.â\200\235 â\200\230

Mr Cronje said that the Govern-  
mentâ\200\231s propounded power-sharing â\200\230anqd  
were two different things:

as m gS up. What  
would the present Government â\200\224 that  
has alloweq violence, corruption and a\_  
Trust Feed â\200\224 bring into a new govern-  
ment? i

â\200\234We say to Mr F.W. de Klerk: â\200\230Stand  
aside so that the People can bring aboyt  
a real democrati]c futureâ\200\231,

â\200\234Mr Hernus Kriel, Minister of Law  
and Order, sajq that the Trust Feed  
massacre took Place in 1988, byt I told  
him that the cover-up of Trust Feed  
took place at the end of Jast year.â\200\235

r aphosa brandeq last weekâ\200\231s  
ailure and sajq the

bring about Power-sharing,

He told ANC Supporters at the Pje.  
termaritzburg City Hall that the Con-  
vention for 3 Democratic South Africa  
talks slid off track When the ANC rea-  
lised that the Government haq â\200\234no in-  
tentionâ\200\235 of Power-sharing and haq ren-  
eged on many of its promises to the  
organisation,

But he stresseqd that while the ANC  
was disillusioned about the lack of  
progress at Codesa, â\200\234jt doesenâ\200\231t 1  
We are going to walk away from Code-  
saâ\200\235. ; {

A Daily News  
from

it insists the constitution.  
making process should not be bound by  
restrictive time constraints, jt

| ANC qualms that its.intention is to en-  
gineer a protracted transitional gov-

ernment. ;  
Government negotiators Roelf  
Meyer, Minister of Constitutional De-  
velopment, and hjs deputy, Tertiys Del-  
i newsmen yes;l

port, were Speaking to  
terday.



Residents set up

AR -S ok

2

crisis committee

in Phola

By Peter Wellman ;

Phola Park, trying to raise its head above dust, rocks and gunfire, has formed an interim crisis committee (ICC) to liaise with the security forces over â\200\234constant raids, harassment and intimidationâ\200\235.

Aubrey Lekwane of Lawyers for Human Rights this week defined these concerns in a hot - little prefab hut during a press conference to launch the seven-member committee.

He claimed there had been â\200\234intimidation and arrests of key people working on this (committee) process and incessant SAP and SADF raidsâ\200\235, as the background to it.

Training

Committee = member Christina Sebezo said . there was an interim residentsâ\200\231 committee in Phola Park, which had agreed to the ICC handling â\200\234the crisis with the security forcesâ\200\235 while it

ran the communityâ\200\231s ~ day-to-day affairs.

- The ICC said the seven ~ members belonged to either various political organisations, or none, and would not reveal individual affiliations because they wanted to keep politics out of what they were trying to do for residents. I

Police liaison officer

Captain Eugene Opperman last night spoke of a different Phola Park, where the ANC had been

training self-defence units and sending people outside the country for further training.

Conflict began a few years ago between Zulus and Xhosas, and the area has become heavily politicised, he said.

Park <  
The defence units have fired on the police. Four of our men and a traffic officer have been killed this year. We cannot use our full firepower because they fire from shacks containing small children who can hardly walk.

The committee says most of the violence comes from the SAP, with night raids, indiscriminate shooting at huts, and constant searches

that leave shacks damaged and smashed.

They seemed exasperated at what they see as a continuing pattern of violence and harassment against them, but were rarely able to produce specific, detailed allegations against the security forces.

However, committee member Richard Bhala-tyeni said he was arrested last Thursday with eight others, and police at Wynberg police station had placed a telephone book on his head, and hit his head with a hammer until his nose bled.

He had been photographed, finger-printed, but not charged before being released last Fri-



day, he said. But he had not yet laid a charge against the police. Mr Lekwane said Lawyers for Human Rights would assist him to do this.

The committee may have come just in time, for the area is turning into a war zone.

The Star was guided around the squatter camp yesterday by a resident who spoke of disguised vehicle traps dug into the rocky dirt-roads. She said they were for self-defence against the raids, and Captain Opperman said they were there to immobilise police vehicles so that gunmen would have easy targets.

â\200\230them.

fences =

Packed

He also said he hoped â\200\234desperatelyâ\200\235 that the ICC was able to stop violence in Phola Park. â\200\234The wagon must go forward now,â\200\235 he said.

There are few roads, and several ranks of roughly built shacks packed densely between. And there are no lights, so if there is shooting in the camp at night it is almost impossible to work out where it is coming from.

Another source of tension is that the committee says residents have been driven against their will by taxi drivers into nearby Mshayafe hostel, an IFP stronghold.

Xhosa-speaking residents had been killed, said the committee, and it was gathering evidence and details.

-



Political killings.  
The Tl o 220572  
soar 1

Political .Staff

r:The rate of political  
assassinations in the

â\200\230reform era of the '90s .

js more than five  
times that which pre-  
vailed during the ex-  
tremely repressive  
period of 1985 to 1989,  
says the Human  
Rights Commission.

â\200\234During the short 28  
months from January  
1990 to April 1992, HRC  
records show a total of  
119 political assassina-  
tions, over five times the  
rate of such murders  
during the emergency  
years,â\200\235 an HRC press  
statement released yes-  
terday reads.

The organisation  
argues that the toll â\200\234is  
evidence, if it were need-  
ed, that there are ele-

ments within State struc-

tures who have no inter-  
est in a peaceful advance  
to genuine democracy.  
There is\_ther gorâ\230quireï¬\202at'â\200\224'  
{i,'r"'eï¬\202 t placinÃ@â\200\235  
hem under the conmiw  
of an interim anthority  
representative of all  
Scuil Africaâ\200\231s peopleâ\200\235.

n reform era

Murdered activist ...  
Matthew Goniwe.

The HRC's records for  
1985-89 indicate there  
were 45 assassinations,  
five disappearances and  
160 attempted assassina-  
tions of anti-apartheid  
activists. -

Activists,

gâ\200\230tâ\200\230h In Felation to this

is era,

â\200\234this er:  
e rÃ@velationsâ\200\231 concern-"

ing the assassination of  
Matthew Goniwe and  
three other Mradock ac-  
tivists in - o2 1985 â\200\234has

again raised the question  
of the role of the Nation-  
al Security Management  
System in the elimina-  
tion of political oppo-  
. nents during the era of  
. total strategyâ\200\231â\200\231, com-  
ments the HRC. \* Â°

The organisation  
argues that there is no  
reason to believe that a  
large number of the as-  
sassinations in the '90s  
originate from a differ-  
ent source than those of  
the '80s.

â\200\234Over 100 of these vic-  
tims are clearly identifi-  
able as belonging to the  
anti-apartheid camp, ei-  
ther as officials or mem-  
bers of organisations or  
as family members,  
Â¢friends and associates  
caught in the firing line.â\200\235

Noting that the reform  
era has also been a time  
of extreme destabilisa-  
tion, the HRC states:  
â\200\234This greatly increased  
tempo of political assas-  
sinations is in keeping  
with the escalation in the.

niuse of the ~method of  
Â¢ low-intensity conflictâ\200\235  
that has been employed  
to destabilise and frus-

1o - the liberation

struggleâ\200\235.

1  
Wt

rals talk

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C on

CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 South African generals had begun direct talks with the African National Congress about the shape of a post-apartheid army that could include former ANC guerrillas, Defence Minister Rocl f Meyer said yesterday.

It was the first indication that the government and ANC guerrillas had joined politicians in discussion about the integration of the two forces.

Mr Meyer â\200\224 also Constitutional Development Minister and the government's chief negotiator in multi-party talks for, a transition fromâ\200\235 White rule to

no  
im-

democracy â\200\224 Â¢ agreement would complemented until the ANC formally abandoned its armed struggle against apartheid.

â\200\234That is our condition and we have made it very clear to the ANC.â\200\235 he said at a news conference.

The ANC suspended operations of its military

Cboen ) 22, 'qu / RS2,

CAPE TOWN.

The government and  
Conservative Party  
have held their first  
bilateral meeting in  
an attempt to deter-  
mine an agenda for  
future discussions,  
Mr Roelf Meyer, Mi-  
nister - of Constity-

tional Development

held yesterday.

| The purpose of the

first meeting was to ex-

| plo\_re whether there s 3

' basis on which the gov-  
ernmen :

ks tand the CP can

The Mirst meeting  
Was positive from that  
angle, and we will short-  
ly have another meeting  
to seek agreement on ap  
agenda.

Mr Meyer said he ex-  
pected that opce an  
agenda was set, there  
wou!d be discussions at  
a high level, although  
not necessarily involy-  
Ing either State Pregj.

\_\_TOPAGE2

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Nigerian crooks prey  
on SA businessmen

By Carol Hills

NIGERIAN crime  
syndicates are target-  
ing South African busi-  
nessmen with million-  
dollar scams aimed at  
laundering drug money  
through South African  
bank accounts.

Businessmen are being  
lured to Nigeria by prin-

ces and chiefs on  
promises of export deals

worth millions of US dollars.

They are being assured

Nigerian deal.

He was forced to flee Nigeria, believing he would be kidnapped and held for ransom, after he

refused to do business with the Nigerians.

â\200\234I never say I left Nige-  
" TOPAGE 2.

of a high percentage cut on surplus government

contract money for the

use of their bank accounts. â\200\231

A Pretoria business- !  
man, who asked to re- :  
lost |

more than R20 000 in an |

main anonymous,

&

â\200\231\kâ\200\230Leâ\200\224 5

| i (el DY

. Buthelezi

"WE have expressed our disquiet over the way in which Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, has been seemingly sidelined at Codesa.

The iTFP has a delegation led by its chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose, but Chief Buthelezi is unable to attend because Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini has not been granted a full rights at Codesa.

Whether the king is being excluded to keep Chief Buthelezi out, or is being excluded because the A7IC does not want the king added

to the anti-ANC grouping at Codesa, is not :

clear.

But we have warned often enough that there cannot be any lasting peace if the Zulu king is not given the chance to take part.

He is the king of all Zulus and commands the loyalty of all Zulus. He cannot be treated as a person of little consequence.

We also do not think that making it impossible for Chief Buthelezi to take part in the proceedings augurs well for the future either.

Yesterday the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies, one of the world's top think tanks, underscored the point we have been making.

â\200\234As negotiations move into the final stage, the

most immediate and important task facing

both (State President) De Klerk and (African National Congress president) Mandela is the need to involve Buthelezi more closely in the process, to allay his fears of exclusion and

to accommodate at least some of his ambitions

in the interim government and beyond.

â\200\234Failure to do so will almost certainly con-

demn South Africa to continuing instability

and violence. â\204

It is a warning that dare not be ignored.



There is a tendency to write Chief Butheley off. as the government and the ANC negotiate the future between them. with Codesa virtually a rubber stamp.

The deadlock in Working Group Two is one between the government and the ANC.

The rest of the committee do not seem to be able to exercise any decisive influence. either | being aligned to the ANC or the Lovernment.

There have been muatterings that the Inkatha rreedom Party is holding up agreement at - Codesa, but it has nothing to do with the in;-passe over the constitution-making body.

There is also a tendency to write Chiaf Buthelezi off because the 1P accepted lunds from the police for a railv.

Firearms discov

There is more than a suspicion that he might have been deliberately trapped. ;

Whether this is so or not, the ANC has made good use of the matter to label him a government stooge, which he patently is not.

Chief Buthelezi was also bitterly attacked for opposing sanctions. .

Again, this should be considered somcthing very much in his favour, since sanctions have brought misery to hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of Blacks. ;

The fact that he did not take part in the armed struggle is also held against him by the Black liberation organisations. ;

Yet his moderation should have made him all the more acceptable to those organisations that rejected violence and preferred a peace-fui settlement.

As for his political nous, the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba proposals seem, in retrospect, to have been an ideal way-of resolving the political future of that regionâ\200\235 It is a pity the government would not countenance the plan at the time.

But there is more to it than political wrangling. The battie between the ANC and IFP for supremacy in the townships has cost thousands of lives. ' '

In the welter of accusations and counter-accusations, it is clear that neither side can be ~ absolved.

It is desperately important that the lay do.wn

their arms and get their followers to stick to peace at every level. \_ :

For if that does not happen, the bloodletting will continue long after a settlement is reached.

The future cannot be decided without Chief Buthelezi; consequently, as the institute

negotiations, - 7.

says, he must be involved more closely in the.  
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Roodepoort mine dumps

Crime Reporter, n, r  
WEST Rand police.  
assisted by members of  
the South African Defence Force, scoured the  
Roodepoort mine dumps  
with metal detectors yesterday after 230 detectives

had dug up 48 firearms

stolen during a RSO (XO  
arms theft at Fidelity  
Guards and 231 Maraisburg college earlier this month  
Liaison officer for the  
police, Canit Henricotte  
Bester, aided the discovery  
of the stolen firearms was

sparked off by the arrest  
of two Black men by Florida detectives.

In the raid on May 1 at  
the college burglars took  
30 .28 pistols, 14 9 mm  
Parabellum Browning pistols,  
12 R-4 rifles, 1 500  
rounds of .38 ammunition  
and 1 900 9 mm rounds.

They cut alarm wires  
and broke through; and will  
to get into the strong-  
room. after breaking into  
several offices, presumably  
to look for the keys  
of the vault.

At the time of the burglary police said Fidelity Guards used the firearms for training purposes.

The security company has offered a reward of R10 000 for any information leading to the recovery of the firearms or the arrest and conviction of the culprits.

Yesterday about 100 members of the SADF joined the detectives in their search for the remaining eight missing firearms and ammunition.,

Seshu

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pastycar. ;  
And notorions PWYV Inkatha Youth Brigade leader  
Tremniva Kham fias beon spezificaly named as hav-  
ing oalered 2tiacs by inkatha followers on Affican  
Manono! Connress membens, )  
Tz Goldstone Commission heard in Pretoria on  
Wednestay that Inkattz: leaderm on the Recfhad wrged

v their supportars at Sowetu's Nangefield Hoztel to

ok ANC members and comaunity residents,

â\200\230A witees â\200\224 identified only 15 01 â\200\224 testified tmt  
ihe Tearlers rod encourrged the hostel dwellers in fight  
ANC peopie, pariicvla:ly in the light of atizeks on

\* Inkatha Freedom Farty (JFF) supporiers in Thokom at  
theime - :

. The conmtissicn heard how Knoz, [nkatha exeqr-  
tive rmember I the Trmsves! Musa Myeni and West  
Ring Inkatha chatrman Hirmphieey Ndnlova had cau-  
Soned spporiess oot to Szy iything @ the police if  
they were amrested for being in possession of guns or  
for myder â\200\224and even if they wem toriured. Thehos-

le} dwelless were reassured that Jawyers would bs -

amanged for them 1 these circumstances, -

The witness, who said he had berome a policeâ\200\231  
informant, also testfied that Zalu leadess had  
addressed (ke ren on various ocoasions a7d had  
mobiimd ther for e2in attacks while he was fiving at

o thehostel ;  
\*â\200\234] made it my Dusiness io go w0 2l the meetings that

The Go veagh oz |s il

OR the frst time, Inkatha leaders have besn 7= - . :  
directly Jiseedd ta township violenceâ\200\224 &8 well -  
=% the wave of stiacks on Resd' tmim: over the e : :

Inkatha hit-men><

A former hostel dweller has provided  
the first direct link between Inkatha

" leaders and township violence and

train attacks. By LIHDA RULASHE

I could hardly attend at the hostel he said, adding that all the residents were expected to show support for the [FP. He pretended I was a strong supporter. At some of the meetings, some Jesters, especially one Ntombela, asked people to volunteer 16 hours in attacks on township residents. He used to issue a challenge .. to the effect that Fanyons was brave and was prepared to use spears and pangas, they could join his group. T

" The witness told the commission, which is chaired by Judge Gert Steyn and is investigating violence on trains, that he had come to Soweto from Natal in 1980, removed from Ntsezi's Hostel in October 1989 and

lived there until November 7 1991, 5 :

" At first the situation was peaceful, but tensions later developed between the different ethnic groups. Consequently, the non-Zulus disappeared because of the tension and for fear of being attacked by Zulu residents. -

" Counsel for Inkatha, Louis Visser, asked the witness whether he was an Inkatha member, I was just 2

followed because I did not have 3 places to stay. That to

stay at the hostel he replied.

" What's that got to do with it?" retorted Vassie " I didn't ask you that question. I asked you if you were a supporter?" G ,

" I was staying at the hostel, I maintained the witness. If you are a resident you have to be involved with what they are doing and you have to follow them. 3

\* So you were involved yourself in Inkatha matters? "

" I had to. "

Witness should attack people in the township, the witness answered: " Yes. He was stressing that people should go and attack the ANC. He was more than 150 IFP leaders had been killed and so that

I am a member of ANC people should be killed "

Judge Steyn asked: " The police question is, why were these attacks actually launched? "

The witness replied: " Most of the people in the township are ANC and the hostel people are Inkatha. "

" People were killed!, it was said, because there was (ANC leader Nelson) Mandela and (Inkatha Tender Mambasa) Buthe. The Zulus would not allow themselves to be ruled by a Xhosa and the

| Xhosa would not allow themselves to be ruled by the  
Zulu"

8T0Q

What would the ANC then do in these cases?  
[ Asked Judge Simons. ]

They were afraid of hostel people. If they saw  
hostel people walking in the street, they would have the  
chance of attacking them. :  
| What would they do exactly?

\*They would stab and burn them.  
" Judge Simons probed further "Is the violence com-  
ing from both sides?"

The witness, but mostly from IFPP  
members because the ANC would usually run  
away. :

Asked whether there were any other reasons for  
the violence between the two groups, the witness  
contended that although he was not 30 years com-  
mitted, he had feared that ANC people used to sing,  
whistle and chant during the

=  
Sy

Asked whether Kibona had actually said the  
2 e

| What was the reaction then from Inkatha?

asked Judge Simons. :  
That would be addressed if there was a meeting

Members of Inkatha started hitting back at them.  
The main Zulu leaders who lived at the hostel and  
were involved in the meetings some of which  
were altered by all the hostel dwellers, in excess of  
800 people were involved with the names of  
Zondi, Ntombela, Mbatha, Madondo, Gasa and  
Makhunga, he said. : :

community. There were in fact various attacks by  
hostel dwellers on members of the community  
living in the township, the witness said.

During one of these attacks, 10 residents in  
Pinetown, the witness accompanied a group of hostel  
dwellers in 2 taxis. They shot at people who were  
standing outside a house. He heard on the radio the  
' next day that about six people were killed.

After this incident, the group met in Ntombela's  
room at the hostel, where he wrote down the names  
of these who had gone on the mission.

Meanwhile, a senior inmate, found said all various meet-

ings that guns had been bought and that there was  
going to be fighting. He also said the police would  
not conduct any searches at the hostel and that this

had already been discussed with the police he said.

â\200\234In fact, the police did not come to search the house.  
initially in 1990 and only â\200\234id 50 once in 1991, after |  
had given them information which led to the arrest  
of some â\200\235 y :

did I SoA

| and then after that insult, it resulted in fighting

â\200\234They called on the Zulus to attack people in the | |

S61C TIT&e

.+ The witness said he went to the police after near-  
ing about 2 reward offered for information concern-  
ing possession of illegal weapons. He was mastered  
2s 3 police informant and was given 2 code name,

â\200\234I was aware of various IFP supporters having  
firearms at the hostels. During the second half of  
1990 I went to the Protea Police Station and met  
Detective Warrant Officer Sijula Sitfwe, who = in  
the firearms unit and was involved in implementing  
the reward offer.

\*â\200\234I was introduced to 3 Captain Knsperang | gave  
him information about people who were in possession  
of firearms. Acting on this information, the

â\200\230 police went to the hostel and found the firearms |  
which paid for the information 1

â\200\234Captain Kruger told me to continue working at  
the hostel to obtain further information and to report it  
to the police â\204 S ;

\* . The witness said he had told the police that he was  
prepared to give evidence in court despite his identi-  
fity being known by some of the hostel dwellers who

were arrested by the police for the train attacks,

However, he was not called to testify in court, -

Towards the end of 1990, the witness informed

. Kruger about a man called Mshangane who pos-  
sessed guns, Mshangane was arrested, it was later

1In 1991, the witness pointed out people on these  
occasions. Two men he had pointed out, Zwane and  
Mbuyisi, were later arrested. Further arrests could  
not be effected as police feared to leave the hostel where  
residents were then staying, he said

. Counsel leading evidence for the commission,  
Johan du Toit, asked the witness whether he had  
any sworn statements when he gave information  
to the police. â\200\234No, because they did not say |  
should do so, he replied. â\204

On June 24 1991 he testified, the hostel  
dwellers were called to meet by Zondi, who

told them that IFP member had been killed on the

train that day and that a revenge attack had to be

#ToPAGE7 :

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THE DAILY NEWS,

Finance Section

22 May 1992

THE DAILY NEWS, FRIDAY, MAY 22, 1992

Tongaat-Hulett acquires

Ntumeni sugar mill

Financial Reporter

TONGAAT-HULETT Sugar has acquired Ntumeni sugar mill, which is in liquidation, for R4 million.

Although the Eshowe area mill will not re-open this season, the executive chairman of the company, Dick Ridgway, said today "a large proportion" of mill employees would be re-employed.

Cane that normally would go to Ntumeni would be re-routed to the company's Amatikulu mill for the remainder of the season, a solution made easier by the greatly reduced pressure on the facility as a result of poor crops caused by drought.

The financial well-being of staff re-engaged but not kept busy on the delayed annual maintenance programme would be assured and they would continue to live in company housing and receive the group's medical benefits, he said.

The rescue of the loss-making mill, which was wound-up early this year after the Transvaal owners failed to pay some growers for cane deliveries at the end of last season, is the salvation of the small farmer development programme by the sugar industry in the area.

Mr Ridgway expected that the number of small-scale growers would about double from the present 1800, while resuscitation of the mill would pave the way for more commercial

Controversy has dogged the mill since its closure, with the former part-owner, Pretoria

businessman and farmer Johnny Henn, accusing the sugar industry of closing ranks to squeeze him out of the business so he could not usurp cane from the area, which traditionally if illogically has always been transported to Tongaat-Hulett's more distant Amatikulu mill.

Mr Henn produced copies of minutes of meetings which suggested the industry deliberately delayed deregulating the grower quota system to prevent Ntumeni claiming Amatikulu cane to bolster its supplies, which had dwindled largely as a result of sugar land being lost to timber growers.

The industry rejected the claims, maintaining Ntumeni caused its own downfall by failing to stimulate small-grower production.

Mr Ridgway said today cane supplies to Ntumeni would be increased by the development of small, black cane growers in the area, which would be facilitated by the commitment of substantial financial resources and technical expertise by the company.

The encouragement of small cane growers has been an ongoing policy of Tongaat-Hulett Sugar and we have made extensive contributions in this regard over a long period in the Maidstone, Darnall, Amatikulu and

farmers to enter the industry. Felixton areas, he said.

Post-apartheid

takes shape

CAPE TOWN, South Africa â\200\224  
South African generals have begun  
talks with the African National Con-  
gress on the shape of a post-apart-  
heid army that could include former  
ANC guerrillas, Defence Minister  
Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

It was the first indication that the  
government and ANC soldiers had "  
joined politicians in talks about the  
integration of the two armies.

Mr. Meyer, the constitutional de-  
velopment minister and the govern-  
mentâ\200\231s chief negotiator in multiparty  
talks for transition from white rule tî-\201  
democracy, said no agreement wi  
be implemented until the ANC for-  
mally abandons its armed struggle  
against apartheid. o

â\200\234That is our condition and we  
have made it very clear to the ANC,â\200\235  
he said at a news conference.

The ANC suspended operation of  
its military wing, prkhopto we  
Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), in 1990,  
after President F. W. de Klerk freed  
ANC leader Nelson Mandela from  
prison. But so far it has insisted it  
cannot disband its army andâ\200\230surren-  
der its weapons-until the white gov-  
ernment h h::î-\202zd the reins over to  
an all-race ifiteri ] administrat}on.

Mr. Mandela appeared to signal a-  
softening of that pgsition when he  
told a news conference in Oslo this  
week that the movement would not  
take up arms if the current talks  
failed.

Congress spokesman Pallo Jordan  
said South African generals have so  
far refused to talk directly to Spear of  
the Nation commanders. He could

not confirm that talks are under way.

NS  
South Africa. â\204ç \ î-\201V

A Pariah No More,  
military policy

Me/uâ\200\230{crs Nevls':{1\gy Â¢ 3â\200\224\*/â\200\2301?/

De Klerk, Mandela

BY PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

Special to The Globe and Mail

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 Democracy

negotiations hang on a slender

thread despite a major salvage job

attempted by South African Presi-

dent F. W. de Klerk and African Na-

tional Congress leader Nelson Man-

dela at the second summit of the

multiparty forum on the weekend.

The forum ended in disappoint-

ment and uncertainty, though the in-

tervention of Mr. Mandela and Mr.

de Klerk helped the key participants

rise above the temptation to break off

talks altogether.

Negotiations deadlocked on Fri-

day when the government and the

ANC and their respective allies were

unable to compromise on the size of

the majority needed for a national

assembly to adopt a new constitu-

tion.

In back-to-back speeches on Satur-

day, Mr. Mandela and Mr. de Klerk -

praised the work done by the Con-

vention for a Democratic South

Africa and urged that talks continue.

â\200\234We've made remarkable pro-

gress, notwithstanding one impor-

tant setback,â\200\235 Mr. de Klerk said.

â\200\234The government has no hesitation

in saying let us move forward and

build on the foundation of Codesa 1

and 2 with a sense of urgency. â\200\235

Mr. Mandela said: â\200\234Clearly, we

cannot gather here today and send

out a message to our country and the

world that we have taken no steps to-

wards the goal of ending the misery

of our people. That is clearly imper-

missible.â\200\235

The two leaders had an emergency

meeting Friday night after talks

deadlocked. Although. unable to

close the gap in their positions, they

emerged evidently intent on giving

the negotiating process a morale

agencies

But a Source of Aid

There seems little dispute that the

end of the cold war gave President

F.W. De Klerk of South Africa the opportunity to release Nelson Mandela from prison and legalize the African National Congress. No longer could it be argued that the congress was being run from Moscow with the idea of turning South Africa into a Marxist state. E

For its progress toward democracy, Washington has rewarded South Africa

\$80 million distributed

nongovernmental

working in social services, housing and With the prospects of a black-con-

with its biggest hunk of aid on the education.

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%i¬\201ch Codesa afloat

g:i¬\201?hes remain split in democracy talks

Mozambique, the South Africans say,

It was hardly the political show-

case triumph that had been hoped for: instead of celebrating the end of the planning phase and the beginning of the real changeover to democracy, Codesa headed back to the drawing board.

Practical steps were taken at yesterday's session to move the talks forward in the near future. The five working committees that had been negotiating the different aspects of the transition process have been disbanded.

The management committee, an

umbrella committee that has overseen the whole process, will tie up loose ends. This includes the task that Working Group 2 failed to complete, that of determining how and by whom the new constitution will be written and adopted, as well as the time frame in which it should take place.

A resolution was passed yesterday that the 19 political parties will reconvene for a third summit, Codesa 3, to be held during the current session of the tricameral parliament that adjourns before the end of next month.

To accommodate the transition process, the country's current, apartheid-based constitution was to be amended by the parliament.

It had been hoped that the necessary amendments would be ready in time to be acted upon by the current parliament, thus paving the way for an interim government by mid-year and elections for the constituent assembly by the end of the year or early 1993.

Whether it is possible to keep to such a schedule in the face of the recent setbacks is increasingly doubtful.

id to the rebels.

they have severed ai  
In both Angola and Mozambique,

South Africa has established flourishing trade missions. In Zimbabwe, thousands of people line up daily outside the ital, Harare, to apply for business visas. Nine flights a week service the

Mr. de Klerk recently visited several African countries, including Nigeria,

whose President, Ibrahim Babarogida,  
is the president of the Organization of  
African Unity and one of the chief

Wherever Mr. de Klerk went he  
preached regional co-operation with

Mozambican capital, Maputo, from Jo-  
crusaders against apartheid.

South African trade mission in the cap-  
hannesburg.

South Africa, insisting that trade, not

Eleven killed in latest unrest

Troops sent  
in as violence

THE Reef erupted yesterday as rampaging Soweto students set a woman alight, police and gunmen exchanged fire in the Phola Park squatter camp and train violence flared up.

At least 11 people were reported killed in the latest violence.

Troops were rushed to Soweto yesterday to help quell the third day of rioting by thousands of pupils who ran riot, stoning

ax?

Rusness S il  
engulfs

vehicles and homes and setting them

alight.

Volatile Phola Park on the East Rand was turned into a battlefield yesterday when police and unknown gunmen exchanged heavy gunfire. B ;

Police alleged the gunmen were attacking security forces from behind a â\200\234safety shield of children and women, knowing the gunfire could not be effectively returnedâ\200\235.

Four men died in a resurgence of Reef train attacks on Wednesday. Yesterdayâ\200\231s unrest report said the men died in two separate incidents on the East Rand.

â\200\234In Alexandra three people were killed yesterday morning when an unknown gunman opened-fire on a

ple were injured. i

In Meadowlands, Soweto, a 16-year-old youth was shot dead shortly after a gang of rioting youths killed a woman by stoning her and setting her t. i

The youths, roaming the streets in large gangs, were protesting against an increase in matric exam fees. '

Earlier this week pupils killed a security guard by setting fire to him.

a minibus, apparently - ful when tra shooting indiscriminately. Another three



R4 2,

Reef

STEPHANE BOTHMA el

r

Shooting battles also erupted between rival taxi operators in Soweto yesterday, but no injuries were reported.

Police spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman said yesterday police believed a concerted terror onslaught was being launched against them from Phola Park.

Police had come under several automatic gunfire and petrol-bomb attacks in the squatter settlement in the past two days, he said.

On Wednesday night, a police patrol was lured into an ambush and attacked with heavy automatic gunfire, but was unable to return fire effectively because their assailants were shooting from behind a shield of innocent women and very young children, Opperman said.

The violence at Phola Park was not only aimed at the police, but also at members of the public, Opperman said. Several attacks on private and commercial vehicles had been launched from there in the past few

days. J : :

He warned people to be extremely careful near the area, and to

keep away if possible.

Referring to earlier claims that the settlement was being used as a training camp for so-called self-defence units by Mozambican Renamo and Frelimo members, Opperman claimed the units were initiated by the ANC, but had since been taken over by criminal elements. The units were launching criminal attacks from the squatter camp into several other townships on the Reef.

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Codesa, stanc  
slated by

PARTY ogolltlcal ambitions re-  
duced Codesa II to a beauty pag-  
eant, DP leader and Codesa man-

agement committee member

while attacking the staxfc? ado  
ed by government and the !

De Beer told the SA-Britain Trade  
Association in Johannesburg the am-  
bitions of government and the ANC  
resulted in Codesa II's failure to de-  
liver any significant agreements.

He said the major parties had been  
intent on scoring  
had lost sight of the negotiating pro-  
| cessâ\200\231s ultimate goal.

Codesa II, he said, was â\200\234a damp  
squibâ\200\235 which had developed into â\200\234a  
political beauty contest rather than a  
serious attem& ,Eo put together a con-

Zach de said ye terdag'  
C

stitution for

De Beer suggested that after the  
March referendum result, govern-  
ment had re-entered negotiations  
with little inclination to compromise.

The ANC, on the other hand, had  
thought it was owed a favour for

\_political ambitions,â\200\235 he said.

political points and

es  
y Zach-  
[ Aowian naoians ]

encouraging a â\200\234yesâ\200\235 vote, and had  
sought concessions - from  
government. 1 Bl e

De Beer said the resultant dead-  
lock had been caused by both parties  
looking for â\200\234victories rather than  
agreements.

â\200\234We must put our need for a future  
democratic SA higher than

could be achieved, â\200\234Codesa will come  
back on track and will succeedâ\200\235,

In the week since Codesa II's ple-  
nary session, constructive work had  
taken place within the daily manage-  
ment committee through co-opera-  
tion by all parties, he said.

i g

DPMMâ\200\234M, WMYM  
Pageantâ\200\231

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yt;Hï¬\202nlA-lđï¬\202ohTrldoAumuonMCodua

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

- Sapa reports that he said the com- [  
mittee hoped agreements reached by  
Codesaâ\200\231s working groups could be re-  
instated in time for Parliament to  
legislate for a transitional executive  
council.

The daily and full management  
committees of Codesa will meet

il

again on Mond:\_:y. f

) HE next phase of political negotiations is going to be a trying one for all concerned. For the main players, having reached a critical point in the period leading up to Codesa II' and failed to make the breakthrough, it is back to the drawing board and Iso back to the posturing and bre-rattling typical of such a phase. Levels of anger and uncertainty are bound to rise. The only comforting factor is the certainty that the protagonists will again approach, and eventually reach, agreement.

As shown elsewhere on this page, the difficulties are not just a matter of bloody-mindedness. The contrasting approaches of the ANC and P power blocs reflect fundamental differences over their end goals. It is easy to become exasperated at the inability of the two sides to find a solution. representing the national interest but, unfortunately, that cannot yet be. Decades of conflict mean there is no common national interest in South Africa. That may be achieved by the end of the negotiations, but it is naive to expect such a goal to be reached painlessly between parties who, a little more than two years ago, were deadly enemies.

& This perspective should be kept in mind during the inevitable unpleasantness of the weeks ahead. Already

the ANC has formally withdrawn

threatened even to reconsider the basic parameters of the negotiations

earlier compromise offers and has

COMMENT  
EEE

Detour ahead +

tions, while government threatens that the ANC's new stance will delay progress.

The ANC alliance is going to have to weigh up the value of a harder line against the costs this will impose, given the urgency with which it wants the establishment of some form of interim government. The NP, for its part, may think it has time on its side in that it remains in formal control of government. But it has not fared well on the propaganda front, with allegations of security force misdoings and financial corruption being exacerbated by some questionable positions it

" has taken at the negotiation table.

The costs of the impasse will not, however, accrue only to the politi-

- cians. Threats by members of the

ANC alliance to withdraw from the peace accord structures because of the security force revelations may be understandable on an emotional level, but may also be short-sighted. Economic take-off depends on a political settlement and the ending of violence. Each delay there holds up economic progress. :

Further, it now seems likely that the country will be inflicted with another political stayaway, probably some time in July. Cosatu was looking for a pretext to mount what has become an annual demonstration of its mobilising power, and the political impasse provides it. The irony that the main victims will be the businesses which have supported organised labour's efforts to establish an economic forum will doubtless be lost on Cosatu.

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goes 2

SANDY COOK  
Education Reporter

iE two-day protest by mem-  
rs of the South African Dem-  
'ratic Teachersâ\200\231 Union â\200\224  
aich threw Reef schools into  
:aos yesterday â\200\224 went off  
100thly in Natal, with little  
sruption of classes.

National viceupresimdw Duncan  
ndle said today that protest ac-  
n had taken: placÃ© before and  
:er school and difficulties had  
sen only in schools where mem-  
rs of the of South Afri-  
n Students stayed away in sup-  
rt of the

â\200\230Many teachers arrived at schools to  
d empty classrooms,â\200\235 he said. â\200\234How-  
:r, at no time has Sadtu called for  
3as to boycott classes.â\200\235

Chousands of teachers are expect-  
to turn out for a t march  
ough the streets of today at

"hemrchwlllbq!nltMStreet  
l end at the city hall, where union  
ders will presentÂ°a memorandum  
ting their demands to locnlrepn-  
tatives of education  
'he main demand â\200\230is Sl dtube  
:orded of ficm }'mnmol by the  
vernment.

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â\200\230Our purpose was: to explnu to  
dils, who in turn could explain to  
â\200\230ents, what we are protesting about.  
also wanted to make clear to pupils  
t we were not striking or staging  
halk-down, to some Press  
orts. Instruction time was not  
rupted and teachers generally be-  
ed responsibly.

I also addressed a mass meeting in  
lgaat last night which was attended  
manyplrenuwhocameoutlnsnp-  
t of our cause,â\200\235 he said. â\200\234All indica-  
18 point to general support for Sadtu  
ong parents in local communities.â\200\235

,â\200\234 s 3 %

Radio Zulu and CCV teleyision broad-  
casts immediately â\200\224 hefore,the dis~ |  
pute with its 1200 workers countrywide ;  
is resolved. %

The call was made  
president of the Southern by m&  
Taxi Association, Mr 2, in  
a letterlm:deïï-\201 mm  
Sabta is the (latest Omâ\200\230&  
call for the.immediate resolution:of '

e e

the wage dispute between the SABC. |  
and members of the-Media:Workersâ\200\231

Association of South- Afriea which bas  
paralysed alltelevision-and:radio nÃ@ws .-  
coverage on â\202¬â\202¬V Â«Mmm Â£

and black-radio stdtions. -

Union, the: Azanian:  
tion and Inkatha Freedom Party.

al Congress, the-Azanian: Workers'  
Peopleâ\200\231s

Mr deïï-\201â\200\234%&zïï-\202ïï-\202of â\200\230

the problems,.millions: of: black people  
w:re denied a" ~they

paid licence fees; 84 skt sl !  
amvobad 89 ey g |

The Inkatha

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Nactu ple  
| strikers.

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home oarly when other strikers

-f excused him because of his age.

When: The Daily News team ar-  
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C\_daen 22 May ',%2

...â\200\230... '

~ BySepaand

Citizen Reporter

THREE people were

killed and two injured

when a minibus was

â\200\230ambushed in Alexan-

dra toâ\200\230wnship early yes-

â\200\224

terday morning.

Police spokesman,

Capt Eugene Opperman,

said the incident

at around 5.30 am on the

corner of Selborne and

Second avenues.

The police were investi-

gating the matter, Capt

rman said.

The National Peace

Accord Interim Crisis

Committee for Alexandra

(ICC), issued a statement

saying a single unknown

gunman ambushed- the

taxi.

â\200\234This to have

been an individual acting

independently, and his

motive is not known, the

ICC said. â\200\234No one had

any quarrel with the own-

> Â»

ship yesterday morning,

SAP liaison officer Lt-Col

Tienie Halgryn confirm-

ed.

The as yet unidentified woman was first stoned and then set alight in front of a house at

Meadowlands suburb of -

Soweto. No arrests were made.

The youths swarmed into the streets, threw stones and set vehicles alight.

Two delivery vehicles in Meadowlands and one in Orlando were gutted by fire and a bus in Jaba-vu was stoned. There were no reported casualties: =) : said two shotguns were recovered after they had been dropped by youths running ~ away from

7 policeme

n.

The Internal Stability Unit of the SAP has been deployed in the township, supported by SA Defence Force troops.

Col Halgryn said the : e ad

situation was tense, but under control.

e In an incident apparently unrelated to the youth violence in Soweto, a meat delivery truck was hijacked yesterday morning and its security guard

\_was shot dead.

The attackers escaped with the guardâ\200\231s shotgun.

. He was the second security guard to be murdered in Soweto in two days.

~ Also in Meadowlands, a 16-year-old youth was killed near the Meadowlands hostel, Lt-Col Halgryn said.

The man was running towards the hostel when

several shots were fired

There have been no arrests.

In another incident, three were seriously injured in 2 Meadowlands house yesterday morning.

A man walked into 2 private house just before 8 am and opened fire.

:AS WATER sources run dry more cattle will die from thirst and water-

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i  
|  
i

Msm

Y mwss, muÂ«, um\*

i

L\ .g &&JÂ«S Hr? .-ug M(L, j A2

borne diseases. This calf rests after a long walk to water.

199

Ngony 0

Boreholes drying up and crops failing

OWS of  
multi-col-

oured con-

tainers lined

.up at boreholes and

-cattle being driven to

â\200\230water are an every-

. day sight in the arid

â\200\230rural parts of Msinga

:near Keateâ\200\231s Drift in  
' the Natal Midlands.

The drought in Msin-

iga, incorporated into  
â\200\230KwaZuluâ\200\231s boundaries,  
has reached desperate  
levels and the locals  
â\200\230have made urgent ap-  
peals for any possible  
â\200\230assistance people or  
business can offer  
ithem.

! Msinga consists of five  
chiefdoms in which peo-  
ple and cattle have  
adapted to dry conditions  
over the years. However,  
the drought has brought  
with it more hardship:  
boreholes are drying up,  
crops have failed and the

education system is suffering.

The drought in Msmga has reached desperate levels

Boreholes are drying up, crops have failed and the education system is suffering.  
Report and pictures by ANDRE JURGENS

Agricultural officer  
Mr Andrew Mjawara has worked in the Msinga area for eight years.

He fears the worst if good rains do not fall be-

fore the winter months when cattle are expected to die in great numbers and malnutrition among the young spreads.

â\200\230â\200\234The cattle have adapted to our stony ground by nibbling on patches of the sweet veld which gives them nourishment,â\200\235 he said.

â\200\234But the local people are concerned that the symbols of their wealth will die of thirst and disease in winter when water is more scarce. Already cattle have died.

â\200\234Trickling streams and springs have dried up, forcing the community living in isolated

areas to drive cattle long distances to water.

â\200\234Families living in the hills away from villages must drive cattle up to 15 kilometres to drink at Mooi River, a tributary of the Tugela River, which is the main source of water left for cattle here. This is exhausting for them and the cattle.

â\200\234Also, there is only one official water-cart in the whole area to take water to fill the dip tanks.

â\200\234Crops planted in

fields last year have  
burnt out.

â\200\234Rainfall during plant-  
ing s.ason at the end of  
last year was poor and  
late rains this year were  
not in time to save dried  
out crops.

â\200\234Some people did not  
even bother to plant  
crops because conditions

A MOTHER prepares to carry water collected from a muddy pcol  
from which goats, in the background, were drinking.

were so dry during the  
latter part of 1991.

â\200\234Even at our irrigation  
scheme signs of the  
drought are apparent.  
Water levels in the Tuge-  
la River have subsided,  
reducing the supply of  
water in our canal. This  
has affected the growth  
of green mealies which  
rural people rely on to  
generate money.

â\200\234An irrigated vegeta-  
ble field, established on  
the bank of the Mooi  
River tributary, is divid-  
ed into plots which all  
people, from near or far,  
grow vegetables on.â\200\235

Transport for the av-  
erage person in rural  
Msinga is either by don-  
key or foot. Dwindling  
water supplies means  
walking, in some cases,  
kilometres to fetch and  
then carry water back

home.

â\200\234Life in this area is  
difficult because most of  
the people are women  
and young boys.

â\200\234The women have to  
fend for themselves.  
Most of their husbands  
are away working on  
mines or looking for jobs

some distance away.â\200\235

Shortage of water has  
also burdened the educa-  
tion system.

tThe principal of Nyon-  
iyezwe High School, Mr  
A.M. Mzila, said: â\200\234I have  
an enrolment of 1200  
pupils who rely on a sin-  
gle borehole some dis-  
tance awayffrom the  
school to drink from.â\200\235

Thirsty pupils bunk  
lessons to walk to the  
borehole.

â\200\234Many of the pupils  
come from afar and  
lodge with local people

from Msinga. They share  
a common problem of  
not being able to wear  
school uniforms all the  
time because the water

shortage makes washing  
them difficult.â\200\235

People wishing to  
offer assistance can  
phone the agricultural  
office at Tugela Ferry.  
Dial 0020 2v1 bookthe  
call. The office can be  
reached on ext No 2.

â\200\224

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c-seevva 12707 AllU Jalluaa

Smokln :

LONDON. = Srorthas  
one fifth of the developed,  
worldâ\200\231s population will  
die from the effects of  
smoking, according to a  
study published yester-  
day.

The report, published  
in the Lancet medical  
journal, said the risk of  
death from lung cancer  
and other diseases as a re-  
sult of smoking tobacco  
was much greater than  
\_previously believed.

to the population of the  
United States â\200\224 would  
die from smoking.

The forecast, based on

â\200\234a study of one million

people was made by Brit-  
ainâ\200\231s Imperial Cancer Re-  
search Fund, the Geneva-  
based World Health Or-  
ganisation and the Ameri-  
can Cancer Society.  
Professor = Richard  
Peto, one of the reportâ\200\231s  
authors, said: â\200\234Most

ow enormous the risks  
areâ\200\235.

Dr Alan Lopez of the  
WHO said it had been be-  
lieved previously that one  
quarter of smokers would  
be killed by their habit.

Earlier studies had  
proved inaccurate be-  
cause people had not  
been smoking long  
enough. Now the long-  
term health dangers of

- smoking were showing up,  
and the plcture â\200\230was

risks â\200\230now higher  
mlmâ\200\224 equalem 25 g

previously thought,â\200\235 \Dr  
Lopez told a news confer-  
ence. â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230Persistent smoking



will kill at least one third  
of smokers and that risk  
may even be as high as a  
1/200\230half\200\235.

Cancers associated with  
tobacco include those of  
the lung, mouth, pha-  
ryn timer, larynx, oesopha-  
gous, kidney and bladder.  
Other conditions related -  
to smoking include coron-  
ary, cerebral and vascular

It said of a total d;vel-  
oped world popu}ataon of  
'1.25 blldn people about

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gpseple, Å«?Ã@reaï¬\202x\ha?,w

~smoking is dangerous,  
1/200\230most people donâ\200\231t tealise .

e T 1/200\224

t'mt1/200\2341/200\231? 1/200\2341/200\234'Ã©l"hÃ©%s&Ã©1/200\231 1/200\230are SubsÃ©tan: -  
'tially. 1/200\230greater. than was -

L R G ST S R R TITT T L

Nigeria

Spreads,

LAGOS. 1/200\224 Violence  
sweeping Nigeria spread  
to an overcrowded town-  
ship of the inland capital  
Abuja and residents. said  
some people had been  
killed.

Tension was also high  
in Enugu, an eastern state  
capital which spawned the  
Biafra rebellion and Nige-  
riaâ\200\231s civil war in the 1960s.

Residents in Enugu  
said security forces mov-  
ed in armoured vehicles  
to guard main roads in an  
apparent 'effort to stop  
student demonstrators  
joining supporters from  
other areas.

Abuja residents said  
Wednesdayâ\200\231s fighting  
took place in Maraba  
township, 15 km from  
central Abuja. It followed

religious and ethnic

AR 9

battles which killed up to 300 people in and around the northern city of Kaduna.

Some people were killed.. It was very bad. The whole place is in disarray, a resident in Abuja, 700 km north-east of Lagos told Reuters.

The cause of the latest violence was not immediately clear.

Residents said many people in Maraba fled the area or sought sanctuary in the local police station.

Abuja is an incomplete city with more than 200 000 people, mostly civil servants. Its outlying districts are inhabited mainly by minority tribes.

The authorities decided to move the seat of government from steamy

violence  
more dead

Lagos to Abuja partly be-

-cause the new capital ter-

ritory is not dominated by any one of Nigeria's three major tribes.

Military President Ibrahim Babangida's official residence is in central Abuja, where Sudan's government and rebel factions are due to start peace talks on Sunday.

The latest violence started after a general security alert in the mainly Muslim north following the unrest in Kaduna, 180 km north of Abuja, on Sunday and Monday.

Security was also tightened in the largely Christian south after riots over poverty hit Lagos, Nigeria's biggest city, and general university student un-

rest. â\200\224 Sapu-Reuwer.

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. piratory. complaints, - â\200\224  
sapa-Rbuterl : 49 B 4

PRSERRIAREE - o

Saturday, 23 May: 1992

â\200\230Define goals of  
affirmative actionâ\200\231

AFFIRMATIVE - ac-  
tion, if written into a  
constitution, would  
have to have definite  
goals if it was not to end  
up as a mere tokenism,  
the Deputy Minister of  
Constitutional Develop-  
ment, Dr Tertius Del-  
port, said yesterday.  
Speaking during the  
debate on Constitution-  
al Affairs, he said af-  
firmative action had to

be aimed at bringing all  
people to a level where

they could compete on

merit.

Affirmative action  
should entail a decisive  
programme of develop-  
ment, bringing people  
to a point where such  
rectifying action was no.  
longer needed. â\200\234In

other words, wiping out  
the inequalities of the  
past.

â\200\235

Such second-gener-  
ation rights could be  
built into a constitution,  
providing guidelines for  
government interven-  
tion in the development  
field.

As in the case of India  
and Ireland, the aims of  
social and economic de-  
velopment programmes  
could be described in a  
future constitution.

No integration of

K into SADF': Govt

THERE would be no in-

tegration of Umkhonto we Sizwe into the SA Defence Force but there were discussions on rationalisation, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, said yesterday.

Replying to the Constitutional Development vote debate, he said the rationalisation of the Defence Force would have to be implemented in terms of the Constitution and the Defence Act.

There were bilateral discussions underway between the government and the ANC on the future of the SADF but there had been no talk of integration.

One of the main points under discussion was an assurance that the ANC had accepted that the armed struggle was over.

Portions of other private armies such as the AWB and the Azanian People's Liberation Army could be accepted into a rationalised defence force but violence against the State had to be foresworn.

the Azanian People's Lib-

"eration Army could be ac-

cepted into a rationalised defence force but violence against the State had to be foresworn.

Earlier Mr Frik van Deventer (NP Durbanville) asked for clarity on the MK issue that had emerged from a Press conference that Mr Meyer gave this week.

He asked whether the government still adhered to the view that MK first had to be dissolved and that its members could then join the SADF if they passed the necessary tests.

He also asked what the

governmentâ\200\231s stand \_on  
other private armies suchâ\200\231  
as those of the AWB and  
the PAC was,  
whether they would be  
treated on the same ba-  
sis?

Referring to Codesa,  
Mr Van Deventer said  
that levelling the playing  
field was not a one-sided  
operation.

Mass action and intimi-  
dation were all factors  
that contributed to an un-  
equal playing field.

If the ANC was serious  
about negotiations it  
should abandon these ac-  
tions, as they made a far-  
ce of the talks.

C e e=d

Mass action wonâ\200\231t  
solve SA problems,

CAPE TOWN '11|e  
threatened use of mass  
action by the ANC/  
SACP/Cosatu alliance  
was â\200\234certainly not the  
way we are going to solve  
problems in South Afri-  
caâ\200\235, Mr Roelf Meyer, Mi-  
nister of Constitutional

Development, sald yes-  
terday.

Negotiations were  
under way, and Mr Nel-  
son Mandela, president of  
the ANC, had said in  
Norway that there could  
be no return to â\200\234armed  
struggleâ\204ç.

There was a positive  
spirit in Codesa about re-  
solving problems, and  
even the differences that  
had arisen last week in  
Working Group 2 could  
be worked out.

â\200\234P'm still positively in-  
clined to say we can resol-  
ve even those outstanding  
matters in a fairly short  
time. This will enable us  
to go back to a plenary  
session of Codesa and get  
the necessary agree-  
ments.

â\200\234I would also like to re-  
says Meyer

fer to the use of mass ac-  
tion to develop political  
objectives. Mass action  
can bedevil the democrat-  
ic process, and all partici-  
pants should carefully  
consider their positions in  
connection with mass ac-  
tion, and the effect it will  
have on negotiations.

-Agreements

â\200\234There is no reason  
whatsoever, at this pomt  
why we canâ\200\231t process in  
the fastest possible time  
towards reaching agree-  
ments in Codesa,â\200\235 Mr  
Meyer said at a media  
briefing on Codesa issues.  
Codesaâ\200\231s Management  
Committee would meet

on Monday, and he was confident this could move the process further towards resolving the remaining problems.  
â\200\234There is no need for mass action or anything of that nature, because the government and other parties are prepared to

Assassinations:

answer allegations\_

CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 The government will glve Parliament a full response next week to allegations that senior security force officers were involved in the assassination of activists.

The former Minister of Defence, Mr Roelf Meyer, gave the media this undertaking when answering questions at a weekly briefing on Code-sa here yesterday.

He said he would raise the matter in the debate on his Budget vote next week and answer the alle-

gations as completely as the sub judice rule would permit.

Mr Meyer was asked why the government had not yet commented on the authenticity of documents alleging the official sanctioning of the assassinations of Matthew Goniwe and others. He was also asked whether he was able to give assurances that he had full confidence that senior Defence Force officers had not been involved in sanctioning the assassinations.

He pointed out that

move forward and find solutions to the outstanding differences.

â\200\234So there is no room

and there is no need for.

mass action. It raises serious quesnons about the



intentions of mass action  
at all.â\200\235

Mr Meyer said Mr  
Mandelaâ\200\231s statement in  
Oslo was the first clear in-  
dication that the ANC  
would end the armed

â\200\234It means that the  
ANC also knows that the

is irreversible,  
and they are preparing to

participate, hopefully as a  
political party, in the pro-  
cess leading up to an elec-  
tion and towards prepara-  
tory arrangements.

Condition

â\200\234The main condition

- that has to be resolved be-

fore we can move into any  
form of transitional ar-  
rangement, is the termin-  
ation of the armed strug-

Govt t

there was a judicial in-  
quiry in progress and â\200\234I  
have not had clear advice  
on the sub judice ruleâ\200\235.  
He hoped to be advised  
by next week when the  
matter came up in his de-  
ental Budget vote.

â\200\234Then I will have a  
clearer position on what I  
can and cannot say,â\200\235 he  
said.

In the meantime he  
could but repeat the State  
Presidentâ\200\231s assurance that  
the government and the  
State Security Council at  
no time sanctioned such

killings. â\200\224 Sapa.

)

â\200\230Thatlsthooondmon

and we have made it very  
clear to the ANC.â\200\235  
Asked about the

ANCâ\200\231s statement that it

might withdraw its â\200\234con-  
cessionsâ\200\235 made at Work-  
ing Group 2, Mr Meyer  
said this suggested that  
negotiations on these is-  
sues might have to start  
anew.

â\200\234As far as we are con-  
cerned, the agreements  
reached in other working  
groups should stand. Cer-  
tain matters have been re-  
solved, and we should be  
prepared to follow up  
those agreements, such as  
legislation in certain cir-  
cumstances.â\200\235

In Working Group 3  
there had been agreement  
on a transitional ex-

- ecutive council and sub-  
councils. However, Code-  
sa 2 had not confirmed  
these and other agree-  
ments, so there would  
have to be another ple-  
nary session of Codesa to  
reach formal agreement  
before implementation  
could take place.

The ANC was suggest-  
ing it would stall on the  
activities of all other  
working groups until  
there was agreement on  
Working Group 2 issues.

Symptom  
Dr Tertius Delport,  
Deputy Minister of Con-  
stitutional Development,

quoted the ANCâ\200\231s Nego-  
tiation Bulletin as stating  
the deadlock over per-  
centages was a symptom  
of a much deeper prob-  
lem.

â\200\234We were forced to  
deadlock ~ rather than  
make such an unaccept-  
able compromise.â\200\235

Citizen Reporter  
IT was essential for  
Rightist Afrikaners to  
participate in main stream  
politics. not only to fur-  
| ther their cause for a  
| â\200\234volkstaatâ\204¢. and to en-  
sure their involvement in  
a future South Africa but  
also to help defeat the  
ANC in an inevitable  
one-man, one-vote elec-  
tion, according to Right-  
wing parliamentarian Mr  
Koos van der Merwe.

Mr Van der Merwe told  
students at the Potchef-  
stroom Uiversity yester-  
day moderates would  
have to re-consider their  
| differences in the event of\_

|\_a nonracial â\200\230election, in 1-\_policy \* diferences \_be-  
rawhichscuse <tanould shes-twoon ds

L D1 D0

the duty of everyone to  
participate so the ANC  
can be defeatedâ\200\235.

This was possible with  
the support of Whites,  
Coloureds, Indians and  
15 percent to 20 percent  
of the Black population.

â\200\234There would have to  
be major adjustments by  
moderates, while the role  
of Rightists would be de-  
cisive.â\200\235

Mr Van der Merwe,  
Member of Parliament  
for Overvaal, spoke of his  
recent expulsion from the  
Conservative Party, say-  
ing he had â\200\234been kicked  
out in the tradmonal

\_manperâ\200\235/\_after \_certain.

uthelezi needed in peacgr  
process â\200\224 London survey

LONDON. â\200\224 Inkatha  
Freedom Party president  
Mangosuthu Buthelezi

must be involved more  
closely in the South Afri-  
can peace process other-  
wise the country will al-

tute for Strategic Studies.

In its 1991-92 Strategic Survey released yesterday, the IISS said: "On March 17 White South

the country's various ouplings.

ng;; [?SS said the SA Defence Force's resentments were many "its diminished political role; its withdrawal from Namibia and Angola; the deep and continuing cuts in the defence budget; and its growing inability to enforce conscription on

\_ White youths.

Certain. generals had made no attempt to conceal their contempt for President De Klerk's reforms, it said.

"Any threat of direct military intervention in the political process, however, has been averted by de Klerk's resounding victory in the referendum.

"The positive vote has also strengthened him for his - long-delayed con-

frontation with those in.

the security establishment who have been stoking Black-on-Black violence for their own purposes. "As negotiations move into the final stage, how-

: voTved

ever, the most immediate

and important task facing

of both, De Klerk and Afri |  
NGOt~ COURIESS

ership had been "crystal-lising" for some time.

However, Mr Van der Merwe said his differ-

ences with CP leadership  
were. at least from his  
side, at an end.

A split was looming in  
the party between the old  
guard and the new  
Rightists and, if the CcpP  
did not rid itself of the  
old concepts it would be-  
come progressively more  
irrelevant and eventually  
wind up like the Herstigte  
Nasionale Party.

My aim is to see to it  
that the Right-wing is, to  
an increasing extent, in-

HILT n\*- n-nrl Ayl

in mam-strcam ; :

Right-wingers must help beat ANC at poll.

Afrikaners could stand on  
the side-lines are long  
past. :

I will also endeavour  
to curb night-wmg viol-  
ence. There is no glory in  
violence you get  
caught, you get locked  
up, you get put in jail.  
There are other ways to  
draw attention to the  
Afrikaner cause. The  
doors to negotiation are  
open to us to help find so-  
lutions to the country's  
problems.

Mr Van der Merwe also  
intended helping in the

drive for an Afrikaner  
state.

president Nelson Mande-  
la is the need to involve  
Buthelezi more closely in  
the process, to allay his  
fears of exclusion and to  
accommodate at least  
some of his ambitions in  
the interim government  
and beyond.

Failure to do so will  
almost certainly condemn  
South Africa to continu-

ing instability and violence.â\200\235

The IISS concluded:  
â\200\234On 17 March 1992 President De Klerk persuaded white South Africa finally to turn its back on the countryâ\200\231s apartheid past. His â\200\224 and Mandelaâ\200\231s â\200\224 biggest remaining challenge could be to avoid a Zulu veto on its future.â\200\235

-

C leve et

Right-wing is not in-  
more people cannot be ignored.â\200\235

He stressed that the Afrikaner would never

mt to anyone else, but wanted to remain a

â\200\234proud and happy Afrikaner.

On the National Party, he said the main difference between him and that party was the fact that the NP had â\200\234aban-Â¢

Exiday 221 May vÂ£1992

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Black youths hate

THE impression that South Africaâ\200\231s township was violent, destructive and irresponsible-  
blc was â\200\234at bei-â\202awiâ\200\231fâ\200\234fg  
cial snapshotâ\200\235, according  
mapdotstudioondwted

in Soweto.  
The results of the  
study, details of which

' were released yesterday,  
\_found Black youngsters

â\200\234hated violence, were wor-  
ried about teenage preg-  
nancies and considered  
education â\200\234â\200\230very unport  
antâ\200\235.

The study, carried out  
by the Partnership in Ad-  
violence L study

â\200\234like chatting to their  
friends, dislike doing

ner Mr Gavin Heron said.

The study would also  
examine youdl attitudes  
to advertising, their con-  
sumptm patterns and

chores around the house, 304 joyalties.  
are fashion-conscious and ..y, edia has created  
believe that â\200\230;fâ\200\234 m"â\200\230;v':â\200\230; the impression of South  
portant way of impr African youth as a group  
race relations in South & ol b Gestructive and  
africa is by communica- . oooongible people,â\200\235 Mr  
tion"â\200\235. : Heron said.  
â\200\234The study Scee â\200\234Th:ssatbe:tnz:ii~\202:m  
=% ficial snapshot â\202~  
youngsstcï~\201lï~\201) wassot:efbâ\200\230câ\200\231 is \_much. mmhc i  
extended to a nation-wide mâ\200\230lâ\200\231â\200\234 - il

survey based on the pilot  
research, strategic plan-

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LETTERS

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Political killings need to | |  
'be unmasked right tq\_top Probe

.

'To make the inquest on David

Websterâ\200\231s murder successful,  
we need disillusioned security  
forces people to rat on their  
former colleagues. We need ei-

. ther a hidden grievance or a

new sense of morality on the  
part of such a person to lay

- open new evidence on the assas-

sination forces.

"It seems that onlyâ\200\230 then will  
the issue of the murder of David

- Webster, former vice chairper-  
~son of the Five Freedoms  
- Forum, be dealt with. f

David Websterâ\200\231s murder can  
quite confidently be said to be  
at the direct order of the secu-  
rity forces, or at least stem-  
ming from the same ideology  
adopted during the PW Botha  
era. That ideology says that any  
political opponent is fair game. -

More and more evidence is  
found in incidents such as the  
Trust Feed massacre and the



Goniwe assassinations of security forces involvement in the murder of political opposition. We believe that David Webster's case was a similar case. :

. Up to now, the security forces have closed the door behind them in mutual protection. We think that for the sake of the future South Africa, political as-

David Webster . . . murder ordered by security forces, says a reader.

assassinations need to be unmasked right to the top, to the State Security Council.

De Klerk's government totally undermines trust in itself by being so hesitant in dealing with this issue.

Cecily Singer,  
Five Freedoms Forum  
Braamfontein, : R  
Johannesburg

who ordered killings

The recent front-page reports of Justice would take its full allegations concerning Government's on those who carried

ment-sponsored hit-squads raise a number of questions.

If Government officials ordered assassinations of UDF activists, this is a very serious matter. However, the UDF's involvement in the burning down of over 2000 schools and the necklace murders of over 800

black town councillors, businessmen and civil servants is

also serious. :

Surely, if the alleged actions of Government's hit squads in 1985 are to be investigated on the basis of extreme urgency,

- then the ANC's ongoing involve-

ment in fomenting violence, especially against Inkatha leaders, should also be exposed.

Will racial discrimination ever

Sometimes I wonder if indeed  
racial discrimination and poor

management will vanish com-  
pletely in the black townships.

Take Tembisa, for example.  
There is only one tiny post of-  
fice serving close to a million  
people and five queues protrude  
outside as long as 20 m.  
The senior supervisor is only  
there to receive and dispatch

-documents, and not to chase his  
- lazy subordinates ... in case

out counter-actions against the  
UDF and ANC, does this mean  
that those ANC/SACP/UDF of-  
ficials who planted landmines  
in farm roads, limpet mines in  
shopping centres and car bombs  
in public streets would also face  
the full force of the law? Or is it  
forbidden to bring terrorist  
leaders to justice?

One MP speaks of â\200\234skeletons  
rattling in cupboardsâ\200\235. These  
need to be exposed. However,  
what will be done about the  
thousands of corpses that have  
littered the streets? Are we now  
expected to believe that the  
ANC have never assassinated  
town councillors, policemen and  
other innocent people? Have

they hit back perhaps?

If you go to Tembisa Hospi-  
tal, you follow very long ex-  
hausting procedures before  
meeting the unqualified doctors  
(trainees) from Medunsa. Then,  
after being qualified, they van-

- ish to look for better pastures

or to better hospitals. Whether  
you go there for the first time  
or a check-up, the minimum  
period you stay is two hours.

Electricity and water cut-offs  
iy, Â\$ "6k 2

Chris Hani and Joe Slovo never  
ordered any bomb attacks or  
assassinations?

Selective indignation is unac- -

ceptable. Justice cannot be  
done when policemen are prose-

cuted but terrorists enjoy indemnity from prosecution.

(Rev) Peter Hammond,  
Director, Cape Christian Action  
Glosderry,  
Cape Town

i SR P v

There is no doubt that a totally neutral person or body is the only fair way to get at the whole truth about the ANC's death camps.

While I warmly congratulate you on your leader (Opinion,

is appear?

re a daily occurrence with no

warning whatsoever. As of now, we have no electricity and no reason is given.

It is now three weeks since the problem over the electricity supply occurred. But when water problems occur in Bedfordview it's news on Radio 702 and in the newspapers.

: Storms Maseko  
Endulwini Section, :  
Tembisa G

May 14), I would have liked the  
to have to ask a neutral person or institution, a retired judge or Amnesty International, to investigate, at the end of it, to have been more strongly put as should ask . . .

I believe that we have not heard the last on this issue. | Through pressure brought to bear overseas by people who want a plural democracy to succeed in South Africa and who doubt the ANC's ability, in the light of its socialist/Marxist past, to bring this about C much more of a damaging nature will be heard. ki '

A J MacCaulay

-Johannesburg ;

; |  
Dangerous sprays |

It should be remembered that teargas handsprays are for use

- only in self-defence and NOT |

as â\200\234toy water-pistolsâ\200\235. Â¢  
I recently saw two young-  
sters spraying at each otherâ\200\231s  
faces. Children should be  
warned of the danger of misuse  
of these aerosol sprays and the  
damage that can be done to the  
eyes. : .  
: i Mrs S Stubbs |  
Northcliff, :  
Johannesburg

N

O & i  
M e i

f

For politicians, the media is ever the scapegoat

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HEN the chips are down

the politicians automatically cast about for a scapegoat. Usually they blame the media for reporting their negligence or stupidity, as if somehow drawing attention to misdeeds is more wicked than the misdeeds themselves.

Thus we have seen again in

the past week how the State

President, Mr FW de Klerk, has berated the media for printing rumours and biased reports on corruption in government departments and on the alleged involvement of the security forces in the Goniwe murders in the Eastern Cape.

Kicking the media is of course an old and popular pastime of politicians of all persuasions. Mr Nelson Mandela and his ANC colleagues, particularly Mrs Mandela, do it too. But then no less a champion of democracy than a US President once said public criticism of an intemperate remark he made was the media's fault for reporting it - if it hadn't been reported no-one would've known he had made it!

As South Africa struggles to move towards becoming a brave new democracy one wonders how many politicians and other members of society truly understand the vital importance of a free and independent media. A free and independent media is the frontline of defence of any democracy. It is free only if it can report and comment on any issue fearlessly, and if there is a free flow of information at every level of society. It is independent only if it can stand on its own feet financially, in no way supported by funding from the state, political organisation or other interest group.

But do people like Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela, the two chief architects of our emerging

democracy, unders  
Codesa as a group totally com-  
mitted to the idea that freedom  
of speech, therefore a free me-  
dia, is the very heartbeat of de-  
mocracy? That it is in fact the  
guardian of all the other free-  
doms of democracy?

There are worrying signs that  
this is not always so. That while

are concerned about the â\200\234mo-  
nopolyâ\200\235 control of the media

they should level the pl  
fields for publishere by ;r)ngi¬\202gg

Thâ\200\230?;ir\_xe  
be broadened in a

tand this? Is -

ewspaper industry must

C positive

by making it more viable, },xv:r}I  
ticularly for small companies, to

- invest in, and not by penalising  
and intimidating those who are

most of the parties at Codesa  
pay lipservice to the idea of a  
free press they would too readily  
qualify this and water it down  
by placing all sorts of curbs on  
how the media may or may not  
operate.

There is much disturbing talk  
of the breaking of the so-called  
monopoly control of the SA me-

dia, an idea which is fuelled by

former mainstream newspaper  
editors such as Mr Tony Heard  
and Mr Allister Sparks who fre-  
quently criticise their erstwhile  
employers.

Only this week, Mr Heard told  
the International Press Insti-

in South Africa that in spite of  
rapid changes in SA since Feb-  
ruary 1990 newspapers had  
failed to keep up with the pace.  
Mr Sparks berated the main-  
stream media on a radio pro-  
gramme for under-reporting  
aspects of the Goniwe murders,  
creating the impression that  
this kind of news was not re-

garded as important by â\200\234whiteâ\200\235 publications.

Criticism of this sort from

such eminent media personal-ities is grist to the mill of those who want to smash the existing media order in SA. There is much talk of breaking not only the Argus and Times Media â\200\234monopolyâ\200\231â\200\231 of mainstream newspapers but also of the perceived monopoly of the means of newspaper production.

A lot of people are long on ideas on how and why to break the present media set-up but very short on just what it should be replaced with. If they are not careful they may well find that the politicians will gladly destroy the current media struc-

tute in a speech widely reported 3 tures and substitute them with

government-controlled newspapers a la Zimbabwe and Cuba.

The media companies are quite aware of the dangers bearing down on them as the New South Africa looms on the horizon. Already some observers believe that Argus and Times Media, for instance, might have to divest their interests in one another. Moves are being made to float off newspaper distribution as independent business

operations while it may be possible that eventually the publishing side of newspapers are completely divorced from the editorial side of some publications. There may also be a degree of â\200\234unbundlingâ\200\235 as some newspaper titles are detached from others. !

But as this process develops it will have to be remembered that the four main newspaper conglomerates in SA evolved because it made sound business sense to combine certain resources and share overheads. The Natal Mercury, for example, might have had difficulty surviving on its own, but its acquisition by Argus made it a viable business opportunity for the company and certainly helped save a long-established newspaper title. Yet Argus is criticised for â\200\234swallowingâ\200\235 the Mercury, as if it would have been prefer-

able simply to have put it out of business.

If newspapers are to remain truly free and independent in the New SA they must continue to be financially free and independent. If future governments

already in it. This, together a deeply entrenched constitutional right to have free access information and freedom to publish without restraint or fear of reprisal will be the strongest guarantor of SA's democracy. Journalists, newspaper proprietors, advertisers and readers should fight tooth and nail to protect SA's rich media heritage

and to expand it democratic way. He said

it economically attractive for new newspapers to compete with existing publications. This can be done by giving all newspaper publishers, including existing operators, special tax breaks and incentives. This will include exempting all newspaper advertising from VAT. b

N TAL

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Racism  
marches

LTHOUGH Codesa is engaged

in sensitive negotiations on the

future composition and role of the SA Defence Force, the Government persists with amendments to the Defence Act to regulate white military conscription.

The broadening of the right to object to military service on moral and ethical grounds in addition to the existing provision for objection on religious grounds may be a positive step, but it falls far short of abolishing conscription altogether.

We have argued repeatedly for an end to white conscription and replacing it with a professional defence force of volunteers. The system of conscripting whites only is one of the few remnants of apartheid.

But apart from the discrimination against whites, the current system is disruptive of the labour market. By throwing a catch-all net, young men who would otherwise be commencing their tertiary education or their artisanship must now kick their heels in the army for a year. Meanwhile, thousands of youngsters in the other population groups who may jump at the opportunity to be gainfully employed by the SADF have little, if any, chance of being accepted.

White youngsters who object to doing national service without claiming objector status (in one of the approved categories) will, in terms of the proposed legislation, be imprisoned for 543 days. This would waste 18 months of a young person's life, apart from the fact that prisons are - already overcrowded and some convicted murderers end up serving much shorter time.

The Government should withdraw this legislation and give priority to other pressing issues. Rather than try to continue patently outdated racial criteria for building an army, the SADF should take the lead in shaping our new society by throwing itself open to all South Africans on a voluntary, non-discriminatory basis.

Mtvey 2.2.)0s/9=2

Right road

HE CHOICE of an elevated  
T throughway to upgrade Durbanâ\200\231s

hard-pressed Umgem Road gate-  
way to the north is a triumph of  
reason and environmental awareness  
over purely monetary  
considerations.

The new arterial, if and when it is  
built, will run as a one-way pair be-  
tween Goble and Adrain Roads, the  
incoming carriageway an elevated  
five-lane viaduct between the Lion  
Match factory and the railway re-  
serve. The recommendation by the  
consultants is that this route be used  
in preference to upgrading Percy  
Osborne Road, thus avoiding a  
major impact on environmental and  
property values in this area.

In considering their options, the  
consultants have elected an ap-  
proach that is far more expensive for  
the city, but far more in tune with  
the needs and desires of its citizens.  
The latter is one set of problems tak-  
en care of. Now all we have to wonder  
about is where, in view of the chang-  
ing shape of society, the money is go-  
ing to come from to pay for the more  
expensive option.

yCs ag 22 |' ]Kq

SIR â\200\224 Members of thÃ© DP , over the SIR â\200\224 Some 18 months back yo i  
years, been vociferous in demanding the enough to publish a letter of mâ\200\234{ng:g{:hk;g  
g  
withdrawal of the troops from the townships, | headlined â\200\234Rally round Buthelezi.â  
\200\235 My letter  
and in calling for inquiries into police actions. to Natalians did exhort them to do just t  
hat  
As a result, many police have been severely- Unfortunately it does not seem to have had  
punished. Some have received the death much support otherwise Butheleziâ\200\231s positign  
sentence. at Codesa would now be much stronger.

Fair enough, you may say, but what about | Come on, Natalians, it is not too late  
the other side of the picture? How many in- Buthelezi is the only true Natal representa-'  
quiries have there been into necklace mur- tive. The DP defectors have come out in sup-  
ders, the stabbing and murdering of | port of the ANC and the Natsâ\200\231 record gf  
innumerable people and deaths and injuries support for Pretoria goes back 40 years  
by bomb blasts. The DP now demands an in- Letâ\200\231s rally round our compatriots, Natal  
quity into the death of four UDF activists and put that Cinderella image to bed for  
who were killed in 1985. What about an inq good s o  
ry in e Pretoria bomb blast which killed ;

21 people and injured 200? Twtn LOU THOMPSON

Joe Slovo was suspected of master-minding )  
many of these acts of terrorism from Mozam-  
bique. He doesnâ\200\231t â\200\230ever seem to have been  
subjected to an inquiry of any sort.

The Aida Parker Newsletter published the  
â\200\234ANCâ\200\231s List of Shameâ\200\235 well over a year ago.  
It is a preliminary list of dead, murdered, tor-  
tured and missing ANC-MK cadres in ANC  
punishment camps. Those who have man-  
aged to return to South Africa say they were  
sickened to find that the very people who had  
tortured them for wanting democracy in the  
MK and the ANC, were negotiating with the  
Government for what they called a â\200\230â\200\234new  
democracyâ\200\235. .

The hundreds, if not thousands of these

'people in ANC punishment camps were  
South African citizens. Why has there been  
no demand for an inquiry into these camps  
which have been known to exist for years,  
and are accused of still holding over 200  
prisoners? Â\$

Members of the Returned Exilesâ\200\231 Co-  
ordinating Committee (RECOC) have tried in  
vain to get some action from South Africans.  
The United Nations blew Sharpeville and the  
Biko case sky-high, but deaths and torture in  
glgc camps are ignored by the UN and the

Lydenburg . GWEN BARAGWANATH

sidf\ / Rally round

Starting to worry 4

SIR â\200\224 I'm starting to worry a bit about Mr A\ Nelson Mandela. :

Not entirely for the reasons which the prophets of doom have been suggesting, should he achieve high office; itâ\200\231s more a case of his personality-cum-aura when he appears on our TV screens.

Do I detect a higher degree of assertive-ness? Are we watching a development where the cut and thrust of question and answer is changing to question and long-winded reply?

With a suggestion, also, of â\200\234Donâ\200\231t interrupt me while I'm speakingâ\200\235 thrown in for good measure?

I hope I'm mistaken, as I've suffered such a style for long enough and wouldnâ\200\231t want to go through it again.

But I do feel that Mr Mandela is starting to make me very much aware of the opposing point of view to his own, simply by giving me the impression that he doesnâ\200\231t believe there is one.

. I'm sincerely hoping I'm wrong; I donâ\200\231t â\200\230'have another 40 years left.  
NOT AGAIN

â\200\234Sacrosanct

THE SAR

agreement

B D o 73,

ALK among political groups of  
Â¥pulling out of the National Peace  
Accord is deeply regrettable. Al-  
leged security force complicity in  
violence demands a reconsideration of par-

ticipation in peace accord structures, ac-

cording to the PWV regions of the ANC, L/(/â\200\224-  
Cosatu and SACP.

THE , SET

The peace accord, unlike other political -  
agreements, must be sacrosanct. To turn NegOtlatlton gâ\200\234ru  
oneâ\200\231s back on the only peace-making mech- Bl e  
anism available is to say that war is the  
only alternative. For this reason the ANCâ\200\231s

national leaders must immediately over-  
rule their regional spokesmen, and re-

ERRIT Viljozenâ\200\231s vulneral\â\200\230tlylliig râ\200\230x)râ\200\230lâ\200\231:: t;\:

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G g Sizrtâ\200\230t(:â\200\230;)llÃ© for one reason.

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partment 1S g ficiencies as an adminisâ\200\235

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affirm that it is the organisationâ\200\231s policy ?gzgfvf and they seem e;;tensyvence DIâ  
\200\230;

to take part enthusiastically and whole- \snjoen is a man of hlgâ\200\230i-\201isln::-1\;i  
gÃ©aes e

~heartedly in the peace structures. ity to lose

'Having said that, there are important wonggi;;g: P ; to be an

lessons to be learnt from the fact that the â\200\234e%r Viljoen has shown himself doand ok  
t

withdrawal threat was made. It is in the Ytiator, with a cool heac @

regions â\200\224 in other words, at grassroots kB S tâ\200\231lhat the negotiating process

.  
level â\200\224 that the real horror of the violence Pâ\200\234d:â\200\234,;i\â\200\230{fÃ©  
?gof give an take, ofb Sc:;!c:

is being experienced, by all parties. The Â» omises as â\200\230well as demands. Hu:;l ave  
o

peace accord has not stopped the Kkilling, pE the week before Codesa 2 may }fe might

â\200\230and it is at least understandable that those e to the ensuing impasse. d

who bear the brunt â\200\224 the people who make :â\200\230ng:t%(;e: able to steady the ove  
rworke

up the chilling statistics in the â\200\234unrest re- &

and pressured Tertius Delpport.

Dr Viljoenâ\200\231s skill as 2

ortâ\200\235 each morning â\200\224 should grow bitter.â\200\231 -

: : : ised by Peter Soal of the Dem:

The National Peace Secretariat is con-

3 e : 3 been recogn ced his call for Dr  
e R o o <\>,c.Â\$?t;g,Â\$\$gÂ¥â\200\231gÂfâ\200\2302?oÂ\$â\200\231Â\$Â\$ih 2n acknowledge-  
gether in a joint attempt to formulate pro- le)r?t of his considerable gblhtles. TS e  
posals for stopping the flow of inflamma- m()ne ay out of the dilemma â\200\230js)e ik  
tory political statements. This good idea B4 to forfeit his place as the thihe  
should be implemented soon. Disillusion- Viljoen â\200\231s chief negotiator but to Â©  
ment can easily turn into Open' hostility. ?dctgxgatâ\200\230;gminto e lâ\200\230l\_ati."mâ  
\200\234l Pa{;;?c:

The ill-considered ANC threat reflects i = He should pay for his incompe o  
another truth, however. There can be no team ) â\200\230without depriving

doubt that the security forces are not trust-  
ed by the bulk of the black community, and  
â\200\230new revelations merely tend to confirm  
long-held suspicions. The solution is multi-  
party control via transitional structures,  
but while we wait for that, Mr de Klerk  
could announce a fully fledged clean-up op-  
eration in the police and army. '

He has been presented with quite enough  
circumstantial evidence to justify such a  
move, but has appeared evasive and reluc-  
tant to act. This inaction will lead, as sure-  
ly as night follows day, to further danger-  
ous rumblings in the townships about the  
worthlessness of the peace accord. ,~ /" .

desa of his talents as a negqtia@or.

Namibia's two great

disputes and debates

Gwen Lister, editor of The Namibian in Windhoek, begins a series of fortnightly articles on events in Namibia. :

of a presidential jet. !

And while Namibia battles to combat the effects of the drought, and has launched appeals in the international community for drought aid, it was learned that the Namibian Government had clinched a R90 million deal with a French company for the purchase of a state-of-the-art French-built Dassault Falcon 900B.

TWO of the most talked-about issues in Namibia at present are a dispute over ownership of a small island in the Chobe River and the controversial questions of the purchase of a presidential jet. Top level talks between Botswana President Quett Masire and Namibia's President Sam Nujoma will take place this weekend in an attempt to resolve the island issue; and although still hotly-debated, the purchase of the jet is also understood that it was signed and sealed and is about to be presented to the resignation of our former minister of finance, Otto Herri-

Recently Botswana raised its flag, who vacated his post recently on the island of Kasikili in the for personal reasons. Reacting to Chobe River. The island is small, public outcry, Namibia's information primarily used in the past for grazing minister said the government is- ing by Caprivians. . not ipgenitive to the realities in

And while Namibia's bilateral Namibia, including the drought negotiations with South Africa as to situation and the need to redress the far more pressing issue of the social evils, adding that the decision of Walvis Bay appear to have been taken only after been placed on the back-burner, the careful and mature consideration of Kasikili island dispute is hotting up- :telgclll f.'oruth:g;lrl;s &\200\234e\200\230g:\200\230:;e?n u?l\200\230: colrtdlss wegiggfy\201%'aoav?&i\201le tr:~ ters to maintain contact with the

island, Namibia or Botswana, and outside world, saying since inde-

pendence the government has  
Repaerhuseropersoiate Sheadysont shou DL

Jeff Ramsay claims the island be- chartering planes for their trips

longs to Botswana in terms of an agreement in 1890 between the British and Germans. After a clash

in 1984 at Kasane between SADF.

and Botswana troops, a joint commission between the two countries also acknowledged it to be part of Botswana territory. Some Namibi-

ans, on the other hand, claimed that in 1982 Botswana conceded that the island was part of Eastern Caprivi.

. Whatever the facts, Namibians, particularly in Caprivi, are getting worked up about the issue, and there are reports that the Botswana Defence Force is readying troops to keep Namibians away. Itâ\200\231s unlikely that either country will be foolishâ\200\231 enough to go to war over the marshy piece of land, and there is hope that when President Nujoma flies to Botswana on Sunday for talks about the disputed island, that the matter will be resolved to the satisfaction of both countries.

'lfhe other issue which is still being hotly debated is the question

alone. .

The diplomatic community in Namibia is reportedly also annoyed at the deal which is said to include two Puma helicopters, which are apparently very expensive to maintain and unsuitable for Namibiaâ\200\231s purposes. One source described the French as â\200\234not immoral, but amoralâ\200\235 and claim that Namibia could have got a cheaper deal elsewhere. The purchase has been accompanied by a lot of secrecy. While no one really disputes the need for the

\_ purchase of a presidential plane

sooner or later, radio talk shows and readersâ\200\231 letters to newspapers are consistently questioning the timing of this luxurious purchase at this difficult time in Namibiaâ\200\231s history while the drought bites and unemployment soars.

There is no likelihood of turning back the clock now, since the deal has gone through and the government is not prepared to renege on it, but it will take some time for the controversy to die down.



[ne Narae Wita)

Back to Sar

Following a 15-month sell-out season on Broadway, a tour of Europe, Japan and Australia, Sarafina finally reaches Durban.

STEPHEN COAN spoke to its creator Mbongeni

Ngema.

FOR U.S. blacks, after Martin Luther King there is Sarafina, said Mbongeni Ngema. He . is not being immodest, merely stating the truth; Sarafina has had an enormous impact on the world stage. Though blacks in this country understand this, whites don't.

Sarafina will reach an even wider audience with the launch of the film version at the recent Cannes Film Festival. It was overwhelmingly successful, he said. We knew it would be accepted because it was a well-told film, but we didn't expect the reception it got.

Bringing his Broadway hit to Durban has proved to be a homecoming for Ngema. Born in Verulam, he spent his childhood in the rural areas around Mtubatuba and Nongoma. After coming back to Durban to live in Umazi. 90

Established as a professional musician, in 1976 a friend asked him to write the music for a play and Ngema found himself in the theatre. After working with Kessie Govender he went to Johannesburg in 1979, where he teamed up for two years with Gibson Kente.

Then he and Percy Mutwa created the now legendary Woza Albert. It became a world phenomenon. It is always being performed somewhere in Europe.

Initially Ngema and Mutwa workshopped the piece for seven months. Then director Barney Simon, of Market Theatre fame, joined them for a final month to provide the finishing touches.

The success of Woza Albert put Ngema and his style of theatre on the world stage. It particularly impressed the legendary theatre director Peter Brook and Ngema found himself running workshops in Paris with Brook's actors. He was also offered a part in Brook's mammoth nine-hour production of Mahabharata, but his busy schedule ruled this out.

|

Back in South Africa he was working on Asinamali, workshopping it in Lamontville. Ngema began with a large group of non-professionals, providing basic dramatic training

and voice lessons â\200\224 â\200\234very much ba;ed on  
Grotowskiâ\200\235 â\200\224 Jerzy Grotowski, the Polish dir-  
ector whose book Towards a Poor Theatre out-

lines his method, the intent of which is to re- | bigger scale? ) :  
l to search for the essential â\200\234Western approach to musicals with some-

the ultimate honesty on thing more compellingâ\200\235

fine performance,  
gesture and achieve

e A& - OS â\200\224'9\_2/

X

hough the techniques were so abstract. They

were still entertaining and therefore com-  
mercially viable.â\200\235

Why couldnâ\200\231t the same approach wo\_rk ona  
So he set about marrying the

â\200\224 the energy and the

stage. It is an approach that demands much of committment of his earlier pieces.

performers, and not for nothing is Ngemaâ\200\231s  
company called Committed Artists.

In Lamontville the refining process con-  
tinued â\200\224 â\200\234and as the work intensified the

smaller the group becameâ\200\235.

1

Ultimately it was down to five, the final cast |

of Asinamali (â\200\234We wonâ\200\231t payâ\200\235) which drew  
much of its material and context from the rent  
boycott in Lamontville. It enjoygd enormous  
success in the townships where it articulated  
the frustrations, anger â\200\224 and the laughter â\200\224  
of township life. â\200\234We went to perform it in La-

mont\_ville late one afternoon and we ended up  
aunmng for five days with two performances a

ayâ\200\230" G

. Success was not without a tragic price. Dur-  
ing a visit to Hammarsdale the cast was at-  
tacked and impresario Jeff Shange shot dead.  
â\200\234They thought they were killing me,â\200\235 said  
Ngema. â\200\234But unfortunately they killed my  
friend.â\200\235

After a township tour on the Reef, Asina-  
mali opened in the smallest venue at the Mar-  
ket Theatre in 1985. It .ended up by scooping  
all the Vita awards of that year and went on to  
win international acclaim. It was the first of  
Ngemaâ\200\231s plays to appear on Broadway and he

received a Tony nomination for his direction.  
Woza Albert-and Asi- .

- Despite their success

nimali remain essential, it's a 2010 film. What brought about the move to the fully-fledged musical of Sarafina? The philosophy behind it was still the same, said Ngema.

The marriage worked, the awards poured in, and it moved from stage to screen. (The

same cast as the screen version sans Whoopi

Goldberg can be seen in the Durban run.)

Despite all this international exposure, for Natalians, particularly white ones, Mbongenti Ngema is something of a well-kept secret. His theatre began as a theatre of protest in the townships and went on to become a theatrical phenomenon. Now he has come

back to Durban, no longer playing the townships but the stage of the Opera at the Natal Playhouse, a state-sponsored venue once anathema to the likes of Ngema.

He admits he never dreamt he would be performing under its roof. But the release of Nelson Mandela wasn't dreamt of either when these government structures were created. But the revolution, if you like, must go everywhere. You can't hold on to old philosophies. This is a play for all South Africans. It's not just a black play. It is ours. It is our product.

. Both black and white must feel it is their own.

We must open our arms and embrace one another. Here, for the first time the whole township will come what can be better than that. It will be exciting for both audiences to.

- sit next to each other and see South Africa pull together. = fact

Sarafina opens in the Opera, The Natal

Playhouse, on May 23 and runs until June 14.

Sarafina's roots

The previous plays were smaller-scale dramas but they played to huge audiences even

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THE â\200\230 Nma\y W 170 ens

Codesaâ\200\231s failure  
gre

â\200\230rests with F.

by CRAIG URQUHART

THE failure of Codesa II rests on the shoul-  
ders of President F.W. de erk and the  
ANCâ\200\231s mass action strategy will now inten-  
sify in an attempt to â\200\234unblock the deadlockâ\200\235  
in the negotiation process, 4%

This was the view of the ANCâ\200\231s secretary-  
general Cyril Ramaphosa â\200\230who addressed  
hundreds of toyi-toying ANC supporters at  
the city hall last night at the start of a brief  
visit to Natal. ges

He said the ANC has been forced to re-  
view its position with regard to previous  
concessions it has made and it will now re-  
turn to the drawing board.

â\200\234Mass action is going to be an important  
component of the review we are going to  
have,â\200\235 Ramaphosa said.

He said the South African Government  
has demonstrated that it is not willing to  
give up power easily and â\200\234we are going to  
have to take that power away from themâ\200\235.

However, he stressed that all is not lost  
with the Codesa process despite the set-  
backs of its second stage last week. He said  
South Africa is extremely fortunate to have  
the ANC â\200\234which embraces the aspirations  
of all our peopleâ\200\235. !

Sharing the stage with Ramaphosa were  
local MPs Pierre Cronje and Rob Haswell.

Cronje said the country faces a long and  
hard struggle to completely rid itself of  
apartheid and the time has come for De  
Klerkto â\200\234step asideâ\200\235.

Deputy mayor Rob Haswell gave the  
forum a detailed explanation of the reasons  
for his defection to the ANC: â\200\234I have joined  
out of conviction â\200\224 a conviction that they  
offer this country by far our best hope of at-  
taining a truly new South Africa.â\200\235 :

Sapa reports that Democratic Party  
leader Zach de Beer said yesterday that Co-  
desaâ\200\231s daily management committee did  
constructive work on Tuesday and it is  
hoped that the transitional executive coun-  
cil could be legislated for before the end of  
the present session of Parliament.

Meanwhile, in Parliament yesterday, the Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Roelf Meyer, predicted that the negotiation process will go ahead right after the manage-

Local MPs Rob Haswell and Pierre Cronje with Cdlin

Gardner, who chaired the - meeting, and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa at the city hall.

ment committee meeting next Monday.

Suggestions at Codesa that the government wants a 'white veto' in the new constitution are perturbing, the deputy minister of constitutional development, Tertius Delport, said yesterday. ;

Referring, during debate on the Constitutional Development 'budget' vote, to a request by coloured MP Miley Richards that the government should clearly express itself in favour of federalism, Delport said: 'I have no problem with this.'

Angola 'assaults denied-

PRETORIA A high-ranking officer in 32 Battalion, which fought alongside the SA Defence Force in the Angolan bush war, yesterday denied the unit had assaulted civilians in Angola.

Major Waldermar Andries Frey, who is managing the training division of the unit, said this before a Goldstone Commission committee inquiring into the battalion's alleged rampage through Phola Park.

Questioned by a member of the committee, Bob Tucker, he said the

unit is disciplined and members of the battalion are not allowed to attack civilians. And he added that if there were any violent acts from members it would not be as a result of training from his division. :

Frey said the battalion, as far as he

knows, never had any physical confrontation with the ANC in Angola. And he added that the unit has no enemy in the country and is presently only after criminal elements.

- The inquiry continues today. Sapa.

A~ D5~ 741

\HE. NR(M\_ â\200\234\ERCU RY QA= OS -T2,  
Editors notes â\200\230

ARRIVING back from Codesa 9.  
where the governmentâ\200\231s plan to  
railroad the

our little

: barely an eyebrow. 1  
ANC into a reverse'\,,-lâ\200\231eÂ«..l:;a â\200\231;tszf: e

Free choice

At the Witness, my account of  
adventure raised  
Wit-  
have been done

Lancaster House settlement was over in recent months, so mich

rumbled (Nelson Mandela and  
Jan Smith would have changed  
places termwise, metaphori-  
cally speaking), 1 discovered  
that burglars had invaded our

house. They walked off with the

your TV goes,

your hand

so that it  
commonplace.

has become almost  
But at least if  
that is something  
tangible, something you can put  
on, unlike, say, ten  
percent of your pension fun

TV and other items. It comes asa which a socialist government

great relief frankly,

from the nightly ordeal of

Agenda and offering the promise.

of kids who may now turn tc  
books rather than the box.

sparing us might order to be put in a pre-

scribed asset paying less than a

ma e  
This is theft of a different

order, but I am put in mind pf it  
The â\200\234low grade socl0-eco because of a

nomic break-inâ\200\235 as one col from a clutch of signatories I can

one he

ferociousness

awake not 50 yards away,  
gang demonstrated  
-contempt for

league put it, surprised every only assume to b

t medieva. although  
of the assault. Ig the local  
noring a neighbourâ\200\231s retainers help us. In their  
the by Ulrich Nitschke, they query  
an absolute my contention in  
the alarm (whick ing article that you cannot have

if they are a product of  
campus then Heaven  
letter, headed

a recent lead-

predictably failed to g0 off), bur: democracy without capitalism.

glar bars, and 32

Battalion, It was

the conclusion to 2

which law abiding citizens might broader argument that by dam-

have reasonably  
would be in the vicinity

the peace (Khaba

supposed aging  
keeping recent stayaway was actually  
Mkhize and I damaging

the local economy the

had

share a common Sweetwaters thought this would have been as

sky).

They used something large  
and blunt to smash their way in,  
battering ram fashion. The noise  
must have been terrific, but no-  
body was curious enough to in-

self evl 1  
happened in the world during  
the past decade as the sun com:

ing up. But no. Â«Democracy is not  
defined by capitalism,â\200\235 the let-  
ter says. â\200\234The very

first philo-

vestigate. 1 donâ\200\231t blame them. sophers of democratic thoughts

Thereafter

our uninvited guests defined democracy primarily in

had a party, watching TV, drink- relation to human rights like



ing quantities of best claret and those of free  
tical opinion,

finally absconding  
tion of a nearby plantation,  
shedding loot in weaving loops  
like clues to a paper chase. In  
this fashion much was recovered  
on the lawn, including a lethal  
38 centimetre assegai blade  
attached to a handle not some-  
thing you would normally use to  
cut biltong with. This calling  
card was cause for sober reflec-  
tion what if someone had been  
at home when they made their  
raid? ]

I hope they enjoyed the booze.  
The haul was not large, but in-  
cluded an ancient bottle of anis

with which I was intending to:

prime braai fires, so old it  
was it had probably already con-  
verted to an absinthe. (Van Gogh  
is said to have cut off his ear  
under its influence.) The bur-  
glars are probably still sleeping  
off the effects. But this is a pre-  
ferable punishment to being  
covered by the fleas of a thou-  
sand camels, a curse one corres-  
pondent in the Witness recently  
wished on a thief who stole his  
jacket!

| supporter

expression of poli-  
the right to vote in  
a free election and the right to  
free political assembly. The let-  
ter concludes somewhat huffily,  
"At least we hope that you will  
not continue with this kind of  
assault on democracy."

Well, I have no quibble with  
that, and in days gone by when  
Rick Turner taught me philo-  
sophy at Stellenbosch Univer-  
sity and I thought all property  
was theft, there was no keener  
of Gramsci and the  
democratic road to socialism  
than yours truly. But times move  
on, and the Greeks who origi-  
nally invented democracy have  
since sold their slaves. Today,  
democracy is not only about vot-  
ing, but also about a system in which there is optimal  
free choice.

by David Willers

Imperfect it may be, but a better system than capitalism has yet to be devised for this purpose. That is precisely why much of the world has shed its socialist yoke. Full democracy is simply not possible in socialist, centrally planned and over-regulated societies. Despised she may be, but Mrs Thatcher freed British society from the straitjacket of socialism and years of over-regulation. British voters see the link between democracy and capitalism, and have returned a capitalist party to power for a fourth term.

Peter Berger's analysis (left), which has coincidentally just come to hand, may spark off debate (for which we have Ulrich Nitschke to thank) on whether it is possible for socialism and democracy to coexist. Personally I don't think so but I am willing to be persuaded otherwise. Certain academic chums of my acquaintance, good friends but with differing views, are cordially invited to frame a reply!

\* % \*

Incidentally, heard the one about the new finance minister? Eou can Keynes your money good-ye!

DOES political democracy require or depend upon a market economy? The

answer is yes. The evidence overwhelmingly suggests it.

That evidence makes possible three simple but far-reaching propositions. 1.

There has been no case of political democ-

cracy that has not been a market economy. There has been no case of democratic socialism. 2. There have been

" The Narac Mercury 22 0s -92

Capitalism = democ

What also happens in such cases, One way to describe the relation between, is that the capitalist sector deve-

racy

tween democracy and capitalism is to say

that a dynamism that will increasingly it is asymmetrical. I regret this, I would

threaten the much less productive socialist sector the development that keeps where the two institutional arrangements the Beijing gerontocracy awake at night. could be seen as the two sides of the same

Political democracy requires a market coin of liberty. Alas, they are not. The economy, and a market economy requires major contemporary falsification of the private property. But how much of it? 'symmetrical view (the classical liberta-

What segments of the economy may be the one) is constituted by the east Asian

held in public ownership before the basis economic success stories. Here we have a numerous cases of non-democratic market of democracy is threatened?

ket economies. 3.. When market economy [it stands to reason that there must be a threshold somewhere which, if crossed, - craticising pressures are generated. threatens democracy. But it seems that

Clearly, one cannot discuss any of this present knowledge does not permit us to unless one is clear about the terms one is marking the spot.

using. Thus, someone will propose Comparison between existing capitalism Sweden as a case of democratic socialism -st democracies (say, between Austria and Switzerland, with quite different

It seems that one most usefully distinguishes levels of public ownership) suggests that capitalism and socialism if one there is a good deal of leeway. understands them quite narrowly as two The libertarian view that each step in

alternative modern systems of production the direction of public ownership is a the one based on market forces step towards despotism is not borne out and private ownership of at least the by the evidence. On the other hand, given

commanding heights of the economy; the empirical linkage between democracy the other on political control mechanism and capitalism, policymakers and on public ownership of the would be well-advised to be cautious if

commanding heights. moved to expand public ownership.

By these definitions, Sweden (even in On a basic level, the notion of democracy the heyday of Social Democratic government depends on a limitation of state

\vigorous capitalist dynamic, still far from  
/its apex, in some ways more successful  
than the Western case. Every one of the  
post-World War 2 success stories â\200\224 not-  
ably, the â\200\234four little dragonsâ\200\235 of South  
Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore  
unfolded under non-democratic  
regimes. As to Japan, it has been a demo-  
cracy since World War 2, but the period  
when it first established successful capi-  
talism, the Meiji period, was anything but  
democratic in its political system.

One might ask how many Western socie-  
ties could be called democracies at the

time they took off into modern capitalism  
â\200\224 hardly England in the 18th century, the  
country where it all started. The U.S., in  
this as in many other matters, may be  
exceptional. \  
In view of this evidence, an intelligen  
argument has even been made to the

ance) cannot be Âcalled socialist. The con- power. The commonsensical definition of effect  
that democracy is not the regime

fusion here is between â\200\230production and democracy is in terms of two institutions  
distribution. Sweden, like most other \_ regular (and real) elections, and a body  
northern European democracies, deve- of (real) civil rights and liberties. Both  
loped generous welfare states â\200\224 very ela- institutions serve to limit state power.  
borate systems of distribution and redis- However, when it comes to limiting the  
tribution. But the welfare state, even in role of the state in the economy, we are  
its Scandinavian apotheosis, continued to ;  
, rest on a capitalist system of production;  
only the affluence created by the latter  
made this welfare state possible.  
Sweden was not, as its proponents kept

â\200\234Socialism . . . makes

saying, a â\200\234third wayâ\200\235, it was a particular

version of the â\200\234first wayâ\200\235. Under modern democracy 'imPoSSible  
conditions, there is no â\200\234third wayâ\200\235, there and ruins the

are only different versions and modifica- economy.â\200\235

tions of the two alternative models.  
Does political democracy require pri-  
vate property, and if so, how much of it?

The answer to the first question is almost  
certainly â\200\234yesâ\200\235. The answer to the second  
~question: no one knows for sure. Could  
there be a market economy without pri-  
vate property? Could there be such a  
thing as â\200\234market socialismâ\200\235 â\200\224 important  
enterprises remaining in public own-  
ership but competing under market

forces? : .

Theoretically, such a system can be imagined. Two societies that ran experiments with "market socialism" for 30 years were Yugoslavia and Hungary. Both failed. Can one explain the failure? Probably.

~ The entrepreneurial risk-taking and the financial controls over these risks depend on the motives of private owners "not so much because of the joys of ownership but because of the control that legally secure ownership bestows.

- The manager of a socialist enterprise - who is told by the economic command centres "which own his firm and which in a real sense own him" to go out and act as an entrepreneur is in fact told to do the impossible or the highly improbable: to stimulate capitalist entrepreneurship.

In practice, it seems, this simply doesn't work. What does work, up to a point, is releasing sectors of a socialist economy to private enterprise. This occurred in both Yugoslavia and Hungary, and it has been happening quite successfully in China.

"back to the insight that there must be a threshold somewhere, but we are not sure where it is. ;

We do know the extremes. Socialism, the maximal role of the state in the economy, makes democracy impossible and ruins the economy. At the other pole, a minimalist, laissez-faire role of the state is empirically impossible, and there is no such case. Someone will certainly mention Hong Kong. It is no such thing, but rather an efficient, if thoroughly undemocratic, conspiracy of Chinese businessmen and British civil servants. ;

In between, there seems to be a good deal of leeway "say, between the U.S., a relatively modest case of state intervention, and much more statist cases like Japan or even France" all market economies, all democracies.

It is important to ask about, not so much the degree of state intervention, as the nature of it. Does state intervention in the economy move with market forces or against them?

Thus, arguably, the Japanese State intervenes in the economy without undermining the dynamics of the market; by contrast, it has been argued that the evolving bureaucracy of the European Community (the "Brussels syndrome") will damage the workings of the market economy. i

~

age | /

' best suited for the period when capital-

| ism is first established, though it is the regime most likely to emerge after a time of successful capitalist development.

There is no great mystery as to why capitalism is necessary for democracy. It provides the social space within which 'individuals and institutions can develop â\200\230independently of state control. Conversely, the empirical correlation between â\200\230socialism and dictatorship can be explained by the absence of such social space in a socialist system. I

The anti-democratic effect of socialism is structural in origin, and not just the ' result of some variety of totalitarian ideology (such as Marxism-Leninism). To be sure, totalitarian ideas, such as that of society as an all-embracing fraternity or of the party as the infallible embodiment of the force of history, have served to legitimate socialist dictatorships and to inspire their cadres. e

But socialism would make democracy highly unlikely even in the absence of

such ideas. The explanation is simple. While there have been socialist Utopias envisaging the control of the economy by independent association of producers, these have remained just that â\200\224 Utopias, empirically unrealisable, except perhaps in small communities or over short periods of time. o

Under modern conditions, given the complexity of a modern economy, socialism invariably means control of the eco-

nomy by the state. B C

Even the most retrained democratic state today has more power at its disposal than the most efficient despotisms of pre-modern times. Imagine Caligula with an empire-wide computer network, or Genghis Khan with helicopters, or for that matter Ivan the Terrible with a functioning

Internal Revenue Service. To add to this

armoury of power control over the eco-

nomy is to bring about a quantum leap in

power. Such power is difficult if not im-

possible to reconcile with democracy.

