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An essential guarantee

REPORTS that an ANC panel of experts has rejected both the entrenchment of property rights in a future constitution and expropriation compensation according to market value prices "because that would impoverish the state" are disconcerting.

The ANC's concern is understandable. The hunger for land and the redressing of historic injustice must be addressed. Mr Justice Ismail Mahommed has warned that unless additional provisions are included which both provide for expropriation and define the form of compensation, entrenching property ownership in a Bill of Rights might frustrate a future government's efforts to address the question of property redistribution.

However, failure to entrench and defend property ownership rights will strike at the very basis on which modern nations are run. Without these rights there will be little chance of attracting foreign investment without which South Africa has little hope of ending its steady economic decline.

Furthermore, without both the security of property ownership and the guarantee of market value compensation in the event of expropriation, it will be difficult for South Africans to raise mortgage loans with which to finance home building, let alone shops and factories.

Funding land acquisition ought not be an impossible task if, with due regard to ecological desirability, sensible taxation is applied, for instance, to land owners who underutilise their property. The State might, with certain limits, have to dig into its coffers to restore property to people who were dispossessed by apartheid but, as examples like Roosboom and Charlestown have already illustrated, that process is already under way without undue problems.

Join the game

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's former MEC Mr Peter Miller makes the very good point that all players need to be included in devising new local government structures. Arrangements made at the Local Government Negotiating Forum (between the Government and the African National Congress-aligned National Civics Organisation) could well be inappropriate to a region as distinctive as Natal/KwaZulu.

Quite so. The IFP is a major role-player in Natal/KwaZulu and its input to local government is required. The best way to achieve that is to join the negotiations.

The principle applies not only to local government but to every facet of the new South Africa, including demarcation of boundaries. If the IFP wants to wring out of the Government and the ANC the best possible federal deal for Natal/KwaZulu (and many Natalians would probably support them in this), the only way to achieve it is by participating.

Deals struck by others are likely to be unsatisfactory and may be difficult to dismantle at a later stage.

Keeping standards

NO matter how often one reads it, the Bill of Rights under discussion at the World Trade Centre does not grant anyone "the right to do anything they want". Landlord Brian Hutchins, whose business premises on the ground floor of Queen's Court in central Durban is about to become a sex supermarket/escort agency, is wrong in this assumption. Heaven forbid that the new South Africa degenerates into a place where anything goes anywhere, anytime. Decency and standards must prevail, and thoughts of a sex parlour in a building shared by outraged and elderly tenants should be reconsidered.

3 DIE IN FUNERAL GUN BATTLE

By Sapa Reuter

A GUNBATTLE erupted yesterday between police and gunmen in a funeral procession as South Africa's political leaders struggled for ways to restore peace to ravaged Black townships.

Police said they shot dead three people and wounded three when they returned fire against attackers among mourners in Katlehong, east of Johannesburg.

Medical workers at the scene said at least 10

people were wounded in the 30-minute gun battle.

One grieving man told Reuters his 13-year-old brother had been shot dead by police.

More than 7 000 people

had gathered to mourn five victims of weekend violence that added at least 124 dead to a sharp upsurge of killing since Black and White leaders a month ago set a date for the country's first post-apartheid election.

Shooting broke out when police searched a minibus which was part of the funeral procession and found two handgrenades and two pistols.

Witnesses said the officers came under heavy fire from three sides and hit back with rifles, handguns and stun grenades.

Mourners scattered for cover amid deafening gunfire from automatic weapons and exploding stun grenades.

Police said that following the confiscation of the firearms, police found two AK47 rifles, a crossbow and a pistol.

Two people were arrested for illegal possession of firearms.

Representatives from the security forces, political and church organisations and peace structures met at the joint operations control centre in Katlehong yesterday afternoon.

Held under the auspices of the Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat, the meeting discussed violence on the East Rand, police deployment and action.

Twenty-two people have died since Tuesday morning and at least 115 since the weekend in clashes in the area between security forces, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress, and at the hands of gangsters.

An SAP spokesman said the most recently-recovered corpses had bullet and burn wounds, and several people appeared to have been killed by the "necklace" method.

Police in Tembisa had encountered 21 incidents of stone-throwing, 21 petrol bombs, four firearm attacks and one hand-grenade attack in the previous 24 hours.

More than 100 bodies were yesterday unclaimed in East Rand mortuaries and an appeal was made to families to identify them.

The streets of Katlehong and Tokoza were barricaded and littered with burnt-out cars yesterday.

The atmosphere, especially in Katlehong's Ramakanopi area where journalists were stoned, was extremely tense.

Some youths waved

warily but others were clearly hostile, calling for "one settler, one bullet" as journalists drove by.

One muttered: "We are looking for the Zulus."

The 26-member multi-party Negotiating Council on yesterday expressed shock and outrage at the carnage in East Rand townships.

"This senseless carnage, this brutal madness must stop," the council declared in a statement.

Saying it had to abort a visit to Tembisa as conditions would not allow a tour, the council said it intended visiting affected areas as soon as possible.

"We call on our people to unite in restoring peace. Surely, we want a South Africa in which our people can live free, proud and united in peace now and for the future," the statement pronounced. — Sapa

THE CITIZEN 5 AUGUST 1993

IFP and ANC to try to bridge differences

Kempton Park: The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the African National Congress have agreed to set up sub-committees on constitutional issues and on violence in an effort to bridge their differences and pave the way for the IFP's return to multiparty negotiations.

At a meeting yesterday, the ANC and IFP said much progress had been made. IFP negotiator Joe Matthews intimated his party might return to the multiparty talks soon.

"We are having such wonderful bilaterals that so much progress is being made, and we might be able —

sooner or later — to return to negotiations."

The IFP — which walked out of the July 2 Negotiating Forum meeting which formally adopted April 27 next year as the date for South Africa's first non-racial election — has been engaged in a series of bilateral meetings with the Government.

At yesterday's meeting the ANC and the IFP discussed a wide range of issues — except for the decision-making principle of "sufficient consensus" over which the KwaZulu gov-

Political Staff

ernment has taken negotiators to court.

Negotiating parties still in the process yesterday unanimously accepted a report fleshing out the way they would take decisions.

But conspicuous by their absence at the debate were the IFP and Conservative Party, who walked out of talks on July 2 because of the way "sufficient consensus" was applied.

The most significant response yesterday was the approval given the report by the IFP's Concerned South

Africans Group (Cosag) allies.

The Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments and the Afrikaner Volksunie were among those who approved the report, allowing chairman Luwellyn Landers to rule that it had been accepted by "general consensus" — unanimous approval.

Bophuthatswana negotiator Rowan Cronje described the report as an "important step forward".

While the report did not change the standing rules for chairmen on how to decide whether "sufficient consensus" had been reached, it did "provide clear guidelines to chairmen".

Consensus: New guidelines

**Sapa and
Angela Quintal**

THE multi-party negotiating council yesterday reaffirmed the decision-making concept of sufficient consensus and has adopted a set of guidelines for its future application.

However, senior KwaZulu Government negotiator, Dr Ben Ngubane, rejected the guidelines as meaningless.

The council was presented with a report by a special ad hoc committee appointed to investigate the concept after it triggered disputes which subsequently gave rise to legal actions challenging key decisions.

The report found there was no need to change the council's standing rules which provide for decisions being made by sufficient consensus.

Listing complaints against its application, the ad hoc committee recommended that a flexible procedure be formulated to guide chairmen in coming to a decision.

Stressing the need for a constructive negotiating spirit among parties and noting the concerns of parties for the avoidance of filibustering and majoritarianism, the committee recommended procedural guidelines to manage council meetings, and to create mechanisms for consensus and possible time-frames.

The proposals focus on:

- Following standing rules proposals for ad-

journments for informal discussion, setting up technical committees and allowing time for participants to consult their principals;

- An ad hoc committee charged with responsibility to bridge differences;

- Bilateral talks under the guidance of the planning committee, including one or more members of a relevant technical committee, and

- Similar structures for multilateral discussions.

The proposals were welcomed by all parties, which said they were an improvement that would lead to consistency in decisions at the council.

Mr Joe Slovo (South African Communist Party) was the first to react and said that in the spirit of offering an olive branch (to the Inkatha Freedom Party and Conservative Party absentees) he believed the whole process should be determined by the concept of inclusivity.

"We should ignore what is happening else-

where, in other forums and in the courts," he said.

Dr Ngubane, however, said the Negotiation Council's reaffirmation of the decision-making concept of sufficient consensus, and its adoption of a set of guidelines for its future application, had not addressed the IFP's concerns.

"We welcome anything that will resolve the crisis, but then it will have to be meaningful", he added.

What was contained in yesterday's guidelines were already provided for in the council's standing rules.

According to Dr Ngubane, the KwaZulu Government and the IFP would continue with discussions to pave their return to the negotiating table.

It is understood that a further bilateral meeting will be held with the government today.

In a further development, the IFP yesterday met the African National Congress to solve the impasse which led to the IFP walkout.

Joint control: Govt is under pressure

Citizen Reporter

THE government is under mounting pressure to give way on the question of joint control of the security forces.

The government had previously declared there would be no joint control of the security forces under a Transitional Executive Council.

Senior government officials said last night the present constitution did not make provision for joint control. An amendment to the constitution would be necessary were this to come about.

It was, therefore, envisaged that such a step, even if the government acceded to it, could not come about before late in the year.

Officials said the question of a joint peacekeeping force was on the agenda for yesterday's weekly meeting of the Cabinet.

There were no indications last night whether the government's position on the matter had crystallised.

In repeated statements in the past the govern-

ment has said there would be no joint control of the security forces in the transitional leading up to an election.

However, government Ministers this week said that the formation of a multi-party peacekeeping force as an auxiliary to the security forces, and probably operating in close co-operation with the Internal Stability Unit of the SAP, was acceptable.

On his return to South Africa yesterday, ANC president, Mr Nelson

Mandela, said he was arranging a meeting with State President De Klerk and senior SADF and police officials to discuss East Rand township violence.

Multiparty control of the security forces and the establishment of a joint peacekeeping force was urgently needed.

The African National Congress has repeatedly called for the joint control of the security forces in the run-up to the elections to "level the playing fields."

Top ANC officials have stated that the joint control of the security forces and the creation of the peacekeeping force should go hand in hand.

The peace-keeping force, the ANC believes, should comprise members of all armed formations, which will fall either under the TEC's sub-council of law and order or defence.

In Cape Town yesterday, a new peace-keeping force, including members of both the SAP's internal stability unit and party-affiliated forces, was proposed to the Goldstone Commission by an international panel of experts.

The report proposes recommends that the force assume control at election rallies or demonstrations where there is a risk of violence.

Panel chairman, Mr Charles Ruff, warned that decisions about details of the election process and the reshaping of policing function could not await the convening of Parliament.

THE DAILY NEWS 5 AUGUST 1993

Change is 'economic stupidity'

Battle looms over border proposals

Opposition to Natal's proposed new borders is growing. Political Correspondent **Martin Challenger** and **Keith Ross** report.

THE Democratic Party was mobilising public support against the proposed Natal-Transkei border, Wessel Nel, Democratic Party MP for Mooi River, said today.

He has strong backing from an East Griqualand farmer and president of the Natal Agricultural Union, William Mullins, who said it made no economic sense for the technical committee of the Commission for the Demarcation of Regional Boundaries to

recommend the excision of East Griqualand from Natal.

In terms of the suggestion by the commission on the demarcation of regional boundaries, East Griqualand would become part of the Eastern Province region.

East Griqualand includes the towns of Kokstad, Cedarville and Matatiele.

Negotiators at the multi-party talks are debating the boundaries now.

Mr Nel said the commission should re-examine its boundary proposals for Natal as a matter of urgency. "Their first proposal, which excludes East Griqualand and the Umzimkulu district from Natal, is sheer economic stupidity and flies in the face of the opinion of a host of reputable regional organisations and their well-motivated submissions.

"The DP will oppose the current recommendations tooth and nail as it constitutes economic

folly and does not serve the interests of the people of East Griqualand or Umzimkulu. Economic decline in East Griqualand would also be harmful to residents in neighbouring northern Transkei," Mr Nel said.

"The DP is in the process of mobilising public support to redress the situation," Mr Nel said.

Mr Mullins said the area was economically interdependent with the rest of Natal and the confidence and development of the area lay in continued existence in Natal.

"Climatic, agricultural and economic considerations were ignored and only dubious historical claims and ethnic factors seem to have been considered in its decision.

"The Natal Agricultural Union assures farmers that they will not be left in the lurch and everything possible will be done to overturn the decision," Mr Mullins said.

Separation 'a recipe for disaster' DP in call for joint control of all forces

The Democratic Party is enthusiastic about the proposed multi-party peace-keeping force, writes **Ido Lekota**.

DEMOCRATIC Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday that the proposed multiparty peace-keeping force would not work unless all security forces were put under joint control.

His comment came after President de Klerk cautioned on Tuesday that the envisaged peace-keeping force could not replace the existing security forces.

Addressing the Durban Press Club, Dr de Beer said in principle the DP was "enthusiastic" about the joint peace-keeping force, but having them operating side-by-side with the existing security forces was "a recipe for disaster".

Dr de Beer said it was "a reality" that the masses of the people did not have any trust in the existing security forces.

Instead, the DP leader said, the solution lay in the soon to be established Transitional Executive Council which would have a sub-committee on security with the responsibility for the joint control of all security forces.

During a speech which he later described as "possibly the first step by the DP to aggressively market itself", Dr de Beer said for South Africa to achieve democracy, peace, jobs and clean government, the DP must be part of any future government.

His assertion was based on the record that both the African National Congress and the National Party had on the democratic path, said the DP leader.

"It was under the National Party that Steve Biko and Neil Agett and the Imam Haroun and dozens of others died in police custody," he said.

According to Dr de Beer, the relationship between the ANC and the South African Communist Party, "that espouses the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat, which means the dictatorship of the party", was a contradiction to the ANC's claim to be a democratic organisation.

"As long as the ANC houses the SACP there is no way on earth that South Africans should entrust their democracy to it," he said.

Commenting on the currently contentious issue of redistribution of land, the LTA former chairman said the DP would support the notion of a claims court but had problems in terms of the practical implementation of its duties.

"It will, for example, be easy to address a situation where a certain tribe stakes a claim to land from which they had been forcefully been removed about two years ago. It is, however, going to be difficult to resolve a situation where the tribe had been forcefully removed some centuries ago," said Dr de Beer.

16/1/11

N. W. W. W.
5/08/93

ANC sets date for Zulu rally in Durban

THE African National Congress rally to test Zulu support for a united South Africa and April elections is on, a party spokesman said.

It is to be held on September 12 at Durban's King's Park and is one of three ANC rallies scheduled for Natal.

Southern Natal chairman for the ANC Jeff Radebe said yesterday that regional leaders will meet today to plan similar rallies in northern Natal and the midlands.

The ANC's southern Natal region said last week that the decision to stage the Durban rally was taken to counter Inkatha Freedom Party claims that it represents most Zulus, and that Zulus are opposed to the elections.

The rally will also demonstrate Zulu support for a united South Africa.

While Radebe did not specify who would address the rally, he said earlier that ANC president Nelson Mandela and King Goodwill Zwelithini would be invited. — Sapa.

ANC, IFP hold talks

THE Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress, after a bilateral meeting in Kempton Park yesterday, have agreed to set up joint sub-committees to deal with constitutional matters and violence.

Addressing reporters after the meeting, IFP national executive committee member Joe Matthews remained vague about when the IFP would return to the multi-party negotiations, saying: "We have made so

much progress (in the bilateral), talks it is possible sooner or later . . . I cannot put a date on it".

Both Mr Matthews and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa described the talks as fruitful and constructive, adding there would be another bilateral meeting soon.

Mr Ramaphosa added: "We should be able to reconcile our positions on a number of constitutional issues".

5-8-93

ANC official acquitted

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Smiling supporters welcomed Malukazi ANC branch secretary Themba Henry Mpila after he was found not guilty in the Durban Supreme Court yesterday of murdering an Inkatha Freedom Party member and attempting to murder another.

"I have never known such a shoddy investigation," said Mr Justice Willson shortly before handing down judgment.

The judge said the witnesses apparently assumed the leader of the attackers in the incident was an ANC office-bearer and had since convinced themselves it had been Mpila.

The Star

Established 1887

Regions: the way forward

THE task given the demarcation commission was unenviable — given the competing political interests of those taking part in the constitutional talks.

The commission should, therefore, be commended for drawing up a proposal, in the short time allocated, which has largely succeeded in pulling together the many submissions made to it.

However, given the South African complexity, it would have been surprising had the commission's report been without flaws, or if there were no dissenters among its members, two of whom have put out minority reports.

As for the main report itself, it should be judged on two scores, the political and the economic. On the first, the question is whether the actual demarcation of the nine regions will satisfy the various political interests — of those sitting at Kempton Park as well as those who are not party to the talks.

As we move towards finality on borders, everything possible should be done, as the State President has suggested, to let ordinary people have their say. It is, after all, they, and not the politicians, who will have to live with the consequences of this partition. Care should also be taken that the new boundaries do not sow the seeds of future inter-regional strife, even civil war.

On the second count, there has already been sharp criticism regarding the economic viability of some of the proposed regions, from the SA Chamber of Business among others. Sacob regrets that the commission did not offer alternative regional scenarios to assist the comparison of relative costs and benefits. This is an aspect that should not be lightly dismissed.

In the end, a new settlement on regional boundaries is likely to be a marriage between political expediency and economic viability. But before we get to that stage, we would urge all parties to keep an open mind, and to continue the debate on a matter that should not be rushed through the negotiation chamber.

Mandela to meet FW

AFRICAN National Congress president Nelson Mandela, returning from a seven-day fact-finding and

fund-raising trip to the Far East, said in Johannesburg yesterday he was arranging a meeting with State President De Klerk and senior South African Defence Force and South African Police officials to discuss East Rand township violence.

Mr Mandela expressed concern at the loss of at least 115 lives since Friday last week and said he would visit township flash points today.

Multi-party control of the security forces and the establishment of a national peacekeeping force were urgently needed.

Of his visit to Taiwan and Malaysia, Mr Mandela said, he had met Heads of State, government Ministers, organisations and business representatives. The trip had been "fruitful".

Asked if Mr Mandela's hosts had pledged funds for the ANC election campaign, ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa declined to elaborate.

"In that regard, he (Mr Mandela) was successful," said Mr Mamoepa. — Sapa.

Buthelezi slams US role, warns of war

DURBAN. — Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday warned of civil war should the draft constitution be adopted, and slammed the United States for interfering in South Africa's domestic affairs.

Chief Buthelezi said the US would be held accountable should civil war break out as a result of the African National Congress getting its way at the negotiation table.

The Inkatha Freedom Party leader accused the US Government of wanting a political settlement at any price, and warned that this could "thrust this

country into civil war".

Chief Buthelezi was addressing American Consul-General Bismarck Myrick at a function in Ulundi marking the end of his term of office in Durban.

"The proposals at the World Trade Centre that (the US) wants me to accept are proposals that will thrust this country into civil war," said the IFP president.

"I get the impression that the US is actually backing a (ANC president Nelson) Mandela victory because the US wants a settlement tomorrow, and it is a case of wanting any settlement at any price."

On the future constitution, Chief Buthelezi said bluntly: "There shall not be a unitary state. There shall not be a Constituent Assembly to write a new constitution".

Regional powers, boundaries and structures would be finalised before elections, he demanded. The IFP would not allow an election campaign on

who would write the country's constitution.

Chief Buthelezi said the country's negotiators had failed 'dismally' in their draft constitution.

He reiterated that the IFP was not opposed to the setting of an election date, but this had to be done after there was agreement on South Africa's future form of state.

He said instructions made to the Technical Committee tasked with drafting the constitution "in no way reflected the gains and agreements made in bilateral discussions with the South African Government".

On the issue of sufficient consensus, Chief Buthelezi said this could not be achieved at multi-party negotiations without agreement by the IFP or other important parties.

Instead, the ANC was pressing ahead without Inkatha and not abiding by the principle of give and take.

— Sapa.

Pretoria will fight incorporation in PWV

Citizen Reporter
and Sapa

RESISTANCE is mounting in Pretoria against the proposal that the city be included into the PWV region in a new South Africa, and steps are being taken across party lines to prevent this from happening.

Councillors of the city councils in the greater Pretoria region are to meet next Tuesday to discuss the regional issue and ways to stop the plan.

The National Party in the Pretoria City Council have already given notice that they will oppose Pretoria's inclusion into the PWV area "tooth and nail", and in a rare show of solidarity, the Conservative Party indicated that on this issue they were in full support of the NP.

The Democratic Party also rejected this proposal and DP branches in the Northern Transvaal have held emergency meetings to discuss the issue and decided to start a series of public meetings to gather support in opposition to including Pretoria in the PWV region.

The Afrikaner Volksunie, who has two seats in the Pretoria City Council also has no interest in seeing Pretoria as part of the PWV area, and has indicated that they will join the fight to stop it from happening.

Residents' associations throughout the city are also arranging meetings to discuss ways to oppose the move.

There is a difference of views among all the political parties and resident's association on where Pretoria should find a "regional home".

The NP wants Pretoria as part of the Eastern Transvaal region, and the CP and AVU sees Pretoria as the capital of the Volkstaat which should be in the Northern Transvaal region.

It is also speculated that a new region could be proposed which would include all the towns and cities in the present Pretoria Regional Services Council.

• The Government of KwaNdebele and the ruling Intando Yesizwe Party have rejected the proposal of the demarcation committee that KwaNdebele and Pretoria should be part of the PWV region.

They have instead suggested they be part of the Eastern Transvaal.

Pretoria and Cape emerge as problem areas in SPRs

THE position of Pretoria and the division or unity of the Northern/Western and Eastern Cape emerged yesterday as the most likely spheres of disagreement in drawing South Africa's new regional boundaries.

Other areas, which were also mildly controversial, involved Natal and the Swazi-linked Pongola/Ingwavuma areas and the East Griqualand enclave on the Kei border.

The differences emerged in a preliminary round of questioning in the multi-party Negotiating Council where the Commission on the Demarcation/Delimitation of States/Provinces/Regions (SPRs) accounted for its decisions in its first report which proposes nine regions.

The chairmen and members of both the commission and the council stressed the report represented a hastily compiled first draft which required further grassroots consultation to fine-tune borders and address sharp differences which may emerge among affected communities.

The strongest rejection of the proposals were articulated around the creation of a Northern Cape region which, although vast in area, would accommodate under a million voters and offer no strong economic base.

The Northern Cape region comes close to establishing an Afrikaner regional state, incorporating most of the Kalahari/

Namaqualand/Great Karoo region to the south and west of Kimberley running down the Cape West coast to Clanwilliam. It also excises the strongest Tswana districts which are incorporated in a separate North-west region.

Commissioners admitted that submissions from Namaqualand indicated the area did not want to be part of a separate Northern Cape area, but Vredenburg, further south, did. A single area combining the Northern and Western Cape would be too vast.

Politically, the objection to a separate Northern Cape region was that a small number of voters

would then have disproportionate political representation in a future Parliament to equal regional components, as was envisaged.

Pretoria was the next most controversial issue. The Afrikaner Volksunie objected strongly to the 400 000 Afrikaners being severed from the Northern or Eastern Transvaal and submerged in the heterogeneous PWV area.

The commission said it had listened to three days of submissions on the position of Pretoria.

The PWV area was economically and administratively cohesive and the alternative was to unbundle the entire PWV unit into separate regions, destroying its economic vibrancy.

The PWV area was also heterogeneous and the same argument applied — if the Afrikaners were to be extricated then so would other groupings, again fragmenting an area of great economic importance to the whole country.

The Eastern Cape provided a peculiar problem in that Whites were strongly in favour of splitting the region in two between Port Elizabeth and East London and their respective hinterlands. Blacks on the other hand had an overwhelming sense of a common regional identity throughout the proposed region.

The White divisions appeared to have emanated from past economic rivalries and development incentives applied to the two main centres.

Page 4

Page 4

Panel: Let Goldstone probe poll violence

CAPE TOWN. — The Goldstone Commission should be authorised to act as an investigative arm of the proposed Independent Electoral Commission to deal with particularly serious incidents of political misconduct in the run-up to the election, an international panel has recommended.

The panel, appointed by the commission in March to investigate ways of preventing violence in the elections, said in a report released yesterday that the commission had a unique role in the South African political structure and its unique powers

could prove immensely useful during the election period.

It was difficult to imagine that it would be possible, in the short time remaining before the election, to create another entity with the credibility that the commission enjoyed.

The commission staff should be expanded substantially and it should be authorised to accept assignments from either the IEC or the Transitional Executive Council, to look into political violence, intimidation and fraud that were beyond the ordinary investigative capability of the IEC.

The report said the early appointment and effective operation of the IEC itself was the key to a legitimate and peaceful election.

If it was to be seen as a truly independent and credible body, it should have the authority to conduct, and not merely supervise, the election.

There was no time to waste. It was not sufficient to have a technical committee of the Multi-party Forum drafting legislation to create the IEC.

The committee should now be working on the internal organisation and staffing of the IEC — Supa.

SAP, party-based peace force call

CAPE TOWN. — A new peacekeeping force, including members of both the South African Police's Internal Stability Unit and party-affiliated forces, has been proposed to the Goldstone Commission by an international panel of experts.

Panel chairman Charles Ruff said at a sitting of the commission in Cape Town yesterday it was envisaged the force would assume control at election rallies or demonstrations where there was a risk of violence.

The creation of the force would also lay the foundation for a new policing organisation in a post-election period.

He warned that decisions about details of the election process and the reshaping of policing functions could not await the convening of Parliament:

"There is literally not a moment to waste if the election is to be held on April 27, 1994," he said. "The process must begin immediately."

The panel was appointed by the commission in March this year to investigate ways of curbing violence and intimidation in

the coming national elections.

Its 70-page report, released yesterday, will be debated by interested parties this week and early next week before the commission hears final submissions.

Commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said yesterday afternoon it was hoped the commission's own report, based on the panel's document and the further submissions, would be ready before the end of the month.

The report said the SA Police could not hope to gain the confidence of those who saw it only as the enforcer of apartheid — a reality recognised by the police themselves.

Opening up the process of policing to participation by members of the new political parties would lend an element of credibility and legitimacy to what was now a highly suspect process.

It appeared that the extraordinary commitment of time, money and energy necessary to bring about any significant change in the policing structure in the short term should be focused on those parts of the system

that posed the greatest concern during the election period.

"To that end, we propose that there be established a Peacekeeping Service (PKS) that would have broad responsibility for co-ordinating and managing the police role in election activity and election day security, including police response to election-related violence.

"In advancing this proposal, however, we want to make it absolutely clear that we are not suggesting merely the transfer of the Internal Stability Unit function to a new organisation. If that were all that could be accomplished, it would not be worth the effort."

The PKS should be created by and responsible to the Transitional Executive Council, and would be led by a multi-party civilian command structure.

Its operating arm would consist of selected senior and middle-level SAP staff with both operational and community relations experience, of all existing ISU personnel, and of specially recruited members of the party-affiliated forces.

— Sapa.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Don't rush it

RUSH. Rush. Rush. Everything at the multi-party negotiations is being rushed. But whether speed will bring about an interim constitution that will bring peace, never mind lasting peace, is doubtful.

A case in point is the delimitation of regions. The commission responsible for recommending nine regions has caused enough upset to question whether its report was not over-hasty and in some respects ill-conceived.

Indeed, a member of the commission, Ms Ann Bernstein, of the Urban Foundation, refused to sign the report, urging negotiators "not to impose an undemocratic map on the country".

She was aware of the time constraints to forge a new South Africa and was merely arguing for a "more humble, more democratic and consultative approach", she said.

The other commissioners had interpreted their responsibility as producing "a hastily conceived, single map".

To try to produce a regional map within six weeks was "unrealistic and dangerous".

Meanwhile, objections range across the political spectrum and proposed regions.

The Conservative Party rejects the report, which makes no provision for a volkstaat or self-determination.

The volk was being divided into nine regions in which it would be a minority in every region and would have no self-determination or freedom, said CP leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg.

To force different nations together within regions with mixed governments was to prepare the way for a power struggle in each region.

"With this conflict proposal, South Africa is finally on the way to a civil war and a new Bosnia," said Dr Hartzenberg.

Professor Carel Boshoff, chairman of the Afrikaner Vryheidstigting, and founder of Orania, accepts the North-Western Cape as a development region for Afrikaners who want self-determination, but Dr Hartzenberg described the proposal as "totally unacceptable".

The ANC rejects Afrikaner self-determination and a volkstaat, with Houghton's Democratic Party MP, Mr Tony Leon, supporting the ANC view in this regard.

However, the DP calls for the separation of the Eastern Cape from the Ciskei-Border-Transkei area. It also wants the separation of Pretoria from Johannesburg in the same PWV area.

In Pretoria there is growing opposition, across party lines, to putting the two cities in one region.

The NP and the Inkatha Freedom Party are unhappy about the inclusion of East Griqualand, including towns like Matatiele, Kokstad and Cedarville, in the Eastern Cape region.

Former National Party MEC, Mr Peter Miller, now an IFP member, accuses the commission of being "totally bereft of any sense whatsoever", and of being "in Bantu Holomisa's pocket".

The Midland Chamber of Commerce rejects the recommended incorporation of the Eastern Cape, Border, Ciskei and Transkei into a single region, saying it was the overwhelming wish of the Eastern Cape community to remain a separate region.

State President De Klerk says that the NP wants the Orange Free State, Western Transvaal and Northern Cape/Bophuthatswana combined, and also wants the Eastern Cape divorced from the Kei/Border region.

He felt the public – and not just political parties – should be given an opportunity to make inputs to the delimitation commission, but he did not envisage referendums.

Clearly it would be advisable for the commission to have a rethink on the issues raised and for the multi-party negotiators to pause and consider the dangers of their headlong rush into a new dispensation that can result in violent opposition.

It is also perhaps time for Mr De Klerk to tell his three main negotiators – Ministers Roelf Meyer, Dawie de Villiers and Leon Wessels – to think of satisfying other major players besides the ANC.

Katlehong services formally terminated

MANY essential services to strife-torn Katlehong township on the East Rand were formally terminated yesterday morning because of rent and services payment boycotts.

According to the Joint Council of Greater Germiston, only five percent of the community paid their individual accounts, making it financially impossible for Katlehong to maintain services to the whole community.

Services which were terminated include:

- Road and storm water drain maintenance.

- Maintenance and repair of the water supply network.

- Traffic services, including point-duty at schools.

- Maintenance of municipal buildings.

- No maintenance or repairs to the electricity network until Eskom takes over responsibility. This could take two months or longer, and meanwhile any damage to the network will mean more people without electricity.

Services unaffected, at least for a while, include the library which will be

kept open and staffed for at least two more months, and the cemetery.

The number of social workers is to be reduced but the service will be available for at least the next two months.

Refuse removal will continue because of contractual obligations, the council said.

Water will also continue to be supplied, but only to those areas where pipes are in good repair.

Sewerage services would not be terminated but in areas where the network failed and could not be repaired, drainage would stop because of the lack of water.

Mr Cees Verhage, deputy town secretary, said the cuts had been inevitable since the rent and services boycott began more than 18 months ago.

He said he did not know if the reduction in services would exacerbate endemic violence.

"We simply had no alternative. We have no money left," he said.

The joint council said the position could be reversed if the whole community started paying for services.

It appealed to community leaders to come forward and discuss solutions. — Sapa.

Union decides to urge vote for the ANC

THE Chemical Workers' Industrial Union decided at its annual national congress at the weekend to encourage its members to vote for the African National Congress (ANC).

The union, which is affiliated to the Congress of South African Trade Unions, said in a statement yesterday it had decided it would continue to review the ANC/South African Communist Par-

ty/COSATU alliance after a national election next year.

Premature

"Congress felt it was premature to adopt a position on ending or continuing the alliance while it was still uncertain that an election would be held and while the outcome of that election was unknown."

It decided to continue to influence the ANC to

adopt policies favourable to the working class.

The 203 congress delegates elected Mr Abraham Aghulas from BP as president, Mr Jerry Nkosi from Elida Ponds as vice-president, and Ronald Mofokeng from PG Glass as national treasurer.

Rod Crompton was re-elected general secretary, and Muzi Buthelezi as assistant general secretary. — Sapa.

ANC questions Thebe on US deal

PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC wants Thebe Investment Corporation to clarify whether its deal with US computer firm Digital Equipment transgresses ANC sanctions policy, ANC deputy international affairs head Aziz Pahad said yesterday.

Thebe is headed by senior ANC figures and was set up with R8m from a trust fund begun by ANC president Nelson Mandela. Its computer subsidiary Bhekisizwe Computer Systems recently concluded a deal with Digital to sell its products locally.

"If policy has been violated the matter will be taken up with them," Pahad said.

The ANC moved yesterday to quell the Thebe controversy, saying that while Thebe was an independent company "we hope that they too would comply with the general policy positions of the ANC and the broad democratic movement in SA".

Thebe MD Vusi Khanyile said the company's investment portfolios were in line with ANC policy and that there had been a misunderstanding of the ANC policy guidelines which did not prevent investors from identifying partners, conducting market surveys and doing feasibility studies.

However, an AP report quoted Digital's marketing manager Vikkee Love saying that full operations, including sales, began on July 1 this year.

The ANC said it was encouraging investors to return to SA by making their preparations now in anticipation of the establishment of a transitional executive council but that no new investment was to take place until it had been formed.

Pahad said the ANC was not in a position to take concrete moves against sanctions transgressors but it could "indicate concern" at violations.

Inkatha warns US
INKATHA Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has accused the US of supporting the ANC and warned it would be held accountable for a civil war because of its interference in SA's domestic affairs.

Peacekeeping plan mooted for elections

CAPE TOWN — It will not be possible to forge an integrated, trained multiparty peacekeeping force in time for elections on April 17, so a peacekeeping service should be established instead, a panel has recommended.

That was one of the key recommendations made by a panel of experts in a report submitted yesterday to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation during Elections.

Because there was so little time to prepare for the elections, and the urgency of establishing this new policing organisation, the panel recommended that the multiparty forum create a committee of experts to plan the organisation and operation of the peacekeeping service.

"The committee should be convened as quickly as possible and should be prepared to report to the TEC on the day on which it comes into operation," the panel said.

The peacekeeping service would co-ordinate policing in a credible way, which would also involve handling aspects of the election process. It would not supplant the police in its day-to-day policing responsibilities but would assume responsibility for SAP functions such as dealing with marches, rallies, demonstrations and election-related violence.

It would have a multiparty, civilian command. Its operating arm would be made up of SAP staff, the internal security

LINDA ENSOR

unit and specially recruited members of party-affiliated forces. Its training was critical, required international assistance and should begin immediately.

The panel did not believe the UN and other international government organisations should establish a peacekeeping force in SA but should provide logistical and technical support for voter education programmes and monitor demonstrations and other election campaign activity.

An independent election commission with the power to enforce a range of disciplinary measures should be appointed as soon as possible. All parties would be required to register with the commission. Its main function would be to resolve disputes and control the spread of rumours.

To curb violence the election should be held on one day rather than spread over a number of days, and for a short period before the election, campaigning should be prohibited.

All parties should be prohibited from using government funds and property for political purposes.

The panel, chaired by US attorney Charles Ruff, recommended that the Goldstone commission's role be expanded so it could investigate serious incidents of political misconduct during elections.

During the next week the commission will hear responses to the panel's report.

SABC board picks Casaburri as chairman

THE new SABC board ended months of uncertainty and confusion yesterday by electing educationist Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri as its new chairman.

Last night the board, with Casaburri at the helm, announced a number of decisions, including the retention of incumbent CEO Wynand Harmse.

Casaburri has served as acting chairman since Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber chairman Van Zyl Slabbert turned down his appointment by President F W de Klerk two months ago.

And two members of the new board who

LLOYD COUTTS

were appointed after intervention in the selection process by De Klerk, Peninsula Technikon rector Franklin Sonn and former KaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza, withdrew their resignations and were reappointed yesterday.

De Klerk has approved Casaburri's appointment, and the vice-chairmanship of Colin Hickling, an incumbent who served on the previous board.

Casaburri announced after the board's third meeting that the corporation's editorial code was to be revised and publicised, and that an ombudsman to address criticism of the SABC's news coverage was to be appointed.

She also announced the formation of a steering committee to devise criteria for the judgment of voter education material broadcast by the SABC.

She said the board had unanimously agreed that political parties should have open access to the SABC during the run-up to next year's election.

Casaburri announced a programme of

□ To Page 2

SABC

affirmative action at the SABC.

Priority would be given to black people in filling top and middle management posts falling vacant in the next 18 months. She said due regard would be given to merit and development of potential skills.

"Understudies other than white should be placed in additional posts where feasible. Management should identify and indicate where these understudies can be put into operation almost immediately."

The new chairman confirmed, however, that a moratorium on hiring would remain in place.

Casaburri said the board had decided to retain Harmse — whose contract expires

in September — since changes at the SABC were well under way, and also in view of the workload facing the corporation before the election.

The chairman originally chosen by the selection panel, University of the North principal Njabulo Ndebele, yesterday withdrew his nomination after voting on the issue of the chairmanship yesterday had indicated "a definite preference".

"It seemed to me that I would be contributing to the unity of the board and facilitating its work if I did not make myself available for the position of chairperson," he said.

He said he fully supported its decision.

□ From Page 1

Three killed as police battle armed mourners at Katlehong funeral

THREE people were shot dead in a half-hour gun battle with police during a Katlehong funeral procession yesterday after weapons were found concealed in one of the vehicles.

Police said they stopped a minibus, driven by a man dressed as a priest, and found two hand grenades and two pistols. When gunmen in the 7 000-strong crowd opened fire from three directions, police returned fire, killing three people.

Mourners in the procession, to bury five victims of last weekend's violence, scattered for cover. Medical workers said 10

people were wounded. Two people were arrested for the illegal possession of arms.

Yesterday's deaths bring to at least 132 the number of people killed on the East Rand since Friday. Police also found 16 more bodies in Katlehong and Tembisa.

Strong measures to protect policemen in townships were announced last night. Lt-Gen Johan Swart told SABC-TV that light machine guns were being mounted on all patrol vehicles. "We are fed up with the murder of policemen. We will not hesitate to respond with full force against anyone who fires at police."

LLOYD COUTTS

Sapa reports that Swart said "substantially" more police would be sent into the East Rand. Soldiers were being called in to help with around-the-clock operations.

He warned residents that anyone sheltering those involved in violence was "playing with fire" and could be killed in security force retaliatory actions.

The townships continued to burn yesterday as youths manning barricades fought running battles with police and groups of attackers set houses alight.

The Natalspruit Hospital joint operations centre said corpses littered the townships. Some had been necklaced.

Security forces, civic and political organisations met at the joint operations centre to discuss the violence.

Police vehicles were stoned and petrol bombed in Tembisa. Eight men were arrested and four hand guns confiscated.

The multiparty negotiating council cancelled a visit to Tembisa because of the violence. Calling on all to unite in restoring peace, the council said: "This senseless carnage, this brutal madness must stop."

ANC president Nelson Mandela is to visit the area today. On his arrival back in SA yesterday, he said he planned to meet President F W de Klerk and senior SADF and SAP officials soon.

Meanwhile the embattled township of Katlehong was plunged into further crisis yesterday with the announcement that maintenance services had been cut off because of the rent and services boycott.

The Greater Germiston joint council said roads, and the water supply and stormwater systems, would not be maintained.

□ To Page 2

Katlehong

□ From Page 1

tained. While water would be supplied where pipes were intact and the sewerage system would operate, no maintenance would be undertaken. The same would apply to the electricity network and municipal buildings, although the Katlehong cemetery would continue operating.

"These measures are harsh and were decided on with great reluctance. The financial realities resulting from the failure of the community to pay for their

services leaves us no alternatives.

"Should payment for services that are still rendered, such as water, not be made by the whole community, the continued supply thereof may also be placed in jeopardy," the council said.

□ THEO RAWANA reports that Eskom yesterday invited black businessmen in the PWV to a meeting to set up a structure to help stop the violence, Eskom public affairs senior GM Bongani Khumalo said.

BUSINESS DAY, THURSDAY 05 AUGUST 1993

□□□□

Dear Sir,
WITH the help of three hostile inter-
viewers John Bishop set out to cruci-
fy Mangosuthu Buthelezi in his Agen-
da programme. What a shocker.

Bishop's interviews don't come
anywhere near the high standards
set by Freek Robinson.

Bishop should attend a Toast-
master course to learn to listen, his
manners need brushing up, he is an
incompetent chairman — everyone
was butting in and interrupting
Buthelezi. The only gentleman in the
group was Buthelezi who came out
trumps.

DALMAIN UNTIED
Bedfordview

COMMENT

More haste

LAST week we were handed a partial draft constitution which attempted to fudge the most important constitutional question facing South Africa — the powers and functions of regions. Next, another half-baked, ill-considered draft Bill of Rights was tabled at the World Trade Centre.

And on Monday, the demarcation commission presented a regional map and a report which one commissioner — who has no particular axe to grind — declared herself unable to sign. Her reason? The package had not been properly debated and discussed, either within the commission or with the people of South Africa who will have to live with the new boundary lines for decades to come. The reaction of the various parties bore out her assertion that the proposal was effectively a National Party/ANC compromise which ignored all other views.

The more hyperbolic commentators who attribute these developments to something like an old-fashioned communist plot designed to ensure the centralisation of untrammelled power are probably wide of the mark. For one thing, trade unions have been as alarmed about the Bill of Rights' potential effect on collective bargaining as has the Democratic Party about its effect on property rights. And both the ANC and NP have proved pliable when the shortcomings of technical reports have been raised. Excessive haste and expediency,

rather than conspiracy, would seem to be the explanation.

But that makes the situation no less ominous when it comes to possible consequences. Partial solutions, which could easily cause the implosion of a future South Africa, are being thrust upon us in the rush to meet the April 27 election deadline. The haste is due to a not altogether irrational perception that an election is an essential part of the recipe to end the violence. This is a real consideration. But it cannot be the only one. If haste overrides all other considerations, the longer-term consequences could be more deadly and difficult to deal with than the present violence.

An unsatisfactory resolution of the regional powers question is a recipe for civil war; sloppy finalisation of regional boundaries could hamstring regional economies and create eternal border disputes; and a simplistic property rights clause in a Bill of Rights will destroy confidence — either of property owners or of the dispossessed. The solution will have to be a compromise between their conflicting interests.

South Africa's transition is proving more complicated than anyone thought it would be. It needs to be carried out as speedily as possible, but also thoroughly. However heretical it may seem, it may be necessary to delay the election by a few months. If we have an efficiently operating transitional executive council in place, those extra months could prevent years of anguish.

Consensus: New guidelines

Sapa and
Angela Quintal

THE multi-party negotiating council yesterday reaffirmed the decision-making concept of sufficient consensus and has adopted a set of guidelines for its future application.

However, senior KwaZulu Government negotiator, Dr Ben Ngubane, rejected the guidelines as meaningless.

The council was presented with a report by a special ad hoc committee appointed to investigate the concept after it triggered disputes which subsequently gave rise to legal actions challenging key decisions.

The report found there was no need to change the council's standing rules which provide for decisions being made by sufficient consensus.

Listing complaints against its application, the ad hoc committee recommended that a flexible procedure be formulated to guide chairmen in coming to a decision.

Stressing the need for a constructive negotiating spirit among parties and noting the concerns of parties for the avoidance of filibustering and majoritarianism, the committee recommended procedural guidelines to manage council meetings, and to create mechanisms for consensus and possible time-frames.

The proposals focus on:

- Following standing rules proposals for ad-

journments for informal discussion, setting up technical committees and allowing time for participants to consult their principals;

- An ad hoc committee charged with responsibility to bridge differences;

- Bilateral talks under the guidance of the planning committee, including one or more members of a relevant technical committee, and

- Similar structures for multilateral discussions.

The proposals were welcomed by all parties, which said they were an improvement that would lead to consistency in decisions at the council.

Mr Joe Slovo (South African Communist Party) was the first to react and said that in the spirit of offering an olive

branch (to the Inkatha Freedom Party and Conservative Party absentees) he believed the whole process should be determined by the concept of inclusivity.

"We should ignore what is happening elsewhere, in other forums and in the courts," he said.

Dr Ngubane, however, said the Negotiation Council's reaffirmation of the decision-making concept of sufficient consensus, and its adoption of a set of guidelines for its future application, had not addressed the IFP's concerns.

"We welcome anything that will resolve the crisis, but then it will have to be meaningful", he added.

What was contained in yesterday's guidelines were already provided for in the council's standing rules.

Funeral gun battle

FROM PAGE 1

had gathered to mourn five victims of weekend violence that added at least 124 dead to a sharp upsurge of killing since Black and White leaders a month ago set a date for the country's first post-apartheid election.

Shooting broke out when police searched a minibus which was part of the funeral procession and found two handgrenades and two pistols.

Witnesses said the officers came under heavy fire from three sides and hit back with rifles, handguns and stun grenades.

Mourners scattered for cover amid deafening gunfire from automatic weapons and exploding stun grenades.

Police said that following the confiscation of the firearms, police found two AK47 rifles, a crossbow and a pistol.

All 14 passengers of the minibus were arrested. The driver was a man dressed in clerical garb, police said.

Militant Black youths threw up street barricades and lobbed petrol bombs at police patrolling in armoured cars.

Police spokesman, Capt Wikus Weber, said officers on the scene reported sporadic attacks by youths in Kaitshong, Tokoza and Tembisa late yesterday.

"They're putting up barricades, stoning police and throwing petrol bombs, but none of our chaps have been hurt," he said.

Representatives from the security forces, political and church organisations and peace structures met at the joint operations control centre in Kaitshong yesterday afternoon.

Held under the auspices of the Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat, the meeting discussed violence on the East Rand, police deployment and action.

Twenty-two people have died since Tuesday morning and at least 115

since the weekend in clashes in the area between security forces, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress, and at the hands of gangsters.

An SAP spokesman said the most recently-recovered corpses had bullet and burn wounds, and several people appeared to have been killed by the "necklace" method.

Police in Tembisa had encountered 21 incidents of stone-throwing, 21 petrol bombs, four firearm attacks and one hand-grenade attack in the previous 24 hours.

More than 100 bodies were yesterday unclaimed in East Rand mortuaries and an appeal was made to families to identify them.

The streets of Kaitshong and Tokoza were barricaded and littered with burnt-out cars yesterday.

The 26-member multi-party Negotiating Council on yesterday expressed shock and outrage at the carnage in East Rand townships.

"This senseless carnage, this brutal madness must stop," the council declared in a statement.

"We call on our people to unite in restoring peace. Surely, we want a South Africa in which our people can live free, proud and united in peace now and for the future," the statement... pronounced. — Sapa.

EC110

5/8/93

Where one can get killed just for talking Zulu

IN response to your call on Natalians to voice their preference on the issue of a federal or unitary state for our country (*Echo*, July 22, 1993). Firstly, I would like to say that your call is disadvantaged by the fact that *Echo* is mainly read by blacks who, because of apartheid history, right now lack the necessary background and expertise to pronounce constructively on this matter.

Most of all though, I would like to shoot down your thinly veiled support for a unitary state as a solution for this country's diverse population, and your implied problems should we opt for an independent Natal — which is not the issue here.

As for the latter, Natal was an independent dominion under British rule before it merged with the so-called Republic of the Transvaal, Free State and the Cape. It was never threatened by being isolated as you seem to imply. Other reasons:

1. The collusion of the ANC with the Nationalists, both of which organisations can never be trusted because of their past records on democracy and human rights; never mind their deceptive pronouncements on multiparty democracy. If you are civilised enough to look deep into their history you will agree with me that only a federal constitution will protect the Zulus from being persecuted from Pretoria at the hands of the Nationalists whose agenda of the independent bantustans had been rejected outright by the Zulus who were also hated for flying the ANC colours while this organisation was banned.

2. On the other hand, the present elusive ANC hate the Zulu core for cold-shouldering it; especially Inkatha for refusing to play the 1983 UDF game in making South Africa ungovernable for its own power-hungry objectives which has been the reason for the ANC to declare a deadly confrontation with Inkatha over the years up until now.

This conflict was started by the Transkei Xhosa elite, Indian and communist whites although clearly against the ethics and democratic nature of the ANC founding principles. Remember that the ANC was founded by us Zulus to further our struggle into the outside world before it fell into the wrong hands of opportunists.

Do you still believe Zulus and the rest of South Africa believe the unison song sung by the two organisations? Not when you like it.

3. If the present ANC cares for the Zulus, its leaders must cease to keep on saying they want to meet our King and when our King agrees they start pre-

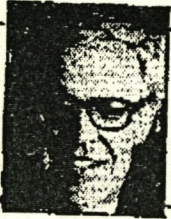
scribing where they want our King to meet them and where they do not want our King to meet them.

4. I am well travelled, go to the ANC strongholds now in the Transvaal and simply speak Zulu, you will come back a corpse. You do not dare go into their stongholds unannounced, you go there as a permissive and a good boy Zulu. Even cars with Natal registration numbers dare not simply go into there, ANC or IFP driven. I am talking about the grassroot reaction here. You have never heard the present ANC speak against that. They have justified their silence on the ground that here in Natal we have Zulu fighting Zulu, people die, and there is no truth in that the main thing now is that all Zulus are hated by the ANC/SACP alliance. The Zulus that are with these people are themselves sell-outs, you distinguish them by their anti-Zulu rhetoric and they even stone buses that transport people to where our King is speaking to his subjects.

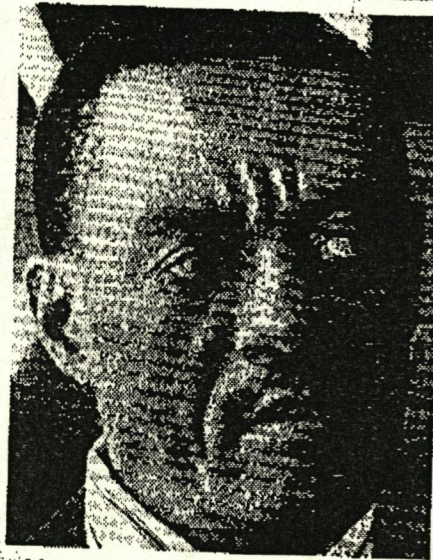
If, Mr Editor, you think I am wrong, do this: approach Jeff Hadebe, Blade Nzimande, Jacob Zuma and even ou Midlands (Crocodile rider) himself to go to predominantly Xhosa-speaking Soweto or Eastern Transvaal townships and only speak their Zulu in any street unannounced. They will get out of there as corpses, whether ANC, Inkatha or simply neutral. The licence for them to be killed is Zulu speaking.

Yes, under a federal state or constitution we will have nothing much to worry about. We shall be doing the day-to-day business of governing ourselves under a federal structure, as opposed to the unitary option, as usually paraded by the Zulu detractors.

ENOCH KHUMALO
Plessislaer



Pattern of Politics
By HERMANN
GILIOME



MR MANGOPE: Powerful alliance
with white farmers.



DR BUTHELEZI: Growing claims
to political autonomy.

THE proposal that post-apartheid South Africa should comprise nine regions signals as much a return to history as a different future. Although the commission based its recommendations mainly on technocratic criteria, the heavy hand of our history is all too visible in the demarcation.

Our future will be shaped more by this burden of history than the smart constitutional tricks contemplated by the negotiating parties. One of the most provocative contributions to the post-Cold War intellectual debate was Francis Fukuyama's 1989 essay *The End of History* and the follow-up book *The End of History and the Last Man* (Free Press, 1992).

Fukuyama boldly proclaimed that history has ended. Since the demise of fascism and communism, there is no ideology with universal pretensions that could even remotely challenge the ascendancy of liberal democracy resting as it does on democratisation and economic liberalisation.

Another state

In South Africa, too, there is a pervasive sense among both whites and blacks that history has finally ended. The chapter of white rule is irrevocably closed and the land is becoming African in the full sense of the word.

Liberal optimists still cling to the vision of political democratisation and economic liberalisation; pessimists (they would call themselves realists) see us becoming just another African state, bogged down in stagnation and corruption with very little new history happening.

But Fukuyama's thesis, as applied both to the world at large and South Africa, may be incorrect. Ideological rivalry has ended and, even in South Africa, leaders will continue to pay at least lip service to liberal democracy as the only respectable ideolo-

gy. But history is not ending; indeed, we see all over the world a lot of history returning.

In a widely discussed *Foreign Affairs* article, Samuel Huntington argues that the post-Cold War would revert to the clash of civilisations, particularly between Christianity and Islam, which originated many centuries ago but which was long suppressed by Western imperialism and the Cold War. (It is now generally accepted that Turkey will never be a member of the EC. The main reason? It is not a Christian country.)

History has also been returning in another way. Next to democratisation and economic liberalisation, the main universal trend of recent times is the political disintegration of multinational states.

Federal system the best antidote to secession

Under its impact 15 new states appeared in the old Soviet Union, two in Czechoslovakia and four in Yugoslavia.

Explosive forces

There is a link between the processes of democratisation and political disintegration — nationalism. Despite our fondest hopes, democracy does not really rest on the rational foundation of individual rights and a constitution but on the notion of national self-determination.

The very basis of democracy is in fact the claim *we the people*: in essence a collective claim based on race, culture or some other communal identity. In South Africa are contained the same explosive forces that in other multi-ethnic countries led to disintegration.

It is true that all the main contending parties support the idea of building a non-racial nation. Such a commitment, however, is confronted with powerful contenders — dressed in a nationalist garb. They maintain that because of past entrepreneurial performance or historic discrimination the nation as defined by them has the right to determine the future. Herein lies the road to secession.

White parties

That South Africa could break up is not a far-fetched idea. South Africa as a political entity has existed for only 80 years. Union in 1910 only became possible because the imperial power had the vision of a single white-dominated state and could hold the ring until a settlement was achieved.

Subsequently it was held together by the Witwatersrand hub which produces more than half the national output and by white parties united behind the idea of maintaining centralised control.

But the ballgame might soon change fundamentally. If the

National Party and Inkatha feel themselves squeezed out at the centre or if the centre becomes paralysed they could pursue a quite different notion of national self-determination in the regions where they have strongest support.

Of course an ANC-led government will try to stop this but its military, financial, and ideological resources will fall far short of those which enabled whites to control the centralised state for so long.

Unless a government of national unity smoothly eases us into a new state, South Africa will return to the 19th century era when across the sub-continent a stalemate existed between whites and blacks, one that was only ended in white favour by the power and might of the British empire.

Depending on developments over the short to medium term, our whole conception of history might change. The Great Trek might come to be seen as an over-extension of Afrikaner resources only made possible by a temporary set-back in African fortunes as a result of the Difaqane.

The "imperial" control by Afrikaners of the land across the Orange River will be seen as having lasted only 160 years — slightly longer than the French lasted in Algeria.

In the present Cape Province, history will in fact return to 1811 when the Xhosa effectively occupied the land up to the Sundays River. In that year a British-led army pushed the Xhosa back over the Fish River.

The heartland of the descendants of Khoi-san peoples and white burghers will become the present western and north-western regions — as it was before 1830. (The fact that property prices in Cape Town are higher than that in the richest city, Johannesburg, surely tells a story, as R.W. Johnson observed at a recent conference).

The area north of the Orange will of course increasingly become under de facto and de jure African control, as was the case before 1830, but a crucial factor will, as in the second half of the last century, be the strategic alliances that segments of the Zulu and Tswana peoples can forge with white farmers, entrepreneurs and officials.

Alliances

Such alliances with white farmers already appear to bolster the position of leaders such as Dr Buthelezi and Mr Mangope. Should these alliances become real power bases, one can see a disaffected Western Transvaal and Natal region developing growing claims to political autonomy. As in the 19th century, this could lead to partition.

Against such a secessionist scenario there will be those who will argue that the regions will remain locked in because they are all vitally dependent on the wealth generated on the Witwatersrand.

This may be true but it should be remembered that imports and exports amount to about two-thirds of South Africa's GDP and that the parties which control Durban and Cape Town hold powerful bargaining chips against the centre.

As in the late 19th century, control over the ports could become a main issue in our politics.

All such speculations are, of course, frightfully politically incorrect. There is nothing inevitable about the return of history. But for the centralisers at the World Trade Centre it would be good to remember that a well-functioning federal system is the best antidote to secession.

Otherwise a lot of history may still happen to South Africa.

□ Professor Giliomee teaches in the Department of Political Studies at UCT.

COMMENT & OPINION

On noise and the real issues

THE CACOPHONY of ill-informed comment and political tomfoolery that followed the absence of the Inkatha Freedom Party from the talks at the World Trade Centre almost completely obscured the real issues at stake.

But slowly this week serious analysts and even some of the delegates at the talks have begun to realise that the flaws in the process detected by the IFP were valid. Even the acerbic Ken Owen, who quite recently launched a bitter personal attack against the IFP leader, has since been compelled to confess to a reluctant sympathy for the attitude of the IFP.

Shorn of legal technicalities a constitution is nothing more than a compact or agreement between all the forces in a society. A constitution merely serves as the formal and public expression of a long-term political solution to the problems of the country.

Ideally such an agreement should be hammered out by and to the satisfaction of all genuine political tendencies in any country. Everyone must be in favour of the system of government in their country, even if they differ on many political and economic issues.

What then is wrong with the process at Kempton Park? The basic flaw is that many delegates imagine that the talks at Kempton Park represent, not the scene for a lasting political agreement, but as another "arena of struggle".

If one or more of the participants in a cons-

titutional conference regard the proceedings as a battle of wits or a tactical arena for conducting a struggle for power, those proceedings will be fatally flawed.

Some of the participants at Kempton Park thought they were engaged in finding lasting solutions to political and constitutional problems that have plagued South Africa for centuries.

Others saw Kempton Park as the scene for temporary expedients and compromises along the road to an eventual power-sharing arrangement or a one-party seizure of power. Hence the mutual incomprehension at each others proposals.

Those looking for a complete constitution that represented the permanent political solution following the end of apartheid found themselves confronted by others who thought such a politi-

cal solution would follow after an election for a constituent assembly.

One side called for guarantees against abuse of power by the executive, the other called for everything to be left to an elected constituent assembly.

The guarantees against abuse of centralised power include a federal system; multi-party democracy; a bill of rights; the right of recourse to an independent judiciary; constitutional principles and democratic mechanisms for amendment of the constitution.

These were the demands the IFP presented at Codesa and now at the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum.

The opponents of democratic and constitutional guarantees against abuse of centralised power argue that nothing permanent or lasting can be negotiated or agreed by the total political spectrum in the country.

For them nothing must be decided until after the elections for a government and a constituent assembly.

Having fought vociferously against the idea of the present government being both player and referee, they want everyone to accept the idea of a government being player and referee after an election.

All the guarantees sought are to be postponed until after the elections. Any constitution drafted now must contain temporary boundaries, powers and functions of states; a bill of rights "for the transition"; a complicated deadlock-breaking mechanism, which

amounts to a constitution adopted by a 51% majority; temporary everything except the vague constitutional principles, which could mean all things to all men.

As for recourse to the courts, this week has seen a veritable furore against anyone daring to approach the courts of law for relief. What value exists in a guarantee that relies on the interpretations of a constitutional court if merely approaching a court attracts such violent reactions.

As Abe Lincoln remarked "You can fool all the people some of the time, but you can't fool all of the people all of the time".

The conjurer's trick being attempted at Kempton Park will not succeed. Instead it is leading to mistrust and tension. The sooner there is a return to genuine negotiations, equality, reciprocity and mutual respect the sooner we will find a long-lasting solution to the problems of South Africa.

Inkatha promises to rejoin talks

THE Inkatha Freedom Party will rejoin talks within two weeks following a series of behind-the-scenes meetings with government, the ANC and the Concerned South Africans Group.

At a news conference after yesterday's day-long meeting with the ANC, Inkatha chief executive officer Joe Matthews said "after a few more bilaterals we will be back" at the negotiating table. It is believed that Inkatha will return in about two weeks.

Inkatha is to meet government today. ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday's meeting had been "very fruitful". The parties had clarified their positions on constitutional matters

BILLY PADDOCK

and identified each other's concerns.

"We formed a three-a-side subcommittee on constitutional issues that will start meeting in a day or two, and set up further bilaterals, possibly next week," he said.

The two parties also set up a committee on violence to look at establishing a peace-keeping force.

"Both parties are acutely aware of the urgency to address constitutional matters as the process has to move forward quickly. I am hopeful that the bilaterals will enhance the process and lead to Inkatha rejoining the talks soon," Ramaphosa said.

□ To Page 2

Inkatha

The delegations discussed regional powers but neither party was prepared to comment. Sufficient consensus was not discussed as Inkatha maintained the matter was sub judice.

However, it appears that Inkatha might be happy with the newly defined terms of sufficient consensus adopted unanimously by the negotiating council yesterday.

On Tuesday Cosag, which includes Inkatha and the KwaZulu government, said it was in agreement on the issue of sufficient consensus. All the Cosag parties, including Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, had agreed on a committee report which pointed the way forward.

The negotiating council adopted the report and agreed that the planning committee should ensure its terms were upheld and adhered to.

□ From Page 1

The report states that differences have to be identified clearly. If alternative formulations of issues were not satisfactory, mechanisms to bridge the differences had to be used to achieve consensus or sufficient consensus. These mechanisms included adjournments to enable parties to hold informal discussions and allowing time to consult principals.

The council yesterday also allowed time for parties to ask the regional demarcation commission to clarify questions on the proposed nine regions.

No discussion took place as debate on the report starts on Monday. But it was clear that most parties were not happy with the demarcation report and difficulties were likely to arise over the northern, western and eastern Cape regions.

IFP hijacked Zulu king's meetings

The recent two Imbizo meetings called by His Majesty King Goodwill Zwelithini — one in Durban and one in the FNB Stadium — were intended to be non-political as His Majesty indicated.

But probably because of Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha the meetings turned into an IFP political platform.

As a result of this the king

was placed at a very difficult position.

Maybe, as a way out of this political quagmire, the king will have to abdicate as his position might be a hindrance to his political desires.

This would also help to bring KwaZulu into the modern world of multipartyism... which seems to be absent from Inkatha's domain.

There is no room for a dictatorship. Another fear to be allayed is that an ANC government would rob other people of their cultures.

Zulus will go on with their "Ndlamu", Xhosas with their "Mxhentso", Sothos with their "Mehobelo" and Boere with their folkdances.

Wilson B Ngcayiya
Orlando West

THE DAILY NEWS 5 AUGUST 1993

IFP and ANC to try to bridge differences

Kempton Park: The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the African National Congress have agreed to set up sub-committees on constitutional issues and on violence in an effort to bridge their differences and pave the way for the IFP's return to multiparty negotiations.

At a meeting yesterday, the ANC and IFP said much progress had been made. IFP negotiator Joe Matthews intimated his party might return to the multiparty talks soon:

"We are having such wonderful bilaterals that so much progress is being made, and we might be able —

sooner or later — to return to negotiations."

The IFP — which walked out of the July 2 Negotiating Forum meeting which formally adopted April 27 next year as the date for South Africa's first non-racial election — has been engaged in a series of bilateral meetings with the Government.

At yesterday's meeting the ANC and the IFP discussed a wide range of issues — except for the decision-making principle of "sufficient consensus" over which the KwaZulu gov-

Political Staff

ernment has taken negotiators to court.

Negotiating parties still in the process yesterday unanimously accepted a report fleshing out the way they would take decisions.

But conspicuous by their absence at the debate were the IFP and Conservative Party, who walked out of talks on July 2 because of the way "sufficient consensus" was applied.

The most significant response yesterday was the approval given the report by the IFP's Concerned South

Africans Group (Cosag) allies.

The Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments and the Afrikaner Volk-sunie were among those who approved the report, allowing chairman Luwellyn Landers to rule that it had been accepted by "general consensus" — unanimous approval.

Bophuthatswana negotiator Rowan Cronje described the report as an "important step forward".

While the report did not change the standing rules for chairmen on how to decide whether "sufficient consensus" had been reached, it did "provide clear guidelines to chairmen".

FOR MONTHS months, nay years, we have been regaled with high-sounding declarations on the need for an independent and impartial judiciary as the ultimate safeguard of the rights of citizens. The Bill of Rights was to be more than a declaration. Everyone had to learn the awkward pronunciation of the word "justiciable".

The fundamental freedoms contained in any constitution had to be justiciable. Not only must the right to approach the courts be clearly enunciated in the Bill of Rights, but the means must be found to enable all citizens, rich and poor, to seek redress from the courts of law.

But what happens in reality? No sooner had the KwaZulu government announced its intention to approach the courts to examine the meaning of sufficient consensus and the way it had been interpreted by chairpersons of the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum when a veritable storm of undemocratic and intolerant atti-

tudes emerged from under the human rights veneer.

How dare they approach the courts? "They will be laughed out of court" "This is not the way to conduct negotiations". This is a waste of taxpayers money" - this last from some people who never pay taxes directed at those who

You have been warned

do.

The obscene comments aimed at discouraging aggrieved persons from recourse to the courts of law is nothing new in our country. Under the apartheid regime everything was done to limit and confine the right of persons to approach the courts of law. There is a vast paraphernalia of laws to that effect in our statute books. What is

disturbing is to find the same tyrannical attitude evinced by the erstwhile victims of apartheid.

Will the new South Africa amount to the substitution of one tyranny by another? Will the courts, especially the proposed Constitutional court, be the real bastion of freedom that is intended? Or will any attempt to apply for redress to the court be

accompanied by threats of dire consequences from a future government and its supporters.

The KwaZulu application to court has unwittingly lifted the veil on some deep-seated almost primeval atavistic attitudes to the role of the courts in the defence of human rights. The public of South Africa has been warned.

A tarnished image

Mr Gordon Haygarth is a fine administrator and has striven hard to serve not only the (white) people of Durban, but, latterly people of all races living in the greater Durban area.

What a pity that he has allowed himself to be used as a pawn by State President de Klerk. Mr de Klerk had already acted as party-political functionary in the service of the National Party by appointing two extra MECs in Natal. When Peter Miller left to join the IFP, he sought to minimise the damage to his party by appointing a high profile administrator to replace him. Accepting the appointment was bad enough. By joining the National Party to boot Gordon Haygarth has tarnished his image.

Consensus: New guidelines

Sapa and
Angela Quintal

THE multi-party negotiating council yesterday reaffirmed the decision-making concept of sufficient consensus and has adopted a set of guidelines for its future application.

However, senior KwaZulu Government negotiator, Dr Ben Ngubane, rejected the guidelines as meaningless.

The council was presented with a report by a special ad hoc committee appointed to investigate the concept after it triggered disputes which subsequently gave rise to legal actions challenging key decisions.

The report found there was no need to change the council's standing rules which provide for decisions being made by sufficient consensus.

Listing complaints against its application, the ad hoc committee recommended that a flexible procedure be formulated to guide chairmen in coming to a decision.

Stressing the need for a constructive negotiating spirit among parties and noting the concerns of parties for the avoidance of filibustering and majoritarianism, the committee recommended procedural guidelines to manage council meetings, and to create mechanisms for consensus and possible time-frames.

The proposals focus on:

- Following standing rules proposals for ad-

journments for informal discussion, setting up technical committees and allowing time for participants to consult their principals;

- An ad hoc committee charged with responsibility to bridge differences;

- Bilateral talks under the guidance of the planning committee, including one or more members of a relevant technical committee, and

- Similar structures for multilateral discussions.

The proposals were welcomed by all parties, which said they were an improvement that would lead to consistency in decisions at the council.

Mr Joe Slovo (South African Communist Party) was the first to react and said that in the spirit of offering an olive branch (to the Inkatha Freedom Party and Conservative Party absentees) he believed the whole process should be determined by the concept of inclusivity.

"We should ignore what is happening else-

where, in other forums and in the courts," he said.

Dr Ngubane, however, said the Negotiation Council's reaffirmation of the decision-making concept of sufficient consensus, and its adoption of a set of guidelines for its future application, had not addressed the IFP's concerns.

"We welcome anything that will resolve the crisis, but then it will have to be meaningful", he added.

What was contained in yesterday's guidelines were already provided for in the council's standing rules.

According to Dr Ngubane, the KwaZulu Government and the IFP would continue with discussions to pave their return to the negotiating table.

It is understood that a further bilateral meeting will be held with the government today.

In a further development, the IFP yesterday met the African National Congress to solve the impasse which led to the IFP walkout.

Report passed by 'general consensus'

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

Negotiating parties yesterday unanimously accepted a report showing how decisions should be taken.

The parties who walked out on July 2 were conspicuous by their absence for a Negotiating Council debate on the ad hoc committee's report on sufficient consensus — meaning enough support to accept a decision.

The IFP and KwaZulu government — which took the issue to the Supreme Court — have yet to return to the forum.

In their absence, the most significant response to the report was the approval given to it by the IFP's Concerned South Africans Group partners who had not joined the walkout.

The Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments

and the Afrikaner Volksunie were among those who approved the report, allowing chairman Luwellyn Landers to rule that it had been accepted by "general consensus" — unanimous approval.

The debate had begun with SACP negotiator Joe Slovo offering an olive branch to those who had rejected the way the principle of sufficient consensus had been applied.

He said no single party should be allowed to "immobilise" the process, adding that "no party, however powerful, should act in a way which rides roughshod over the views of participants".

Besides procedures already provided for in the standing rules, the report suggested that ad hoc committees could be created to look at ways of bridging differences.

IFP and ANC try for accord

By Kalzer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

The Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC have agreed to set up sub-committees on constitutional issues and on violence in an effort to bridge their differences and pave the way for the IFP's return to multiparty negotiations.

At a meeting held at a hotel close to the World Trade Centre yesterday, the ANC and the IFP said much progress had been made, and IFP executive officer and chief negotiator Joe Matthews intimated his party might return to the multiparty talks soon.

"We are having such wonderful bilaterals that so much progress is being made and we might be able to return to negotiations," he said.

However, Matthews would not give any indication of how soon the party might return.

He said his party was "mindful of deadlines in negotiations and it hoped the next session of Parliament will make movement in a certain direction".

However, the leader of the IFP, Chief Mangosuthu Buthele-

zi, took a stern line in Ulundi yesterday.

He warned of civil war if the draft Interim Constitution were adopted and criticised the United States for interfering in South Africa's domestic affairs, Sapa reports.

He said the US would be held accountable if civil war broke out as a result of the ANC "getting its way" at the talks.

The IFP leader accused the US government of wanting a political settlement at any price and warned this could "thrust this country into civil war".

Buthelezi was addressing US Consul-General Bismarck Myrick at a function in Ulundi marking the end of his term of office in Durban.

On the future constitution, Buthelezi said bluntly: "There shall not be a unitary state.

"There shall not be a constituent assembly to write a new constitution."

Regional powers, boundaries and structures should be finalised before elections, he demanded.

● Passed by "general consensus" — Page 6

Regions plan sets scene for anxious, bitter debate

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

The opening exchanges in what is shaping up to be a bitter debate on the country's nine new regions were fired in the Negotiating Council yesterday.

Chairman Pravin Ghordan had to repeatedly remind negotiators that "political questions" could be raised in a debate on the commission's report scheduled for Monday.

Parties, mostly putting questions reflecting regional interests, raised queries on the boundaries of every one of the nine regions.

These included:

- Why Pretoria, Sasolburg, part of Bophuthatswana and Kwa-Ndebele were to be included in the PWV region.
- Why the Kruger National Park was divided between the Eastern Transvaal and Northern Transvaal, and what authority would administer it.
- Why the East Griqualand

area was included in the Eastern Cape region and not in KwaZulu/Natal.

- Why an area proposed by the Government encompassing the present Orange Free State, part of the Western Transvaal and Bophuthatswana had been divided into two regions.

- Why the Eastern Cape area recommended by the commission was not divided into Eastern Cape and Border/Kei regions.

- Why the west coast part of the massive but sparsely populated Northern Cape region had not been included in the Western Cape, and

- Several questions from the Afrikaner Volksunie directed at establishing whether cultural considerations had been taken into account when setting the boundaries.

Commission members responded to questions and fleshed out their reasoning, but it was evident that Monday's debate will be far-reaching.

End of national service imminent

By Norman Chandler
Defence Correspondent

The South African Defence Force has taken far-reaching military decisions — ending national service and replacing the SAAF's ageing jet fighters.

The end of conscription is to become reality almost immediately, and the SAAF is looking at new aircraft for its fighter squadrons, the Chief of the Air Force, Lieutenant-General James Kriel, said in Pretoria yesterday.

It is the first definite indication from the SADF that conscription is ending, and Kriel's disclosure, at the Sir Pierre van Ryneveld Air Power Conference, was made in the presence of Deputy Minister of Defence Wynand Breytenbach as well as many top officers.

To emphasise the point, Kriel disclosed that the SAAF had not taken in any conscripts from last month's intake and added: "It is highly unlikely that this source of manpower will be available in future in its present form. New service schemes are being developed."

Answering a question from the floor, Kriel said the first phase in replacing or upgrading the SAAF's 27-year-old Impala light attack aircraft, also used as jet trainers, would probably be in about 1997-1998. By the year 2005 a decision would have been taken on the replacement of fighter aircraft in service with existing squadrons, he said.

Military observers attending the conference told The Star there was a range of internationally tried aircraft which could replace the South African-made Impalas, which first came into service with the

SAAF in 1966. Tipped as a likely successor is the British-built Hawk, suitable as a trainer and for ground attack and limited air defence, and there is speculation that the Hawk could be made under licence in South Africa.

Johannesburg End Conscription Campaign chairman Chris de Villiers said that if the announcement would end the system of a racially based call-up it would be "fantastic", but he added that he had learnt not to be too optimistic when dealing with the defence force.

Democratic Party defence spokesman General Bob Rogers said the scrapping was "a bit belated, but not unexpected", and was something the DP had long been fighting for.

Rogers said the structure of a new defence force needed to be considered now, so that it could be implemented after the election in April.

Surprise appointments of two to the SABC board

By Paul Bell

In two surprise decisions, the SABC board has confirmed Dr Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri as its chairman and appointed as her deputy a member of the old board, Colin Hickling.

The board has also decided to resist pressure for the re-instatement of seven nominees who were rejected by President de Klerk.

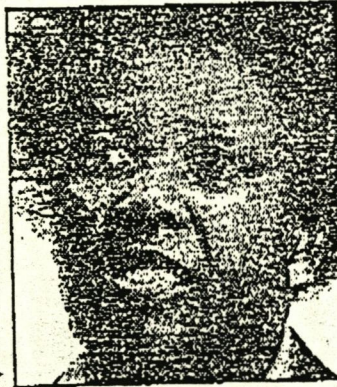
These decisions were relayed yesterday morning to De Klerk, who later approved the two executive appointments.

These, as well as the re-appointment of SABC director-general Wynand Harmse, were announced by Casaburri herself last night. Harmse, whose contract expires next month, will serve another year.

A further extension to his period of office has specifically not been ruled out.

Government sources have privately expressed their satisfaction with the Casaburri-Hickling decision.

Clearly, the appointment of Hickling — a Bloemfontein accountant who is expected to boost the board's financial ex-



Dr Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri
... acting chairman.

pertise — has assured the Government that the board's executive includes the continuity and experience it would have hoped for. Casaburri is understood to have met Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte on Monday.

Casaburri's appointment dashed the expectations of many, including the leadership of the ANC, as well as representations made yesterday to the board by the Campaign for Independent Broadcasting.

The CIB had argued that the

board should try to undo the damage to its credibility by reverting to the original candidate nominated by Mr Justice Ismail Mahomed's selection panel, Professor Njabulo Ndebele. It also recommended the reinstatement of the original seven nominees.

Mollified

The appointments end two months of uncertainty, but may not end the controversy. Although the CIB made no official comment, it was unlikely to be mollified by Casaburri's recognition "of the role the CIB played in establishing the process whereby the board was elected".

Rather, sources close to the CIB expressed surprise at the Casaburri decision, and even incredulity at the appointment of Hickling as deputy.

● The State President has also formally ratified the reappointment to the board of Enos Mabuza and Franklin Sonn, both of whom had been persuaded to reverse their resignations.

● SABC prepares for big day — Page 9



Aftermath . . . families grieve for victims of this week's violence in Kattlehong. The funeral procession later erupted into a shoot out between township residents and police.

Picture: Joao Silva

Huge massing of security forces to crush East Rand violence

Armoured fist called in

Staff Reporters

The SADF has moved heavily armed mechanised and armoured units from the Army Battle School in Bloemfontein and Lohatla into the East Rand townships as part of the largest massing of security forces yet seen in one South African area.

Ratels and Rooikats — armoured vehicles equipped with large calibre machine-guns — left their bases immediately on Government instruction.

More than 1 000 army troops poured into battle-ravaged areas in support of police in a desperate attempt by security forces to restore calm to the area.

In Kattlehong the army was out in force. A huge earthmoving machine manned by the SADF was

You can help

The fighting on the East Rand has left many South Africans refugees in their own country.

You can help with donations made through The Star's Operation Snowball, which will help the victims through the SA Red Cross.

Send cash donations to Operation Snowball at Box 1014, Johannesburg 2000, or deposit clothing and food in the box at The Star, 47 Sauer Street, or any of the Snowball depots in the city.

● Help the victims — Page 2

clearing barricades which have been erected all over the township.

Thousands of angry residents poured into the Huntersfield Stadium in Kattlehong this morning to attend a rally to be addressed by

ANC president Nelson Mandela later today at which he was expected to make a renewed call for calm and peace. The atmosphere at the stadium was electric as the 5 000-strong crowd sang freedom songs and toyi-toyed. The sound of gunfire could be heard from outside the stadium.

The army refused to release details of the force levels, but Parabats were seen manning roadblocks in the townships today.

This drastic new step comes as police again came under heavy fire today as the fighting on the East Rand continued for the sixth day. The death toll, since the weekend is well over 130.

Earlier, Mandela visited the Natalspuit Hospital where he spoke to injured residents and refugees.

Police said they had deployed scores of personnel to clear away the barricades and make policing of the



In the firing line ... peace monitors assist a shooting victim after yesterday's battle in Kattlehong. Picture: Mbuzezi Zulu

riot-torn areas more effective. They said graders were being used to fill in trenches.

The new police moves were being carried out "on Cabinet instructions", police

said.

The latest moves came after yesterday's killing of three people in a gunfight between police and township residents after a funeral pro-

cession for five killed in violence in Kattlehong.

Lieutenant-General Johan Swart said more soldiers would be called in to help the SAP and the number of

policemen deployed in the area would be increased.

He added that police vehicles in the township would be equipped with light machineguns. "We are fed up with the murder of policemen. We will not hesitate to respond with full force against anyone who fires at us," he said.

Yesterday in Kattlehong peace monitors claimed that police had opened fire on the crowd without warning and that the gunfire lasted for 40 minutes. But police said members of the crowd opened fire on them after police had stopped a vehicle and searched it for arms.

SAP spokesman Captain Wikus Weber said police found two grenades and two pistols in the vehicle.

He said while arrests were being made, members of the procession fired on police, who were forced to fire back. Police retrieved two AK-47s, a crossbow and a pistol.

THE CITIZEN, THURSDAY 05 AUGUST 1993

SAP to use machine-guns: Gen

LIGHT machine-guns are to be mounted on police vehicles patrolling volatile East Rand townships, a senior police officer said yesterday.

Lieutenant-General Johan Swart said the machine-guns had become necessary so that policemen could better protect themselves.

"We are fed up with the murder of policemen.

"We will not hesitate to respond with full force against anyone who fires at police."

Gen Swart also announced that the number of policemen in the em-

battled East Rand townships would be increased substantially during the next few days.

He gave no figures, but said soldiers would also be culled in to assist policemen in their attempt to stem the surge of violence.

Round-the-clock operations were being planned, said to Gen Swart.

Strong action would be taken against anyone perpetrating acts of violence, and everything possible

would be done to curtail the possession of illegal weapons.

Gen Swart appealed to

residents in the townships not to give people involved in the violence access to their properties, warning them that they were "playing with fire" and that they could be killed, should the security forces launch retaliatory actions. — Sapa.

THE CITIZEN, THURSDAY 05 AUGUST 1993

Zulus: Do not vote for ANC

I TOTALLY agree with my Zulu brother of embalenhle when he identifies the so-called Third Force as the ANC itself (Massacre: Not the 'Third Force', The Citizen, July 2).

The brutal attacks on Zulus on the East Rand, carried out recently by Xhosa-speaking supporters of the ANC, confirm this observation.

Although the ANC endeavours to show that it is a non-ethnic party, the real facts prove the contrary.

Since its inception in 1912, the ANC has been dominated by Xhosas. It's still very much the case today.

Any Zulu who supports the ANC contributes to the suicide of the Zulu nation. If it gets the power in next year's election, the ANC will, for sure, undermine the self-determination of the proud Zulu nation.

I appeal to all my fellow Zulus not even to think of voting for the ANC. Do you want to become the servants of the Xhosas?

Why replace White domination with Xhosa domination?

REALISTIC ZULU

Kwa Dlangezwa

Hostels cash gathers dust

By Michael Sparks

More than R325 million has been set aside to upgrade hostels, but most of the money had stayed in Government coffers for the past year because of the lack of consensus between hostel dwellers, township residents and political organisations.

Transvaal Hostel Residents Association consultant Sakkie Steyn said the the National Housing Forum's guidelines for spending the money provided by the Government required both wide consultation and broad consensus before hostels could be upgraded.

Stumbling blocks included issues such as the fencing of hostels. Some communities also felt it was unfair that hostel dwellers received preferential treatment.

DAILY TELEGRAPH

LONDON

FIS AUG 1993

Mandela in call for international peace force

By Alec Russell
In Tembisa township

SOUTH Africa's latest violence has triggered calls for new measures, including creating a multi-party force to patrol townships.

As the number of people to have been killed in the East Rand since Sunday reached 154 yesterday, Mr Nelson Mandela, president of the African National Congress, called for an international force.

But, with the Western powers and the United Nations hugely over-burdened, Western diplomats dismissed Mr. Mandela's appeal. "South Africa is on its own," said one.

And the Pretoria Cabinet, which debated an ANC suggestion to form a joint unit from party militias and the security forces, instead of the police, seemed, at most, to back a force of observers.

The situation in Tembisa leaves it agonisingly clear that killings will escalate. The second largest township, it has one police station for 800,000 residents.

Whenever violence erupts, usually between ANC supporters and its mainly-Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party rival, the police are an attractive target.

But there has been no satisfactory response as to why they failed to act on Saturday night, when 200 Zulus randomly shot 30 passers-by.

Yesterday morning the bodies of two young men, shot dead a minute earlier, were laid out in the road.

Residents said it was an ANC revenge killing and that Saturday's massacre followed an ANC gang murdering a Zulu at a bus queue. Then came an Inkatha attack.

At least three people were killed and three wounded when security forces opened fire on a funeral in Katlehong, after coming under fire.

● The jailing for a year of a South African journalist yesterday, for refusing to help police, has again raised questions about the judiciary. Mr Andries Cornelissen, of the *Beeld* newspaper, refused to give details about the ANC Youth League leader, Mr Peter Mokaba, best-known for his chant: "Kill the boer, kill the farmer."

Buthelezi stalls on multi-party moves

Conservative groups stall democracy talks over violence claims

by Rich Mkhondo

SOUTH AFRICA's main black and white conservative groups have ruled out an early return to multi-party negotiations on a non-racial constitution.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the KwaZulu black homeland, told a televised panel discussion that the two groups would return to talks only when a full constitution was on the table.

Asked if they would be at the talks on Wednesday when draft constitutional proposals on regionalism will be debated, he replied: "I don't think so, definitely not... We have asked for a complete constitution."

Buthelezi said the document that had been placed before the talks consisted of only two chapters.

The white, pro-apartheid Conservative Party (CP) said it would not return until, among other things, "acceptable attention" was paid to its demand for white self-rule.

"In view of the serious crisis in which the country finds itself [we] suggest a summit of all acknowledged leaders be called forthwith to bring the negotiations back on track and find an acceptable solution to the deadlock," said the CP, which represents a large proportion of the white population.

The CP, Inkatha and KwaZulu quit the talks on July 2 when

a date in April next year was set for the country's first all-race election.

All three said no date could be set before the form of state had been decided and violence had been curbed. They also objected to the method by which decisions are taken at the talks.

Government ministers met Inkatha officials last week to try to persuade the movement, the main black rival of the African National Congress (ANC), to return to negotiations but were apparently unsuccessful.

Asked what would happen if Inkatha and the CP failed to turn up, ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa said: "The process is too important for anyone to hold it to ransom."

Negotiators are due to debate a draft constitution for a post-apartheid South Africa which political analysts describe as having federal aspects. But the CP and Inkatha have dismissed it as not going far enough in meeting their demands for autonomy.

A pall was thrown over the talks on Sunday evening when black gunmen attacked worshippers in a church in a middle-class white suburb of Cape Town, killing 11 and wounding more than 50.

President FW de Klerk said in Pretoria that the government was giving top priority to reducing the level of violence.

"We must isolate the violent ones and never justify their violence," he told reporters.

Senior ANC official Tokyo Sexwale told a news conference the church raid was the "spectre of something new, a Gorgon that is entering the social fabric of South Africa".

"We are afraid that if we don't come to terms with what has happened, especially in Cape Town, we run the danger of the boat sinking," he said, adding that violence had to be curbed or free and fair elections could not be held.

In the latest violence in black areas, police said six black squatters, three of them children, were killed when a gang raided their camp in Soweto township last week.

The bodies of eight people were found in Katlehong, Tokoza and Daveyton townships east of Johannesburg on Monday night, bringing to nearly 40, the number of people killed in political violence in the three black townships during the past few days.

Two small black radical groups have said they could not understand the outrage expressed at "the killing of only 11 European settlers".

A joint statement by the Pan Africanist Student Organisation and Azanian National Youth Unity said the victims should be treated as casualties of war.

5 AUG 1993

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- 5 AUG 1993

Mandela seeks finance from Taiwan

SOUTH African leader Nelson Mandela arrived in Taiwan on Friday amid concern that his country's first multiracial government, expected to take power next year, could break diplomatic ties with the island.

Mandela, president of the African National Congress (ANC), began a four-day visit to Taiwan at the invitation of the Foreign Ministry. He will meet Taiwanese leaders, including President Lee Teng-hui, and businessmen.

Taiwan has diplomatic ties with only 29 states because of its rivalry with China, which claims sovereignty over the island.

South Africa's white government is one of Taiwan's closest allies, but Taiwanese officials have privately expressed fears of a diplomatic switch after multiracial polls next April, in which the ANC expects to win a majority.

At a news conference, Mandela appealed for Taiwanese and other foreign investment to South Africa. But he declined to commit himself to maintaining diplomatic ties. Taiwan is a major trading partner of South Africa, but China-South Africa trade has always been growing rapidly and the two countries have agreed to swap unofficial representative offices. Mandela visited China last year.

5 AUG 1993

5 AUG 1993

LONDON

10 INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Blow for blow, vow SA police

Reuter in Johannesburg

SOUTH AFRICAN police vowed yesterday to fight fire with fire after officers responding to a township attack killed three people in a gun battle during a funeral near Johannesburg.

"We are fed up with the murder of policemen. We will not hesitate to respond with full force against anyone who fires at police," General Johan Swart told state television, adding that manpower would be increased in the townships, and personnel carriers armed with light machine guns.

Police said they were attacked in Katlehong when they stopped a minibus driven by a man dressed as a priest and found pistols, grenades and other weapons. Witnesses said at least 10 people were wounded.

More than 7,000 people had gathered to mourn five recent victims of township violence.

The ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, said he was arranging a crisis meeting with President F. W. de Klerk.



Mourners bear one of this week's 120 victims of township violence to Katlehong civic centre.

PHOTOGRAPH: PATRICK DE MOIRMENT