

# THE CITIZEN

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Tuesday 26 June 1990

Black against Black  
violence out of control?

By Barry Renfrew

THE daily police reports list the atrocities: nine Black men knifed by a mob, three Black women burned to death, a 9-year-old girl  
â\200\234necklacedâ\200\235 with a burning tyre.

Nearly always, the victims and their killers are Black.

One of the ironies of life in South Africa is that thousands of Blacks die each year fighting other Blacks, instead of apartheid.

At a time when State President Mr F W de Klerk is moving to end White-minority rule, Black-against-Black violence is spinning out of control, some analysts say. A culture of violence is becoming part of South African life, threatening hopes of building a peaceful, democratic society.

The South African Institute of Race Relations estimates 4 000 people will die in Black-against-Black violence this year. About 1400 Blacks died in factional fighting in 1989, according to the institute.

Victims are often hacked to death with knives or spears, the mutilated bodies burned. Dozens have been killed by â\200\234necklacing.â\200\235

Civil war

Some leaders see the threat of a civil war and South Africa becoming another Lebanon.

â\200\234The appalling numbers of people who are dying, it is absolutely shocking,â\200\235 anti-apartheid leader Dr Allan Boesak said in an interview â\200\230â\200\230that is the kind of situation that can lead to the Lebanisation of South Africa.â\200\235

Some Black leaders worry that the growing rivalry among warring Black factions is the pre-

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Dozens have bee

lude to a struggle for power once White rule ends.

Itumeleng Mosala, president of the Azanian Peopleâ\200\231s Organisation, foresees increasing violence between Blacks if apartheid ends.

â\200\234Itâ\200\231s going to continue because violence has a way of repeating itself,â\200\235 he says. â\200\234So, I would say that we are going to see a situation of near civil war in this country.â\200\235

White supporters of apartheid cite Black violence when defending White minority rule. They claim Black-majority rule would precede a massive bloodbath.

White settlers in Kenya and Rhodesia, before it became Zimbabwe, used the same argument in opposing the approach of Black rule in those countries. But while rival Black groups struggled briefly for power after independence, there was little killing and Whites were not singled out for revenge.

The causes of Black vi-

olence in South Africa are many and complex. Reasons include apartheid,

poverty, anti-government struggle, school boycotts, political and ideological rivalry, the collapse of authority, gangs and corruption.

The bloodshed is compounded by old tribal and clan rivalries stretching back over generations.

Part of life

In the squalid Black townships, violence has become a daily part of life for the millions of Blacks forced to compete desperately for survival, say Dr Boesak and others. Caught by hopeless poverty and apartheid laws, violence is one of the few ways for Blacks to vent their anger, they say.

One would have to say that the basic problem here is apartheid, that it has created circumstances in which violence became not only the norm, but the almost natural action and reaction, Dr Boesak says.

In the early 1980s, the African National Congress, called for a programme of destabilisation

n killed by necklacing

to make the country ungovernable and undermine the White government. Young Blacks became the spearhead, demonstrating, attacking police and boycotting schools.

Local administration and control were undermined in many Black townships. Blacks seen as government collaborators, including Black township councilors and Black police, were frequently attacked and killed.

But often the anti-gov-

ernment â\200\230â\200\230struggleâ\200\235 is little more than mob violence by youth gangs, says Mohammed Valli Moosa, an anti-apartheid leader. In some Black townships there is now virtually no authority and rival groups try to wrest control.

Some Black leaders concede these tactics helped create a â\200\234lost generation,â\200\235 young Blacks raised in poverty with virtually no education and a burning hatred for authority â\200\224 Black and White.

But the lawlessness has spread to almost every level, involving businesses,

workers and schoolchildren. A recent â\200\234warâ\200\235â\200\231 between rival taxi companies left more than 20 dead.

Criminal gangs have exploited the unrest, sparking wars with radical young Blacks. Groups of vigilantes, some linked to police, have warred with rival â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230comradesâ\200\235 from the ANC and other political groups.

#### Appeals spurned

Nelson Mandela, the ANC Deputy President, and others have attempted to halt the violence by appealing to youths to return to school. But the appeals have been spurned by many who reject negotiation with the government.

â\200\234The problem is that many of the youngsters are not really interested in negotiation. In fact, they have become a little bit angry,â\200\235 said senior ANC leader Walter Sisulu.

The violence has been exacerbated by increasingly bitter disputes between rival Black political groups. While all are opposed to apartheid, various factions are competing for support with con-

flicting visions for South  
Africa's future.

In Natal, some 5 000  
Blacks have been killed in  
recent years in vicious  
fighting between Inkatha  
and allies of the ANC.  
The struggle pits a tradit-  
ional group with strong  
tribal roots against urban  
forces seeking a modern,  
ethnically integrated so-  
ciety, analysts say.

The ANC favours con-  
frontational methods such  
as its guerrilla campaign,  
sanctions and boycotts,  
and rejects Black home-  
land governments as part  
of the apartheid system.  
Inkatha supports the  
homeland system, saying  
Blacks must run their own  
affairs as an interim step  
on the road to Black ma-  
jority rule.

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At White House

FER ON

President GEORGE BUSH listens as Mr NELSON MANDELA, Deputy  
President of the African National Congress, comments from the South  
Lawn of the White House yesterday. Mr Mandela said the support that  
South African Blacks had received from the US had been crucial to  
promoting changes in South Africa.

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FELTEEN

WASHINGTON.  
President George Bush  
welcomed Mr Nelson  
Mandela to the White  
House yesterday and  
urged him to renounce  
violence, but the ANC  
Deputy President re-  
served the right to use  
any tactics necessary to  
end South Africaâ\200\231s.  
apartheid system.

â\200\234We must see on all  
sides a clear commitment

SH, MANDELA |

to change. All parties  
must seize the opportu-  
nity to move ahead in a  
spirit of compromise, tol-  
erance, flexibility and pa-  
tience . . . call on all ele-  
ments in South African  
society to renounce the  
use of violence and armed  
struggle, President Bush  
said on the White House

South Lawn.

But Mr Mandela,  
speaking without notes,  
countered that the tactics  
of his African National

ENDING  
VIOLENCE

Congress and other South  
African Blacks would be  
determined by the atti-  
tude of his countryâ\200\231s gov-  
ernment.

â\200\234When a government  
decides to ban political  
organisations of the op-  
pressed, intensifies op-  
pression and does not al-  
low any political activity  
no matter how peaceful  
and non-violent, then the

TO PAGE 2

Bush, Mandela differ |

FROM PAGE 1

people have no alternative but to resort to violence,â\200\235 Mr Mandela said.

He added that President Bush had not been properly briefed on the role of violence in the struggle against apartheid.

But he said there would be no need to use violence

as long as the government of State President F W de Klerk remained committed to dismantling the apartheid system. :

The differing view-

points on armed resistance were " illustrated

ance starkly by Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s wife, Winnie, who said on Sunday night that Pretoria was ready to deal only because of the Black South Africanâ\200\231s willingness to take up arms.â\200\234Were it not for the military wing of the ANC, Pretoria would never

have agreed to be talking to us today,â\204 she said.

Mr Mandela, who came to Washington after tumultuous welcomes in New York and Boston, said he would ask President Bush to maintain US economic sanctions and other pressures on Pretoria.

â\200\234It is because of sanctions that such enormous progress has been made

â\200\234in the attempt to address

the problems of our country,â\200\235 he said.

President Bush offered a strong denunciation of



apartheid, calling it â\200\234re-

- pugnant to the conscience

of men and women every-

â\200\230whereâ\200\235. But he also â\200\234ap-

plaudedâ\200\235 as â\200\234positive de-

velopmentsâ\200\235 Mr De

Klerk's pledge to bring

Blacks into South Africaâ\200\231s

political system.

The President also said

he would be ready to con-

sult with Congress about

lifting aconomic sanctions

once Pretoria fulfilled the

requirements laid out

under US law.

â\200\234Our sanctions have

been designed to support

change. And when con-

ditions laid down in our

law have been met, then

and only then will we con-

sider, in consultation with

the Congress, whether a

change in course will pro-

mote further progress

through peaceful negotia-

tions.â\200\235

Mr Mandela sought to

soften the disagreement

over tactics by thanking

â\200\234the people of America,

and theâ\200\231pfsident, in par-

ticularâ\204 for supporting

Black aspirations in South

| Africa.

â\200\234To receive the support

of any government is, in

our situation, somethï¬\201g

of enormous importance.

But to receive the support

of the government of the

United States of Ameri-

ca, \_the leader of the

West, is something be- |

yond words,â\200\235 he sajd.

He would do his best to

strengthen Mr De Klerkâ\200\231s â\200\230

political position, which

had been threatened by

White South Africans

who wished to maintain

the apartheid system,

â\200\234We are also ad-

ressing ourselves to

means and methods of

helping Mr De Klerk to

maintain his position with confidence and to go on with the negotiations without looking over his shoulder,â\200\235 Mr Mandela said.

President Bush, who accorded Mr Mandela the deference generally reserved for heads of government, said his guest â\200\234embodies the hopes of millionsâ\200\235.

â\200\234Mr Mandela, you said many years ago, before the first of your 10 000 days in prison, that there is no easy walk to freedom. Your years of suffering, your nationâ\200\231s suffering, have borne that out. But just as this past Yâ\202-Ar so0 many millionc of people in Eastern Europe and elsewhere, so, too, South Africa's time will come. As Martin Luther King said on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial: We cannot walk alone.â\204ç

\*â\200\234Sir, we here in America walk in solidarity with all the South Africans who seek, through non-violent means, democracy, human rights, and freedom.â\200\235 â\200\224 Sapa-Reut-el

South Africaâ\200\231

Opnlolon - Tuesday, June 26, 1990 by Ken Owenâ\200\230

Unoomfortable realities

THE future hangs uncertainly over us, like a promise of redemption, or like a death sentence. We are excited and unsure, we do not know where we are going. We do not even know where we are, or who we are. One nation or seve-

ral? Racial oligarchy or hodgepodge of -

tribes? Is diversity the glory of South Africa, or its cross? Is the main dividing line class or colour? Or language? Or religion? Does our notoriously unequal division of wealth follow racial lines, or is it more complicated than that?

The temptation is great to brush aside these questions, and to say piously that we must build a new nation, but few things (as we have learned from the calamity of 1910) are so risky as a constitution that tries to ignore uncomfortable realities.

If South Africans may reasonably be defined as a nation deeply fissured by differences of language, religion, race, cultural habit, historical experience and self-definition, then we have two extreme options: try to obliterate the differences under a strong central government that brooks no nonsense, or â\200\224 as Mao said â\200\224 let a hundred schools of thought contend.

There is no doubt which option is the more dangerous: to try to obliterate differences in a system that gives unfettered control to â\200\23450 percent plus oneâ\200\235 (or even 90 percent plus one) risks unleashing into this volatile mixture the destructive fury of an IRA: a psychopathic right-wing underground army that carries violent resistance, against all odds, from generation to generation.

\_ That makes it all the more alarming that the ANC and its various supporting groups persistently reject, as Nel-

son Mandela did last week, the notion of a federal state. The excuse, put forward most recently by the MDMâ\200\231s Faried Esack, is that such mechanisms to limit the power of â\200\23450 percent plus oneâ\200\235 are mere devices to â\200\234perpetuate apartheidâ\200\235.

A momentâ\200\231s thought exposes the excuse as nonsense. There is hardly a magisterial district, much less a potential federal unit, where whites are not a minority. In fact, former MP Reuben Sive has calculated that even in the â\200\234whitestâ\200\235 part of South Africa, which is the PWV area, whites are outnumbered by more than two to one. Elsewhere, the disparity is greater. ;

Until somebody comes up with a more convincing explanation, we must assume that the rejection of federalism arises from a determination on the part of the ANC to acquire unfettered

power. And we must ask ourselves, why this lust for power, if not to coerce? -

The problems of definition are

severe. We are skewered on the terminology of racism: blacks, whites, coloureds, Asians. Nothing in our history led to quite the same agony as the attempt to lay down a pseudo-scientific definition of racial characteristics. The Population Registration Act is to South Africa what the death camp monuments are to Germany, a reminder of the obscene perversions committed in service of a spurious definition of ourselves. Ironically, however, the terminology of race, and the myths that go with it, still dominate our political discourse: rich whites, poor blacks, deprived minorities of coloureds and Indians.

In fact, an equal division of wealth,

â\200\234In this volatile mixture of tribe and class and race, each

nursing ancient myths and clashing visions, the surest way to disaster is to formulate another grand plan to replace Verwoerdâ\200\231s grand plan. If our history has taught us anything, it is to be wary of leaders who demand power in order to do good.â\200\235

assuming it were possible, would give

the Indians three percent of the whole, which is a little less than their present share; hence equality must make them poorer. But simply to state that fact is to fall into the old obscenity: the truth is that some Indians are very poor, some are very rich, and there is no reason at all to lump them together. Look at the same question from another angle: almost all home owners in Soweto, and most occupiers of the little matchboxes, draw large incomes from sub-letting back rooms, Zozo huts, or garages to so-called squatters. As in Sophiatown and old Alexandra in the Fifties, mutterings against the landlords are being heard from the

underclass of sub-tenants who, ironically, are drafted into the struggle to give legitimacy to the claims of their relatively prosperous landlords! Who are the rich, who the poor?

When we talk of poor blacks, whom do we mean? Or when we talk, say, about redistribution of wealth, do we mean that the backyard squatters will no longer have to pay rent to the new class of Soweto landlords? Or only that the landlords will not pay rent to the municipality? Or do we mean that the very poor will get new houses, and their landlords will lose their extra income?

Or, from yet another angle: the unionised workers have become a new, relatively privileged class, fighting off hordes of half-starved scabs who clamour at the factory gates for jobs. The most under-reported story - in South Africa these days, I venture to suggest, is the epidemic of killing and assault that occurs within 500 metres of the factory gate during strikes.

Again, who is rich, and who is poor? Is it better to throw the labour market open to all job-seekers, and let wages slide as a result, or should the unions fight to protect the interests of their members? Even at the cost of condemning the scabs not only to desperate poverty, but to high prices?

We are a country of myths and illusions. The totalitarian machinery created to enforce apartheid also obliterated the facts. Statistics which divide the population according to unscientific criteria of the Population Registration Act serve only to conceal reality, not to illuminate it.

In addition, if we are honest we must

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THE CITIZEN

COMMENT

â\200\224 Winnie -

MR Nelson Mandela, the ANC Deputy President, never talks like a racist.

He stresses the integrity of the State President, Mr F W de Klerk. â\200\230

He tries to reassure Whites that they have a safe future if the ANC takes over.

He never utters a word of recrimination about the past.

He is, as we have said often enough, the bland face of the ANC â\200\224 and to that extent he is persuasive overseas about the organisationâ\200\231s intentions, even if he is not always very convincing at home. ;

Not so smooth is his wife, Winnie. She of the highly controversial past has been a silent and dutiful wife since he was released from jail.

But now, surprisingly, she has been allowed by her husband and ANC tacticians who are accompanying the Mandela cavalcade through the United States to address several rallies.

And the Winnie of old has come out from behind the mask of Winnie the demure wife.

Last Thursday, at a Harlem rally, Mrs Mandela told an estimated crowd of 200 000 mostly Black New Yorkers: â\200\234We want to count on you . . . that if things go wrong on that negotiating table . . . we know you will be there with us when we go back to the bush to fight the White man.â\200\235

She added: â\200\234We want to warn South Africa if they donâ\200\231t take note today, if they donâ\200\231t take note of what is happening throughout the world . . . that our patience has been run dry.1,

Speaking at a separately arranged womenâ\200\231s function in New York on Friday evening, while Mr Mandela was occupied elsewhere, she said to strong applause: â\200\234If anything goes wrong there (at the negotiations) I will be the first to go back to the bush, take up arms and fight.â\200\235

We do not recall Mrs Mandela ever having been in the bush, taking up arms and fighting (except with her tongue). Nor do we expect she will ever go â\200\234back to the bushâ\200\235 if the negotiations fail.

What we find most deplorable is her reference to fighting the White man? Isnâ\200\231t that blatant racialism?

What would Mrs Mandela think if the State President said that if the negotiations went wrong he would fight the Black man?

Are all Whites bad? Are all Blacks bad? We certainly don't think so.

Mrs Mandela also told the Americans that her statement, "With our matches and our necklaces, we shall liberate this country," was taken completely out of context.

Since she made the statement at a rally in 1986, it has taken her an awfully long time to decide her remarks were out of context.

Necklacing of "collaborators" by putting petrol-filled tyres round their necks and burning them alive was the savage punishment at the time and is still, sad to say, being used to this day.

Moreover, radicals need only light matches at H railway stations for people who defy stay-aways to appreciate that they or their homes will be burnt if they go to work.

It was, in fact, this terror of the match and of necklacing that Mrs Mandela was condoning when she spoke of "our boxes of matches and our necklaces".

Now she says the practice of necklacing is barbaric and "no sane person would condone that method of eliminating any opponent."

She also claims it was "not the form or method approved by the ANC."

-So why didn't she condemn necklacing at the time. instead of giving it her approval?

Black township leaders at one time distanced

themselves from Mrs Mandela over the Stompie Moeketsi affair.

The fact that a judge held she was present while four youths, including Stompie, were severely assaulted at her home has still to be answered by her, perhaps the best place being in a court of law.

But whether or not she is prosecuted, we believe Mrs Mandela should go back to being the silent wife. :

Making threats like the kind she made in New York is unbecoming and a great disservice to

the cause Mr Mandela represents.

We in the Five Freedoms Forum have been intimately involved with both commissions of inquiry which are currently investigating unlawful acts by elements of the South African Security Forces. This is because one of our founders and executive members, Dr David Webster, was gunned down at his home on May 1 1989 in Troyeville, Johannesburg.

There is a strong suspicion that elements of the security forces were involved in, if not the actual killing of, then certainly the building of a profile on David Webster.

The Harms Commission has focused on attempts by interested parties to identify hit squads operating within the South African security forces.

\* The Hiemstra Commission, on the other hand, has focused on spying.â\200\231 activities by the security department of the Johannesburg City Council.

During evidence before Mr Justice Hiemstra, it became clear that profiles were built on leading activists and members of the anti-apartheid forces within South Africa.

Deliberate infiltration

One of the profiles that was developed was that of Dr Webster, and the material in respect of this profile was principally supplied by lawyer Tony Naude, who admitted under cross-examination that he had purposefully infiltrated the Five Freedoms Forum in order to spy on it and its members.

He was directed in this regard by Mr Martin Hennig, a full-time employee of the Johannesburg Security Department.

The precise purpose of building these profiles has not been finally determined at the Hiemstra Commission,

FIVE  
FREEDOMS  
FORUM



At 8 pm tomorrow at the church on the corner of Orchard

and violent acts and murders committed-

At the Harms Commission, evidence-

Named CCB members SNOUNA | septembans were revealed  
before Harms Commission

the sinister Civilian Co-operation  
Bureau (CCB), an element of special  
forces operating within the mili-  
tary, kept tabs on Dr Webster and  
others.

The existence of the CCB was not

known at the time of the constitu-

tion of the Harms Commission but  
surfaced from evidence at the appli-  
cations for the release from custody  
of Mr Ferdie Barnard and Mr Calla

Botha, both ex-policemen from  
Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad,

who appear to have been recruited

Road and High Street, Orchards in Johannesburg, a public  
meeting will be held to voice opposition to the CCB  
and JCC spy ring. Speakers will include Tony Leon and  
Gavin Evans. In this article the Five Freedoms Forum puts

forward some of the concerns

discussed at the meeting.

What is undisputed, however, is  
that the information gleaned by the

security department of the Johan-

nesburg City Council was passed, on

a regular basis, to the military.  
Indeed, there was such close liai-

son between the military and ele-

ments that are likely to be ad-

being a major in Military Intelli-

gence.  
It appears  
liaison between Major

elements of the intelligence commu- i  
nity stationed at Wits Command.  
Those records of the Johannes-  
that there was close |

ments of the Johannesburg security  
department, the members of both the  
. intelligence arm of Wits Command  
=and the Johannesburg City Council

â\200\234would meet on a farm outside Johan- '  
nesburg and plan activities against  
anti-apartheid activists.

The major activity of this inte-  
grated unit based on the military  
farm appears to have been the con-  
ducting of raids into Soweto, during  
which suspected activists would be

- hauled out of their homes, beaten  
up, and subsequently forced to pro-  
vide information.

The monitoring operation by the  
;security department of the Johan-  
nesburg City Council was super-  
vised by Mr Frik Barnard, who ad-  
â\200\230mitted under cross-examination to

Y

burg City Council security depart-  
ment that were made available to  
me " of the commission (and  
there was extensive evidence about

the wlthholdmg of documentary evi-

dence from the commxss10n) pointed

â\200\234to the fact that both a card and a  
file were kept on Dr Webster.

All attempts by those leading evi-  
dence at the commission to obtain  
the contents of this file and the many  
others that were kept, proved fruit-  
less.

One of the few files that was  
found was that of Mr Pat Rogers, a

\* DP councillor, who it was admitted

was spied upon by those same members of the Johannesburg security

department.

by the CCB.

Mr Botha admitted to a long moni-

toring session of Mr Roland White, ex-UDF activist from the Eastern |  
rand Mr Slang van Zyl, also an policeman and member of the CCB admitted to: monitoring the activities of Gavin Evans; one of our executive members. At one point,

Both the Harms and Hlemstra commissions are nearing an end. The Hiemstra Commission has been conducted in an aggressive and exemplary manner, particularly be-

ted within South Africa.

We in the FivÃ© Freedoms Forum

â\200\234re particularly â\200\230upset that it would

" â\200\230appear that evidence before the |

â\200\230Harms Commission will come to an end within the next few days.

For one thing, we would like to see all the members of the military farm who were named at the Hiemstra Commission brought to, the Harms Commission to answer questions in relation to their violent acts , against opponents of apartheid and members of the Five Freedoms Forum.

Moreover, we believe that each named member of the CCB should be subpoenaed and mterrogated by \_this commission.

If not, we will be allowing these people to get away, qulte literally, with murder. :

and| there was an order out to ehmmate\_ 'Evans. ,

cause of the tenacious work of Ad- |  
vocates Dennis Fine and Lothar We- |

' pener representing the State Attor-

ney and leading evldence before the commission.

This commission has also not=

~ been marred by the constant jjiiris-

dictional battles that characterise {

the Harms Commission.

Scratching surface

The Hiemstra Commission has

.. come to the end of its mandate, and  
has limited terms of reference. +lds |

Yet the Harms Commission has  
only just begun scratching the sur-  
face of its vast mandate which is to

investigate all politically motivated |

' Negotiations going well, Mandela tells Bush

likely to

sune VASp

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hOstilities, SOO ; | 3'.â\200\234.'.?â\200\230N'.'...'...;â\200\231:2":..? 3..'.'â\200\234â\200\230.2'33:'2:?'&:'

By David Braun, Sapa  
and Reuter

Washington |

Nelson Mandela expects to an-

nounce a cessation of hostili- |  
- ties soon after his return to

South Africa next month.

That is what the ANC leader  
told President Bush at their White

â\200\230House meeting yesterday, accord-  
-ing to the US Assistant Secretary

of State for African Affairs, Mr  
Herman Cohen. it

Mr Cohen, who was present at the  
discussions, told reporters Mr Bush  
reaffirmed to Mr Mandela the full  
support of the US administration for  
his lifelong objective to dismantle the  
apartheid system and replace it with  
a nonracial, democratic government.  
Mr Mandela, he said, had told Mr  
Bush the process of negotiation was  
â\200\234doing wellâ\200\235 and he was optimistic  
about the next step, which would be  
to reach agreement with President de

\* Klerk on removing the last obstacles.

Mr{,igohen said: â\200\234Mr Mandela said  
that when the basic obstacles to nego-  
tiation are overcome, the ANC will

. announce a cessation of hostilities. He  
| said â\200\230that when he returns to South

{  
|

Africa on July 18, he expects that , |'Â¢w

such an agreement will be reached -

'rai-\201i-\201erdi-\202iagtrly.â\200\235 V) P

1 1

| President Bush urged Mr Mandesa  
â\200\230to go beyond the cessation of hostili-  
ties.to renounce the armed struggle  
and toirenounce all violence. A

â\200\234Mr Mandela said he would consid- -  
er Mr Bushâ\200\231s request.â\200\235 ;

Cogpsult Congress

o st Mok lae SRR DS L  
\_Mr Cohen said Mr Mandela repeat-

â\200\230ed his belief that the maintenance of

sanctions were important to continue  
encouraging the process of negotia-  
tions. The President said he would  
take no action on sanctions until the  
requirements of the US legislation  
were fulfilled, at which time he would  
begin a consultative process with the  
Congress. ,

President Bush requested advice

from Mr Mandela as to the best way |

the US could use money recently ap-

â\200\230propriated by Congress, but indicated

the US was unlikely to provide assis-  
tance to any specific political organi-  
sation directly.

At a media conference at his Wash-

â\200\234ington hotel, Mr Mandela said the

ANCâ\200\231s mission to the White House

~had succeeded beyond its wildest ex-

pectations. He had the distinct im-  
ression that he and Mr Bush had

P .

aia &;owed the gaps that existed be-  
tween them at the start of the meet-  
'ing and he came away â\200\234very much

G

encouragedâ\200\235.

He listed the remaining obstacles  
to negotiation as:

@ 'The return of almost 20 000 politi-" | -

@ The release of almost 1000 politi-"} L only operins o ely Alirtiadls

"and there is no time to serve hot Â°

cal prisoners.

â\200\230@ The repeal of repressive legislation

which has been identified.

@ An end to political trials.

@ Complete lifting of the state of  
| emergency.

Today, Mr Mandela addresses a  
joint meeting of the US Congress, the

| first South African invited to do so.

When things d/

House yesterday.

Â® Picture by Associated Press.

washrooms have been fitted with

.gold-plated taps.

The aircraft is not, however, fitted

{: with ovens, because the Trump Shut-

meals.

Also not on the menu are any Coca-

Cola products. A flight crew member  
said this had been ordered by the tour .

organisers in protest against Coca-  
Colaâ\200\231s continued operations in South |

Africa.

" The crew member was, however,

| at a loss to explain why a Boeing 727

was being used, as Boeing continues  
to be a direct supplier of aircraft to

| South African Airways.

' @ See Pages 2 and 8.

donâ\200\231t go better

The Star Bureau  
WASHINGTON â\200\224 Coca-Cola prod-

ucts have been banned on all flights  
of â\200\234Air Mandelaâ\200\235, the private charter  
service which is transporting  
and Winnie Mandela and their huge  
" entourage around the United States.

The tour organisation has char-  
tered a Trump Shuttle Boeing 727.

York millionaire Mr Donald Trump.  
In front of each seat is a public tele-  
phone which can be used to make

calls anywhere in the world. The

ing Nelson

Trump Shuttle is owned by New



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

The Star Tuesday June 26 1990

Tension in  
Natal over  
stayaway

Own Correspond

DURBAN â\200\224 Tension is mount-  
ing in Natalâ\200\231s black townships  
over the proposed national  
stayaway called by Cosatu for  
Monday July 2.

â\200\230Smear pamphlets are being  
distributed in some townships

threats of intimidation.

. The stayaway has been called

.| as part of the national Action

Week to put pressure on the  
overnment to end the Natal

wViolence.

. Many local businesses have

| stayaway with the no work, no  
| pay principle, which means  
ny workers will lose wages.  
Residents in local townships  
have complained of â\200\230â\200\234veiled  
threatsâ\200\235 to those who defy the  
stayaway call.

Pamphlets accusing the ANC  
\_of intimidation and describing  
the organisation as being run by  
Indians and Xhosas have been  
circulated in townships.

and there have allegedly been

-indicated they will approach the

Inkatha, ANC

â\200\230should talk

about violenceâ\200\231

By David Braun,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON â\200\224 The vio-  
lence in Natal will not be  
stopped without Inkatha  
president Mangosutho Buthe-

lezi being part of the solution, African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela told President Bush at the White House yesterday.

- According to US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Hank Cohen, Mr Mandela told Mr Bush he believed two things about the violence in Natal:

@It was important for Inkatha

and the ANC to discuss the issue around the table. He believed no solution was possible in Natal without Chief Buthelezi being part of the solution.

@ The major responsibility for stopping the violence belonged to the Government and not the ANC. Â¥

~ At a press conference after meeting Mr Bush, Mr Mandela said he had briefed the president very fully on the issue of violence in Natal.

â\200\234The gravamen of my briefing with him was mainly that the Government is responsible for the violence.

" â\200\234This violence has been going on for more than four years and close to 4000 people have been killed.

â\200\234We place the responsibility for this on the Government because it has the capacity to suppress this violence in a matter of days. It has not interfered, except by way of using the police and the Defence Force to attack the ANC.â\200\235

By Guy Jepson  
â\200\230Democratic Party MP for  
"Houghton Tony Leon last night rejected claims that a â\200\234secretâ\200\235  
â\200\230document, calling on the party to  
adopt a more radical, hard-hit-  
â\200\234ting approach to national politics,  
.had the support of leading party  
-members.

" Details of the document, compiled by Houghton-based legal academic David Unterhalter, Mr

campaign manager, were published in a Johannesburg newspaper this morning.

Arguing that an ANC government was a fait accompli, the

;Document

Leon's former municipal election

SR MR e Iun 19%

was no secret

document states that the DP's main thrust should be to influence the ANC and the formation of its policies, rather than hold the ring between the two major contestants at the negotiating table.. )

Hard-hitting

The DP should independently engage the ANC and adopt a hard-hitting parliamentary strategy as a radical party that is willing to lead on issues of principle, the document states, adding that the party's primary object was to press the interests of a liberal

Ol cCOI1

Mr Leon dismissed the claimed secret nature of the document as a gross exaggeration.

At the request of the party leadership for responses to our convergence document which was given to the media and sent out to all the party's formations, I put together a group of people in our constituency committee under David Unterhalter, he said.

He had since distributed the document among his colleagues in Parliament.

It's one of innumerable responses and has certainly got no

standing.



The Soui¬\202'if 3 ommhrpsf  
Party has announced it is to  
re-enter the %ui¬\201tymm qf  
South A&mn \_politics after  
being banned for. 40  
But wi¬\201etb@p |[ mil  
openly or in  
an unanswered question,  
writes KEN VERNON of The  
Starâ\200\231s Mvicb\*NÃ@Ws Maâ\200\231;â\200\234

o so

â\200\230,!f

years. | |

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not ansWermg that:

.-question, M Slovo said that the: |  
Ã¥ new â\200\234openâ\200\235 SACP would not issue;  
lâ\200\234member!hlmsdi¬\201 â\200\234to just any-:  
" oneâ\200\235 who want â\200\234to become: ai |  
rmembcr or any pÃ@ople who mere-| |  
ly sympathxsed p; considered- ;  
%Ã« themselves â\200\234byxi¬\201

" Vangi¬\201ard

Instead, the party would aim to-  
recruit people of "cnmre" who!  
- were prepared to ina  
attempt to Dâ\200\235â\200\230\_ )

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Party (SACP) has 0  
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. committee â\200\224 which w  
" inexile. Y :  
- Mr Slovo categorically  
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i " real leaders of the SACP.  
ii-\201  
â\200\230%the idea that the SACP had a no:  
ai-\201 time aimed to i-\201Ã©ntï-\201 er-

\* bondâ\200\235 within the ri-\201h of the ANC:  
; or any otger ganisation  
â\200\230%Mr Slovo at the same time dis-

' missed questions on the identity of;  
SACP leaders said to dominate the:  
ruling national e xecutive commit-i

eeouh?lih t 1 ;:lsï-\201ying t  
He said tha epo mos  
of the members of the committee;  
were members of tllie SACP  
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Similarly, he â\200\230re 53 just  
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\_less men-and/or M on the: V  
central committee Wâ\200\231h will hold: {|

' the real power and remain me. 1  
While expounding at length onâ\200\230

It was ti  
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i e against ANC Qr WOl  
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l ance wi :

& This' sÃ©ena 8\1â\200\2301â\200\230& sÃ©Ã©ni"â\200\230Setf  
to continue until at least July 1991,  
â\200\230when, Mr Slovo sai id, the party!  
â\200\234would be holding a congress in:â\200\231  
3â\200\230South Africa at ch â\200\230a new cen-,  
Ã©tral comr t Qliï-\202d be â\200\234dexqo-'

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1 members â\200\224 may never becume-  
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{ committee mem who are sf)â\200\234r  
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ANC after the!  
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~ Slovoâ\200\231s words â\200\224 1

the SACP. W}thxn,,  
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been for some lme =2ran ehte-' :

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e SACP may, Â¥

â\200\234yanguardâ\200\235 putyshmhï\201 Leninist; |  
mould, led by the faceless gentral} Â\$

\\(\e:(wâ\200\231cj â\200\230

b June '35

Mandelaâ\200\231s â\200\230tour  
of vilificationâ\200\231  
SIR â\200\224 Are Mandela (and his spouse) tra lling  
on South African passports on his â\200\230tour of vilifi-  
cation,â\200\235 defamed everything South African, in-  
cluding Chief Buthelezi, as well as everything  
Zulu?

Were I or any bona fide South African to go  
overseas and try to destroy not only the econo-  
my but the reputation of this country I am jolly  
sure I would have a reception committee wait-  
ing on the doorstep for my return and I'd prob-  
ably be locked up. And quite right too! These  
people are dangers to our security!

Either the South African Government has  
lost its grip or it is in the process of â\200\230giving  
enough rope!â\200\231 :

As a non-Nat but law-abiding English-speak-  
ing South African I should like very much to  
know why this man is given this sort of â\200\230free-  
domâ\200\231, the meaning of which he hasnâ\200\231t a clue!

One thing is for sure: those whites who had  
some sympathy for him at one time and gave  
him the benefit of the doubt in connection with  
the terrorism for which he was sentenced, are  
fast becoming as annoyed as the extreme  
Right. This arrogant man should begin to

recognise this fact.  
FED UP SOUTH AFRICAN

Telling it

AS WE HAVE pointed out  
before, the future of the  
world lies not in the hands  
of politicians, but in the pit-  
ter-patter of tiny feet as the  
worldâ\200\231s population soars.  
By the turn of the century  
there will be another billion  
people on earth, a total of  
6,3 billion. In the next 20  
years Africaâ\200\231s population  
will double to more than a  
billion. As far as South  
Africa is concerned, our  
present 32 million will have  
grown to 80 million by 2020  
â\200\224 and 80 million has been  
fixed by demographers as  
the maximum number of  
people our resources will be  
able to support.  
Thankfully, the realis-



like it is

ation appears to be beginning to dawn on black Africa that people just cannot go on breeding as they

are ... not if they are to have any kind of future at

A Ghanaian senior population adviser with the World Bank has bluntly told a 16-nation conference of African countries in Nigeria that "a region which doubles its population in 20 years frustrates any and all of its legitimate aspirations".

That is telling it like it is.

The pity of it all is that there were no black South Africans there to hear him say it.

heaped on ANC  
Deputy President  
Nelson Mandela as he  
tours the United States  
are beyond extravagant.

They have begun to  
approximate the ob-  
scene titles accorded  
the great totalitarians,  
Stalin, Mao and Ceau-  
cescu, by their acolytes.

In this instance, hap-  
pily, the phenomenon is  
a reflection not on the  
idol, but on his idol-  
ators. Behind the nause-  
ating fog of adulation,  
lies, without question,  
an extraordinary man.

What remains to be  
teased out is whether he  
is a genuine democrat  
or, like so many leaders  
of liberation movements  
who have come here be-  
fore him, the beguiling  
salesman of one-party  
tyranny.

. Does he mean to tran-  
scend and redirect the  
intolerant instincts of  
an organisation whose  
members murder dis-  
sent?

Or. is he merely ex-  
ploiting the uncritical  
| reverence of his foreign  
worshippers to strength-  
en the organisationâ\200\231s  
hand in pursuit of sole  
power?

After a week of hang-  
ing on his words, {dâ\200\231om  
President F W De Klerk  
in wanting to believe the  
former yet cannot shake  
suspicion of the latter.

THE ENCOMIA

Intentions

Perhaps Mandela's multiple contradictions are indeed designed to conceal his true intentions from those already crying "sell-out". But then again, perhaps they are a lullaby for the friends of the open society.

I want to believe that his refusal to criticise Castro, Gadaffi and Arafat or even to find a formula of words to avoid triggering the neuralgia these men provoke in most Americans is evidence not of his admiration or desire to emulate them, but rather of his firm allegiance to principle.

They supported the

ils&e\

- similarl

From

ANC. He is honour bound not to renounce them now that he no longer needs them. As he told Ted Koppel: "A man who changes his principles depending on with whom he is dealing is not a man who can lead a nation."

The question, of course, is: To which of these does he refer?

imple loyalty to old friends? Or continued adherence to the political philosophies of those friends?

If the latter, is the adherence sincere or, as I want to believe, an expedient gesture to soothe his movement's more radical elements lest they conclude, rightly, that he no longer approves the use of terror.

I want to believe that  
he permits his wife to  
shout â\200\230Viva Umkhonto  
We Sizweâ\200\231 to adoring  
New Yorkers and to say  
she will â\200\230returnâ\200\231 to the

bush to â\200\230fight the white.

manâ\200\231 should negotia-  
tions collapse, not be-  
cause he remains com-  
mitted to the armed  
struggle, but to reassure  
those who do; and that,  
by avoiding such rhetor-  
ic in his own speeches,  
he is trying to delineate  
himself as a man of

peace who must be

needed if South Africa is  
to be saved from the the  
young lions.

I want to believe that  
his call for the mainte-  
nance of sanctions is  
expedient;  
that behind closed  
doors he has intimated  
to foreign businessmen  
that he doesnâ\200\231t really  
want them to leave  
South Africa in spite of  
his best efforts to  
energise the sanctions  
lobby against them;  
that he really believes,  
as he told one interview-  
er, that sanctions put  
pressure on both the  
Government and the  
ANC to come to terms  
as fast as possible, be-

Washington Newsletter  
SIMON BARBER

cause neither wants to  
see the economy wreck-  
ed.

This conjures the in-  
teresting image of his  
telling his colleagues at  
some point when negoti-  
ations begin to stall:  
â\200\230Look, gentlemen, we  
must concede on Point  
X or Y because if we  
donâ\200\231t, the sanctions I  
have succeeded in get-  
ting the world to retain  
will undermine us as  
much as the Govern-  
ment by making it im-

possible to fulfil the  
expectations of the  
people.â\200\231

I want to believe, too,  
that his summons â\200\230keep  
the pressure onâ\200\231 and the  
all but inevitable obedi-  
ence of most Western  
governments is intend-  
ed not merely to  
strengthen the ANCâ\200\231s  
hand at the negotiating  
table, but to give  
Mandela himself-and his  
likeminded adjutants  
the space to compro-  
mise, build bridges with  
the white community  
and say, as no one in the  
anti-apartheid move-  
ment has said before,  
that the NPâ\200\231s leaders are  
men of â\200\230integrityâ\200\231 and  
â\200\230honestyâ\200\231 who â\200\230will abide  
by agreements that are  
arrived at in the course  
of our negotiations and  
discussionsâ\200\231.

#### Violence

I want to believe him  
when he tells the UN  
General Assembly that  
â\200\230The only victory we  
should seek is the victo-  
ry of the people as a  
whole, and not the victo-  
ry of one party over an-  
otherâ\200\231; when he says  
that â\200\230No solution is pos-  
sible ... without the in-  
volvement of Dr Buthe-  
eziâ\200\231 and slyly shifts the  
blame for the violence in  
Natal on to the Govern-  
ment for not having de-  
ployed its â\200\230strongâ\200\231,  
efficient and well-  
equipped army and po-  
lice forceâ\200\231 to â\200\230suppressâ\200\231  
the conflict.

When he speaks of the

st which is

\PreK LU Y

Government acting â\200\230to-  
gether with us and all  
other representative po-

litical forces to bring  
about a new realityâ\200\231, I  
want to believe that he  
sincerely acknowledges  
that there are such

things as â\200\230other repre-  
sentative political  
forcesâ\200\231 beyond the aegis  
of the ANC and that,  
henceforth, he will fight  
any attempt to elimi-  
nate them or otherwise  
dissuade their support-  
ers from expressing  
themselves.

I want to believe his  
apparent flexibility on  
the how the negotiators  
of a new constitution  
should be selected, and  
that, as he suggested to  
the New York Times, he  
is not bound by the  
Harare Declarationâ\200\231s de-  
mand for a constituent  
assembly.

â\200\230Iâ\200\231m not concerned  
with terminology at the  
moment. What concerns  
me is substance. How  
the people who are en-  
trusted with the task of  
considering a new non-  
racial constitution  
should be identified,  
thatâ\200\231s what concerns  
me.â\200\231

When he invokes the  
vision of a constitution  
and justiciable Bill of  
Rights which ensure  
â\200\230the genuine liberty of  
every individualâ\200\231 and  
under which â\200\230law ...  
should rule supremeâ\200\231, I  
want to believe he is  
genuinely speaking the  
language of Jefferson  
and that I have not  
missed anÃ¥l hidden  
codewords that might  
suggest otherwise.

#### Options

On economic models,  
I want to believe him  
when he says that labels  
must be discarded and  
that â\200\230we do not care  
whether the cat is black  
or white as long as it can  
catch miceâ\200\231; that the  
only criteria must be the  
correction of long imbal-  
ances and delivery on  
freedomâ\200\231s promises;

e real Mandela?

that if anybody can indicate to us that there are other options which will enable us to rectify the imbalance, we certainly look at that option, and the ques-

ions of nationalisation | will not for us be an option at all.

I want to believe that it is not possible for the ANC to have any specific economic policy because it is not a party but has always been a parliament of the black people comprised of many different viewpoints, conservatives and progressives, people who support the capitalist system and those who want socialism.

All this I want to believe. Such is the man's awesome ability to command respect, that there are times when it is almost impossible not to. Luckily, there are times when he himself comes to the rescue.

In a televised meeting - at the Council on Foreign Relations, Midge Decter, a leading neo-conservative convert, put to him the following question: History has taught us there is no transition more difficult than that from a revolutionary force to a governing party. Willy |

Assuming that your aspiration for a one man, one vote South Africa, which would clearly mean a government in which the ANC had a preponderance of influence;

now, what are your ideas about the means and mechanisms for ensuring individual personal liberty to those, black and white, who are opposed, and will be opposed, to your poli-

cies?â\200\231. 5 i

He answered by dis-  
pu the history les-  
son. â\200\230We expect no dif- |  
ficultiesâ\200\231 in achieving {  
the transition from lib-  
eration movement to  
government.

The meat of the ques-  
tion he ignored.



THE NATAL

MERCURY

25 June

Mo

COSATU'â\200\231S HYBRID/

THE CONCLUSION that politics and economics will have to be taken together in the negotiating process in order to satisfy mass expectations of immediate material benefits was one of the more self-evident truths to emerge from the â\200\230South Africa in Transitionâ\200\231 conference organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for S A (Idasa) in Port Elizabeth at the weekend.

As Dr Alex Boraine, Idasaâ\200\231s executive director, pointed out, new rules had to be made and the only way was to make them together, because South Africans would sink or swim together.

~ What may be less evident is the degree of confusion that exists in the ranks of the organisations on which the expectations and aspirations of the â\200\230have-notsâ\200\231 are largely pinned, namely the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance. â\200\231

After 30 years of waiting in the wings while the tragedy of apartheid ran its inevitable course, they have stepped on to the stage just as the whole economic and political framework of the socialist system that sustained them in the wilderness is collapsing in ruins all over Eastern Europe.

Their disarray as they attempt to adapt yesterday's failed Marxist doctrines to "today's pressing reality was apparent in the contribution of Ms Jane Barrett, of Cosatu's â\200\230living wage committeeâ\200\231, to the conference.

It appears that Cosatu wants the state to have a strongly interventionist, but not highly centralised, role in a largely nationalised economy, while at the same time encouraging investment, fighting inflation, reducing the balance of payments deficit, and not borrowing to finance state expenditure.

Ms Barrett did, however, hedge Cosatu's bets on this curiously hybrid animal by emphasising that nationalisation was â\200\230not a dogma or a principleâ\200\231 and that Cosatu had not yet adopted a firm policy on many issues.

We would say that at this stage confusion is better than dogma because it offers hope of change and compromise. We are all go-

â\200\234ing to be on a steep learning curve in the bid to find consensus in the new South Africa.

Yesterday Swapo was in practically the same ideological camp as the ANC on the â\200\230redistribution of wealthâ\200\231. Today the Prime

â\200\230Minister of Namibia, Mr

Hage Geingob, mindful of his responsibilities to enable as many people as possible to earn a living wage, says: â\200\230It does not help to redistribute poverty.â\200\231

The need to redress economic imbalances and meet rising expectations in South Africa is urgent, but it cannot be done by trying to salvage and adapt bits of the abandoned doctrines that have brought poverty and despair to millions un-

- der communist rule.



THE CITIZEN

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MINISTER Vlokâ\200\231s recent  
announcement urging  
â\200\234old policemenâ\200\235 to return  
to the SA Police is most  
deceiving. According to  
the following data, police-  
men will laugh at the me-  
diocre increase they will  
be enticed with.

â\200\234Should a constable  
leave the force with fivr  
yearsâ\200\231 service on a scale of  
R12 429 a year, on reinlis-  
ment he will be promoted  
to a lance-sergeant and  
will receive a salary scale  
of only R14751, ie,  
R2 322 a year more and a  
monthly increase of  
R193,50.

An ex-sergeant will  
benefit the most under  
certain circumstances  
only. If a sergeant had left  
the force with four yearsâ\200\231

service at a scale of  
R17 403, he will return to

a scale of R27 849, ie.  
R10446 a year and  
R870,50 a month more.  
A warrant-officer will  
return to an increase of  
+-R83,00 a month more.  
It seems from reports

The Citizen PO Box 7712  
Johannesburg 2000

SAP â\200\230old faithfulsâ\200\231  
kicked in the teeth

that only constables and  
sergeants who have re-  
cently been promoted in

these ranks will benefit by a ratio of 10:1 in relation to the long service constables, sergeants and warrant-officers.

The comparison between the just and unjust is as follows:

1 A sergeant with 10 yearsâ\200\231 faithful service in his rank, with a top scale of R25584, will only move up to R27849 (which is the top scale), ie R2265 a year and R188,75 a month.

2 A warrant-officer with 10 yearsâ\200\231 faithful service in his rank, with a top scale of R33 273, will only move up to R34 629, i e. R1 356 a year and R113 a month.

This means that they have only looked after the younger members of each rank and not the older members in each rank.

Who were the most loyal members when so many juniors were leaving the force? The â\200\234old

faithfuls.â\200\235 one must say. The â\200\234old faithfulsâ\204ç, especially to the rank of warrant-officers, have been kicked in the teeth with this increment adjustment and the message is â\200\234thank you for your service, but we donâ\200\231t need you anymoreâ\200\231â\200\231. Our reply to him is: â\200\234This is disgusting, Minister Vlokâ\200\235.

It would be appreciated if this letter with the statistics could be published in your newspaper under the title, â\200\234What about the old faithful policemenâ\200\231s plightâ\200\235.

A faithful â\200\234old policemanâ\200\235.

PS: The officers have implemented these new structures to look after themselves. In turn, to protect themselves, they have only looked after the up and coming recruits in

the various ranks. They  
have also only looked  
after the academic-mind-  
ed policeman and not the  
practical and hard work-  
ing ones.

LISBON. â\200\224 Unita yesterday shrugged off an attack by ANC deputy president Mr Mandela, saying he was being used by supporters of the Angolan Government.

| Mr Mandela, on a tri-

umphant visit to the United States, castigated Washington on Sunday for supporting Unita. - -

A Unita spokesman in Lisbon said the visit was set up in part by an organisation which lobbied in the United States for the MPLA.

â\200\234It is logical. They are using this visit in effect to criticise ~ Unita,â\200\235 the spokesman said.

â\200\234We have nothing against Mr Mandela, we recognise him as a great personality, an authentic nationalist. Only we regret that he lets himself | be used by the MPLA lobby in the United States.â\200\235

Nelson |

supported by weapons and 50 000 Cu- -

Mande

Unita has fought against the MPLAâ\200\231s one-party rule since independence from Portugal in 1975, with support from South Africa and later the United States. The MPLA in turn has been Soviet

ban troops.

Mr Mandela, in his first major criticism of US policy on his tour, told a news conference that Washington was violating the sovereignty and integ-

rity of Angola.

The Washington Post reported last week that the Bush administration had asked Congress for another R26 million for Unita.

The Unita spokesman showed no concern that Mr Mandela would swing US opinion against them.

â\200\234The American people have already understood

that Unitaâ\200\231s struggle is aimed at establishing a

Ja

multi-party ~ democracy, so we are not afraid that this will affect US public opinion.â\200\235

The eventual introduction of a multi-party system has been one of the themes of two rounds of peace talks the two rivals have held in Portugal since April.

At the end of the second session, on June 16-

18, Unita summoned its delegation to bush head-

quarters at Jamba for

consultations.

Unita announced on Sunday they were ready to resume as soon as the Portuguese government, which is host for the negotiations, was ready.

Portuguese Foreign Ministry Secretary of State Jose Durao Barroso â\200\230said last week he expected the next round to be held in the first half of July. â\200\224 Sapa-Reuter.

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Weapon that

By Charles Aldinger  
WASHINGTON. In a strange twist of roles, US Defence Secretary Dick Cheney is locked in a budget war with Congress, defence firms and the Marines over a 26 billion dollar (R67,6 billion) weapon that refuses to die.

The V-22, a revolution-alg' planned troop carrier which is part helicopter and part airplane, is alive and kicking despite Mr Cheney's repeated attempts to kill it in favour of modernising America's nuclear arsenal.

It's something we've seldom seen in the annals of the Pentagon, said former Assistant Defence Secretary Larry Korb.

The Secretary is trying to kill what he says is a good weapon to save money. Congress, which

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is often hot to lull expensive measures, likes this one a lot, said Korb, a senior analyst with the Brookings Institution.

Mr Cheney has cancelled plans for the swivel-engine aircraft twice in a year despite public protests from co-developers Boeing Co and Textron Inc and private pressure from one of the toughest lobbies in Washington: the US Marines.

Congress has refused to nail the coffin lid on plans to build more than 600 V-22s, most of them for the Marines, and is threatening to revive the programme later this summer.

It looked like the V-22 was gone. Now, I wouldn't bet on that, said Jim Blackwell of the Centre for Strategic and

International Studies.

Experts say the V-22 â\200\224 which takes off and lands

like a helicopter and swivels its two wing-tip turboprop engines to ï\202y like an airplane â\200\224 could be a decisive weapon in future conventional battles, as the threat of nuclear war decreases.

Many lawmakers, especially from Texas and Pennsylvania where thousands of jobs are at stake, want to know why the United States needs two mobile, land-based nuclear missiles and 75 B-2 bombers at the expense of the V-22.

The Bell Helicopter division of Textron is based in Fort Worth, Texas, and the Boeing Helicopter Co is based in Philadelphia. Programme supporters say V-22 subcontractors are located in 47 states.

Officials of Boeing and r â\200\231fgggs to die

Textron = have praised flight tests of the V-22 and are anxious to produce the craft for commercial as well as military purposes.

â\200\234I'm going to talk to every editorial board of every newspaper that I can talk to in the United States,â\200\235 Bell Helicopter Textron President Jack Horner told reporters.

â\200\234My rationale is very simple: I believe that politicians read editorial

pages. Most people donâ\200\231t, but politicians do.â\200\235

Mr Cheney, clashing with senators at a recent hearing, complained that Congress is willing to go along with cutting the 305 billion dollar (R793 billion) Pentagon budget,

but that lawmakers are  
unwilling to kill weapons  
that hit jobs in their home  
districts. â\200\224 Sapa-Reuter.

BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday, June 26 1990

COMMENT

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b e

After the party

HE messianic status thrust upon Nelson Mandela during his American visit has less to do with South Africa than with the emotional needs of black people starved, in a white society, of appropriate symbols and leadership. No South African will begrudge the black American minority its moment of hero-worship.

But Mandela himself is, to judge from his latest comments on the needs of the South African economy, in some danger of being deluded by the adulation, even if he can resist having his head turned. His latest view is that sanctions must continue, and indeed be tightened, to strengthen his own hand in the bargaining which lies ahead; but he recognises that the damage wrought by sanctions and capital flight, and by simple uncertainty, will carry over into the new South Africa. Therefore, he says, South Africa will need massive infusions of capital and skills after the transition to democracy.

No doubt those who now jostle to touch the hem of his coat are assuring him, with typical American confidence, that foreign money and skill will be available in abundance after the transition. The same sort of people talked the same sort of nonsense about Zimbabwe; it came to nothing. As Idasa's Frederik van Zyl Slabbert remarked a few days ago, there is no more dangerous illusion than that untold millions will pour into South Africa.

- The sad truth is that capital which has fled will not come back.

On the contrary, it must be assumed

that a proportion of the whites who

do not like the new South Africa will be trying, with a determination

born of desperation, to get money out of the country. That skilled people, Americans among them, will be clamouring to â\200\234helpâ\200\235 is no doubt true, but they will want First World salaries, First World status, and the right to take their savings with them when they leave. In the end, we shall discover that most of our helpers, by wondrous coincidence, werenâ\200\231t doing very well where they came from.

Nelson Mandela is not to be blamed for his illusions. He is a lawyer, not an economist, and he went to prison at a time when the world was awash with left-wing claptrap, some of it consisting of theories, both patronising and boastful, about how Africa might be helped out of poverty. Those theories, adopted in good faith by many African countries, have driven this continent into the dirt, and one African country after another is now accepting that the rules of the game

are hard but clear: capital follows

opportunity, and it seeks profit. It takes commercial risks, but it abhors political uncertainty, and it is in short supply. Even the mighty United States is up to its ears in debt. :

If Mandela wants a prosperous post-apartheid South Africa, he had better abandon now the destructive tenets â\200\224 most of them derived from inappropriate revolutionary theories â\200\224 which he still preaches, and turn instead to the task of building

up confidence in South Africa and,

no less important, confidence in his own good sense. Ticker-tape parades feed nobody.

Pot and kettle

HILE the overriding condition for the lifting of sanctions against South Africa, including sports and cultur-

al boycotts, is the â\200\234ending of apart-

heidâ\200\235, it is interesting to find that in some respects at least this country

may have overtaken the United

States in eliminating racism. A little row has broken out in Birmin, , Alabama, because it

has turned out that the venue for the  
American PGA golf championship  
in August 1994 the famous Shoal Creek

Country Club 1994 excludes black  
members. But there is no talk of  
boycotting the tournament, which is  
one of the four majors. Comments and rebuttals by the  
club and its accusers could be a  
replay of those which marked the

South African sports scene 10 years  
ago: 1984 the PGA is open, and there is  
no racial exclusion; 1994 although  
there are no black members at the  
club, blacks do play the course;  
1994 Shoal Creek would consider black  
membership, but no blacks have  
been proposed as members.

The same sort of answers might  
still be forthcoming from many  
South African clubs, but black  
golfers are now regular competi-  
tors in amateur leagues and inter-  
provincial matches, and the name  
of a black winner is on the cham-  
pionship board of at least one  
prominent club.

Derided as we are, we've come  
further in a shorter time than some  
in the US; if we carry on as we have,  
we'll leave them behind.

HE encomiums heaped on  
ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela as he tours  
the US are bngnd extravagan-

gant. They have begun to approximate the obscene titles accorded the great totalitarians, Stalin, Mao and Ceausescu, by their acolytes. In this instance, happily, 'the phenomenon is a reflection not on the idol, but on his idolators. Behind the nauseating fog of adulation, lies, without question, an extraordinary man.

What remains to be teased out is whether he is a genuine democrat or, like so many leaders of liberation movements who have come here before him, the beguiling salesman of one-party tyranny. Does he mean to transcend and redirect the intolerant instincts of an organisation whose members murder dissent? Or is he merely exploiting the uncritical reverence of his foreign worshippers to strengthen the organisation's hand in pursuit of sole power?

After a week of hanging on his words, I join President F Klerk in wanting to believe the former yet cannot shake suspicion of the latter. Perhaps Mandela's multiple contradictions are indeed designed to conceal his true intentions from those already crying-a sell-out. But then again, perhaps they are a lullaby for the friends of the open society.

I want to believe that his refusal to criticise Castro, Gaddafi and Arafat or even to find a formula of words to avoid triggering the neuralgia

these men provoke in most Americans

is evidence not of his admiration or desire to emulate them, but rather of his firm allegiance to principle. They supported the ANC. He is honour-bound not to renounce them now that he no longer needs them. As he told TV anchorman Ted Koppel: A man who changes his principles depending on with whom he is - ing is not a man who can lead a nation.

The question, of course, is: to which principles does he refer? Simple loghalty to old friends? Or continued adherence to the political philosophies of those friends? If the latter;



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%lĩ¬\201.gl Jiddle:  
plain expedience or  
dangerous lullaby?,

SIMON BARBER in Washington

is the adherence sincere or, as I want  
to believe, an expedient gesture to  
soothe his movementâ\200\231s more radical  
elements lest they conclude, rightly,  
that he no longer approves the use of  
terror?

I want to believe that he permits  
his wife to shout â\200\234Viva Umkhonto we  
Sizweâ\200\235 to adoring New Yorkers and  
to say she will â\200\234returnâ\200\235 to the bush  
to â\200\234fight the white manâ\200\235 should nego-  
tiations collapse, not because he  
remains committed to the armed  
struggle, but to reassure those who  
do; and that, by avoiding such rhetor-  
ic in his own speeches, he is t.?'lng to  
delineate himself as a man of peace

.who must be heeded if SA is to be

saved from the young lions.

I want to believe that his call for  
the maintenance of sanctions is simi-  
larly expedient; that behind closed  
doors he has intimated to forei  
businessmen that he doesnâ\200\231t y  
want them to leave SA despite his  
best efforts to energise the sanctions  
lobby against them; that he really  
believes, as he told one interviewer,  
that sanctions gut pressure on both  
government and the ANC to come to  
terms as fast as possible, because  
neither wants to see the economy  
wrecked.

This conjures the interesting im-  
age of his telling his colleagues at

some point when negotiations begin  
to stall: look, gentlemen, we must  
concede on point x or y because if we  
donâ\200\231t, the sanctions I have succeeded  
in getting the world to retain will

undermine us as much as the government by making it impossible to fulfil the expectations of the people.

I want to believe, too, that his summons â\200\234keep the pressure-onâ\200\235 and the all but inevitable obedience of most Western governments is intended not merely to strengthen the ANCâ\200\231s hand at the negotiating table, but to give Mandela himself and his like-minded adjutants the space to compromise, build bridges with the white community and say, as nobody in the anti-apartheid movement has said before, that the NPâ\200\231s leaders are men of â\200\234integrityâ\200\235 and â\200\230â\200\234honestyâ\200\235 who â\200\234will abide by agreements that are arrived at in the course of our negotiations and discussionsâ\200\235.

I want to believe him when he tells the UN General Assembly that â\200\234the only victory we should seek is the victory of the people as a whole, and not the victory of one Party over anotherâ\200\235; when he says â\200\234no solution is possible ... without the involvement of Chief Butheleziâ\200\235 and slyly

â\200\230shifts the blame for the Natal vio-

lence onto government for not having deployed its â\200\234strong, efficient and well-equipped army and police forceâ\200\235 to â\200\234suppressâ\200\235 the conflict.

When he speaks of government acting â\200\234together with us and all other representative political forces to bring about a new realityâ\200\235, I want to believe that he sincerely acknowledges that there are such things as â\200\230â\200\234other representative political forcesâ\200\235 beyond the aegis of the ANC and that, henceforth, he will fight any attempt to eliminate them or otherwise dissuade their supporters from expressing themselves.

I want to believe his apparent flexibility on how the negotiators of a new constitution should be selected, and that, as he suggested to the New York Times, he is not bound by the Harare Declarationâ\200\231s demand for\* a constituent assembly.

â\200\234I'm not concerned with terminology at the moment. What concerns me is substance ... how the people who are entrusted with the task of considering a new non-racial constitution should be identified, thatâ\200\231s what concerns me.â\200\235 ,

When he invokes the vision of a constitution and justiciable bill of rights which ensure â\200\234the genuine li-

berty of every individualâ\200\235 and under

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.g\â\200\234â\200\231â\200\234â\200\230 Doy 2 Tune 1990  
Â» Schools â\200\230militar

Â\$ targeozf â\200\224 Winnie

IMON BARBER

WASHINGTON â\200\224 Black schools were legitimate â\200\234military targetsâ\200\235 because they were government facilities and provided inferior education, Winnie Mandela said on US national television yesterday.

â\200\234The children have turned the schools into military targets,â\200\235 she said. This was in line with the dictates of the â\200\234armed struggleâ\200\235, in which she â\200\234totally believedâ\200\235.

Appearing on Phil Donahueâ\200\231s popular morning talk show, Mandela also said she would welcome being charged in the murder of Stompie Seipei so that she could appear in court to defend herself.

The police investigation of the â\200\234so-called offenceâ\200\235 had been intended to â\200\234destroy the imageâ\200\235 of the Mandelas.  
- Donahue asked her whether she might have physically shaken Seipei if she had had reason to believe he was a government informer. â\200\234I am a social worker . . . I would have had better methods of dealing with the situation if it had been addressed to me.â\200\235

She insisted her infamous remark about liberating SA with the â\200\234necklaceâ\200\235 had been taken out of context.

She admitted harbouring considerably more bitterness towards â\200\234the Afrikaner ruling classâ\200\235 than did her husband, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

Amid cheers from the highly partisan studio audience, she vowed that â\200\234if anything goes wrong, I will be the first to go back into the bush and take up arms and fightâ\200\235.  
\* Defending the armed struggle, she claimed it had been fully â\200\230blessed by the late ANC president Chief Albert Luthuli.

While Mandela last week talked of reconciliation with

President George Bush wel ANC leader Nel Mandela to the White House after his ief M. i hie wi

: g osuthu Buthelezi, his wife a red adamant:  
amva\_l there yostorday.'B.ush urged Mandela to renounce violence, but Mandela reserved %i~  
\201:{haa:l%e satig â\200\234wgrks [fa,nd in glovg i~\201h.t))e govent-  
the right to use any tactics necessary to end apartheid. Picture: REUTER ment to, kill oppZ  
ments of apartbeidâ\200\231}

Gap with B

WASHINGTON â\200\224 ANC deputy presi uSh %â\200\231LOâ\200\230Wed i-\201he Compre?ehsive Anti-

Nelson Mandela said he had held â\200\234a v SIMON BARBER A >

Guitful\_discussionâ\200\235 with US President \it clear he did not fully share the ANCs \_.  
Partheid Act, he said he was bound by the  
George Bush yesterday and had narrowed belief in sanctions andy said the US was goi-\201cï  
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\_8aps with him t,o reach â\200\234agreement on â\200\234committed to the concept of a free  
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ever, that sanctions had

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\_ prepared for two hours of talks, Bush made the question of easing the sanctions YT ey P p  
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Mandela ) O From Page 1

ment might be about to change its stance i

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As long as the government is prepared through non-violent mfgcnasnsd;vrggcrs:gk.

to talk, to maintain channels of communi- human Tights and freedom.â\200\235 %

cation between itself \_and the governed, Mandela countered by insisting that all

there can be no question of violence.â\200\235 US policy moves be made in full consulta-

Although this point had yet to be tion with the ANC, which had the â\200\234key

reached, there had been significant devel. roleâ\200\235 in moving SA towards a settlement  
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ogments which he hoped to brief Bush Bush should not do anything to help De

a gâ\200\230"' . . â\200\231 -Klerk, least of all to lift sanctions.

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n in the

ten pport any one party in the world that can help Mr de Klerk maintaj

\_negotiations. party his position,â\200\235 Mangela said. o e

We here in America walk in solidarity Â@ Comment: Page 10



The  
Natal Witness

b .ob. Q0  
Where we

stand o[

For far too long have successive South  
L African governments â\200\234misused the  
Kingâ\200\231s press damnablyâ\200\235, as Falstaff said.  
States of emergency, a raft of legislation  
and sundry individual acts of State-  
inspired malice against newspapers have  
taken their toll over the years. Some of the  
best writers in the country have been im-  
grlsoned or driven into exile. Journalists

ave been threatened, even shot at while  
covering events. Little wonder that with  
few exceptions newspapers have lost their  
crusading zeal at best or practised self cen-  
sorship at worst, as reporters betgan to feel  
that society was robbing them of their pro-  
fessional selfrespect.

Fortunately there is light at the end of  
the tunnel. South Africa has entered a  
period of transition, we hope in the direc-  
tion of a democracy. President de Klerk is

- taking steps to create a climate of free  
association in order to facilitate the nego-  
tiation process. Newspapers are losing  
their chains, and it is perhaps opportune to  
state where The Natal Witness stands as  
changes are thrust on the country.

It stands where it has always stood: in  
the eye of the storm, the calm centre where  
societyâ\200\231s diverse opinions can be aired in  
its pages. It stands for a liberal democracy,  
in the old fashioned sense of a society ma-  
ture enough to tolerate the different points  
of view that a functioning democracy will  
always throw up.

In the months ahead the Witness will  
continue to ventilate the South African de-  
bate without takinï\201 sides, except on the  
side of a balanced presentation of the  
facts. Where it is prevented from doing so  
it will emphasise the fact, just as it will  
highlight all attempts to frustrate the  
march towards democracy and every South  
Africanâ\200\231s right to a free interplay of views  
in our society, and to know what is going  
on.

The power of the press may last but a  
day, as Sir Stanley Unwin wrote, but it is a  
power for all that. As South Africa heads  
into the turbulent nineties the Witness re-

mains conscious that this power can be all too easily abused. For that reason we shall continue to strive to be true to the fine tradition of journalism established by the paper's founder, David Buchanan.

&

Investment -.

. post-apartheid democratic country

will require massive economic and social reconstruction, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela told American businessmen this week, adding: "But we are sensitive to the fact that investors in a post-apartheid South Africa will need confidence in the stability of the society which they are to build."

They will need more than confidence. They will need a positive investment climate and copper-bottom guarantees that the new democratically elected government due to take office about three years

from now will desist from nationalising .

their assets, or imposing a block, no matter how limited, on the repatriation of dividends. It is not for this newspaper to prescribe to an as yet unelected government what its economic policies should be, but it is most unfortunate that the present Government should already be setting an example of what not to do to its successor if new investment is to be attracted. In this instance it is the proposed tax on gilts. One can understand the concern about money leaving the country through the medium of this market, but this is a retrogressive step at odds with the liberalising trend elsewhere in the world. People abroad take note of trends. Zimbabwe is a classic example of a country where a so-called "investor code" has succeeded only in deterring investment. The new post-independence Zimbabwe Government inherited its rigid financial controls from the old white Government. The lesson appears to have been lost on Pretoria.



Price of staple food doubled

Police fire  
St

LUSAKA — Police opened fire yesterday on hundreds of stone-throwing, flag-burning university students who were protesting a doubling of the price of Zambia's staple food, corn meal, and calling for political reforms.

Several hundred paramilitary riot police, regular police and heavily armed detectives in plain clothes patrolled suburban districts of the capital, Lusaka.

They sealed off the main routes to the city centre as scores of residents and school children joined the student protesters.

ga township said they

le fall when police fired volleys

from rifles at demonstrators and said police fired teargas canisters as well. i

Witnesses said several groups of students were beaten with truncheons and rifle butts, before being forced into police trucks at gunpoint.

The windows of several police vehicles were smashed and fist-sized rocks and broken glass littered the roads.

Protests began when some 2000- students marched through suburbs near the main Zambia university campus in eastern Lusaka. As the protests spread to six residential townships, students burned ruling party flags and chanted slogans against the United National Independence Party, the only legal political party in the country.

A protest meeting at the Lusaka campus on Sunday condemned the price increase and called for the resignation of prime minister Malimba Masheke and an end to the one party political system.

The increase, in line with the recommendations of international financial institutions and donor nations, initially sparked protest marches, panic buying and a threat of labour unrest. — Sapa-AP.

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- Mandel

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" Mandela

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s&6 â\200\234JUN 1990 |

Frhm:BRYAN BOSWELL

{"in Washington

OSTENSIBLY uncon-  
nected'with the visit by South  
African black leader Mr Nel-  
son Mandela â\200\224 who is seeking  
up to \$US50 million (\$64 mil-  
lion) | aid from Congress to  
further the anti-apartheid  
campaign â\200\224 a leaked Con-  
gressional report shows the  
United States is wallowing in  
a sea of foreign debt.

According to a House ap-  
propriations subcommittee  
report, which is to be offi-  
cially disclosed today, the US  
faces a \*â\200\234escalating problemâ\200\235  
of collecting almost \$US65 bil-  
lion in foreign debt,

The disclosure comes as the  
House is debating the 1991  
Foreign Aid Bill, which would  
add \$US15.7 billion to the  
total. Of this, \$US10 million  
has been set aside for the  
ANC.Â¥

The report describes a wor-

sening global debt in which  
rich countries are increas-  
ingly using the technique of  
debt â\200\230rescheduling to paper  
over their domestic crises.

Wisconsin Democrat, Repre-  
sentative Mr David Obey has  
already complained that un-  
explained â\200\234shenanigansâ\200\235 in  
financial reporting are â\200\234mis-  
leading people into believing  
these debts can and will be  
paid in fullâ\200\235.

The House report warns  
that (Â©:even a brief, moderate  
turndownâ\200\235 in the world econ-  
omy will expose the true ex-  
tent of the international debt  
crisisÂ\$ ;

The House Bill being de-  
batedâ\200\230e?this week would set a

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ceiling of \$US70 million on US  
contributions to the new  
Eurogean Bank for Recon-  
strucfion and Development â\200\224  
mainly aimed at Poland â\200\224 but  
it alsp allows the US Presi-  
dem.,i Mr Bush, to adjust |  
Pol:.mâ\200\230dâ\200\230s debt to the US â\200\234ina |

manner which recognises its | |

basic hncollectabilityj". t

Mos} of the debt owed to the | s  
US dgtes from the 1970s Dem- | r -  
ocrat years, from money han- | !  
ded olit by the Export-Import  
Bank; the Commodity Credit  
Corpdration and the Pen-  
tagonâ\200\231s Defence Security As-  
sistarfce Agency.

The; Pentagon agency, in  
partigular, lent billions of dol-  
lars te countries to help them r  
to buy US arms, almost cer- n  
tainly. knowing that the buy- | Â£  
ers cdquld not afford to repay | o  
the c4sh. h

At the end of May, the Exim a  
Bank{ which subsidises US | I  
exporgs with direct loans and  
guarantees, was carrying â\200\234de-  
linquent paymentsâ\200\235 of about  
\$US1.5 billion from 50 coun-  
tries. It already has set up a  
\$US5 billion loan loss reserve.

Egypt owes \$US112 billion,  
half of it from arms pur-  
chases dating back more than  
a decade, and it is falling in-  
creasingly behind on its pay-  
ments. The US estimates  
Egypt is \$US630' million be-  
hind on the payments this  
year and js facing a \$US720  
million pay-off in principal  
and interest due.

Against .. this background,  
Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s plea to the Us  
Congress-.â\200\224 which he will  
make in private meetings be-  
fore his speech to the joint  
session of Congress today â\200\224  
looks doomed tc fall on deaf

ears.

Any sum . more than. the  
\$US10 million already . allo-  
cated will almost certainly  
have fo .tome from private  
coffers.

Â® Mrâ\200\230Mandela criticised US  
aid td ~Angola's- rightist  
UNITA rebels yesterday in a  
question and answer session  
with the media.

He said a day before meet-  
ing Mr Bush that the Us  
should not be aiding Mr  
Jonas Savimbi, the leader of  
the National :Union for the  
Total Independence of An-  
gola. 4

Mr Mandela and his wife,  
Winnie, were in Washington  
on their third stop of a 12-day  
US tour. They said they were  
encouraged by the reception  
they had received,

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ANG, condemps anti:L]

THE ANC yesterday dissociated itself from an anti-Zulu pamphlet which was distributed widely in Pietermaritzburg townships last week.

The ANC condemned the document, saying it regarded it â\200\234as the work of an enemy agentâ\200\235.

A member of the ANC Natal mid-lands committee, Sipho Gcasbashe, said: â\200\234Zulus form a substantial part of the membership of the ANC.

â\200\234Allegations contained in the pamphlet that they are traitors, cops, security guards and informers are regarded as an insult not only to the Zulus, but to the movement as a whole, and are in-

tende: reate divisions among the oppressed.

â\200\234The ANC as a national liberation movement has its own media and publicity department, which is responsible

disunity

" for publishing the views and news of

the movement,â\200\235 said Geabashe.

A local Inkatha leader, Phikelela Ndlovu, who is also the Imbali mayor, categorically denied that the pamphlet was compiled and distributed by Inkatha.

He said, however, that he did not doubt that the ANC was responsible for the pamphlet.

â\200\234Deputy president of the ANC Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s praise for and support

lu pamphlet -

7 ,:-?'g.f .  
for people like Yasser. Arafat and Muammar Gaddafi proves that the his organisation is interested in keeping the violence alive,â\200\235 said Mr Ndlovu.

The pamphlet, which was not sourced, stated that â\200\234the Boers are helping Inkatha to kill usâ\200\235. It says that the Zulus have always been traitors, that Zulus are always the â\200\234copâ\200\235, security guard and informer, and it is always the Zulu who â\200\234crawlsâ\200\235 for the favour of the Boer.

The pamphlet also said that â\200\234the bastard Boers are using Zulus as their private armyâ\200\235 and â\200\234the Boers have given a }g{lge quantity of weapons to Inkatha to

usâ\200\235.

South Africaâ\200\231 ~..iou: <. "  
w - \ Qâ\200\230plnlon No,\_,a\j \Q\i-ww\_\_i~\202 Tuesday, June 26, 1990 py Ken (\_)wen

Uncomfortable realities

THE future hangs uncertainly over us, like a promise of redemption, or like a death sentence. We are excited and unsure, we do not know where we are going. We do not even know where we are, or who we are. One nation or seven-

ral? Racial oligarchy or hodgepodge of

tribes? Is diversity the glory of South Africa, or its cross? Is the main dividing line class or colour? Or language? Or religion? Does our notoriously unequal division of wealth follow racial lines, or is it more complicated than that?

The temptation is great to brush aside these questions, and to say piously that we must build a new nation, but few things (as we have learned from the calamity of 1910) are so risky as a constitution that tries to ignore uncomfortable realities.

If South Africans may reasonably be defined as a nation deeply fissured by differences of language, religion, race, cultural habit, historical experience and self-definition, then we have two extreme options: try to obliterate the differences under a strong central government that brooks no nonsense, or â\200\224 as Mao said â\200\224 let a hundred schools of thought contend. :

There is no doubt which option is the more dangerous: to try to obliterate dif-

- ferences in a system that gives unfet-

- \_tered control to â\200\23450 percent plus oneâ\200\235 .. (or even 90 percent plus one) risks unleashing into this volatile mixture the destructive fury of an IRA: a psychopathic right-wing underground army that carries violent resistance, against all odds, from generation to generation. That makes it all the more alarming that the ANC and its various supporting groups persistently reject, as Nel-

son Mandela did last week, the notion of a federal state. The excuse, put forward most recently by the MDMâ\200\231s Faried Esack, is that such mechanisms to limit the power of â\200\23450 percent plus oneâ\200\235 are mere devices to â\200\234â\200\230perpetuate apartheidâ\200\235.



A momentâ\200\231s thought exposes the excuse as nonsense. There is hardly a magisterial district, much less a potential federal unit, where whites are not a minority. In fact, former MP Reuben Sive has calculated that even in the â\200\234whitestâ\200\235 part of South Africa, which is the PWV area, whites are outnumbered by more than two to one. Elsewhere, the disparity is greater.

Until somebody comes up with a

more convincing explanation, we must .

assume that the rejection of federalism arises from a determination on the part of the ANC to acquire unfettered power. And we must ask ourselves, why this lust for power, if not to coerce?

The problems of definition are severe. We are skewered on the terminology of racism: blacks, whites, coloureds, Asians. Nothing in our history led to quite the same agony as the attempt to lay down a pseudo-scientific definition of racial characteristics. The Population Registration Act is to South Africa what the death camp monuments are to Germany, a reminder of the obscene perversions committed in service of a spurious definition of ourselves. Ironically, however, the terminology of race, and the myths that go with it, still dominate our political discourse: rich whites, poor blacks, deprived minorities of coloureds and Indians.

In fact, an equal division of wealth,

â\200\234In this volatile mixture of tribe and class and race, each

nursing ancient myths and clashing visions, the surest way to disaster is to formulate another grand plan to replace Verwoerdâ\200\231s grand plan. If our history has taught us anything, it is to be wary of leaders who demand power in order to do good.â\200\235

assuming it were possible, would give the Indians three percent of the whole,

which is a little less than their present share; hence equality must make them poorer. But simply to state that fact is to fall into the old obscenity: the truth is that some Indians are very poor, some are very rich, and there is no reason at all to lump them together. Look at the same question from another angle: almost all home owners in Soweto, and most occupiers of the little matchboxes, draw large incomes from sub-letting back rooms, Zozo huts, or garages to so-called squatters. As in Sophiatown and old Alexandra in the Fifties, mutterings against the landlords are being heard from the

underclass of sub-tenants who, ironically, are drafted into the struggle to give legitimacy to the claims of their relatively prosperous landlords! Who (e the rich, who the poor?

When we talk of poor blacks, whom do we mean? Or when we talk, say, about redistribution of wealth, do we mean that the backyard squatters will no longer have to pay rent to the new class of Soweto landlords? Or only that the landlords will not pay rent to the municipality? Or do we mean that the very poor will get new houses, and their landlords will lose their extra income?

Or, from yet another angle: the unionised workers have become a new, relatively privileged class, fighting off hordes of half-starved scabs who clamour at the factory gates for jobs. The most under-reported story in South Africa these days, I venture to suggest, is the epidemic of killing and assault that occurs within 500 metres of the factory gate during strikes.

Again, who is rich, and who is poor? Is it better to throw the labour market open to all job-seekers, and let wages slide as a result, or should the unions fight to protect the interests of their members? Even at the cost of condemning the scabs not only to desperate poverty, but to high prices?

We are a country of myths and illusions. The totalitarian machinery created to enforce apartheid also obliterated the facts. Statistics which divide the population according to unscientific criteria of the Population Registration Act serve only to conceal reality, not to illuminate it.

In addition, if we are honest we must

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ties soon after his return to/

negotiations going well, Mandela tells Bush  
ely to â\200\230end

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Al

hostilitiesâ\200\231 s

By David Braun, Sapa  
and Reuter  
: Washington |  
Nelson Mandela expects to an-  
nounce a cessation of hostili,

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South Africa next month.

That is what the ANC leader -  
told President Bush at their White

President Bush urged Mr Mandeia

| to go beyond the cessation of hostili-  
/tiÃ@s to renounce the armed struggle .

â\200\230;â\200\230aâ\200\230g"(â\200\230imixenounce all violence.  
e  
â\200\230er Mr Bushâ\200\231s request.â\200\235

Coysult Congress  
Mr Cohen said Mr Mandela repeat-

House meeting yesterday, accord- ' â\200\230ed his belief that the maintenance of

ing to the US Assistant Secretary ;  
of State for African Affairs, Mr  
Herman Cohen. - il  
Mr Cohen, who was present at the .

discussions, told reporters Mr Bush reaffirmed to Mr Mandela the full support of the US administration for his lifelong objective to dismantle the apartheid system and replace it with - a nonracial, democratic government. fir Mandela, he said, had told #r Bush the process of negotiation was â\200\234doing wellâ\200\235 and he was optimistic .

\_ about the next step, which would be

{ suchâ\200\231 an agreem  
{rather. quiekly, â\200\235 Â« i il

to reach agreement with President de ' |

Klerk on removing the last obstacles.  
Mr Cohen said: â\200\234Mr Mandela said

that when the basic obstacles to nego-

tiation- are overcome, the ANC will -

. announce a cessation of hostilities. He -

said that when he returns to South Africa on July 18, he expects that

: sanctions were important to continue

encouraging the process of negotia-  
tions. The President said he would  
take no action on sanctions until the  
requirements of the US legislation  
were fulfilled, at which time he would  
begin a consultative process with the  
Congress. ik

President Bush requested advice  
from Mr Mandela as to the best way  
the US could use money recently ap-  
â\200\234propriated by Congress, but indicated  
the US was unlikely to provide assis-  
tance to any specific political organi-  
sation directly.

At a media conference at his Wash-  
â\200\234ington hotel, Mr Mandela said the  
ANCâ\200\231s mission to the White House

| -had succeeded beyond its wildest ex-

â\200\230pectations. He had the distinct im-  
pression that he and Mr Bush had  
;Maprowed the gaps that existed be-  
â\200\234tween them at the start of the meel-

nt will be reached -

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â\200\230encouragedâ\200\235. L)

Â¥

Â¥ Mandela said he would consid-

He listed the remaining obstacles  
to negotiation as:

@ The return of almost 20000 politi-  
cal exiles. T

'@ The release of almost 1000 politi- 1| e vty operates on very short hauls

and there is no time to serve hot |

cal prisoners. ; o

Â® The repeal of repressive legislation  
which has been identified.

| Â® An end to political trials.

Â® Complete lifting of the state of  
emergency.

Today, Mr Mandela addresses a

: joint meeting of the US Congress, the

first South African invited to do so.

When things <  
donâ\200\231t go better

The Star Bureau  
WASHINGTON â\200\224 Coca-Cola prod-  
ucts have been banned on all flights  
of â\200\234Air Mandelaâ\200\235, the private charter  
service which is transporting Nelson  
and Winnie Mandela and their huge  
entourage around the United States.

The tour organisation has char-  
tered a Trump Shuttle Boeing 727.

Trump Shuttle is owned by New  
York millionaire Mr Donald Trump.  
In front of each seat is a public tele-  
phone which can be used to make

â\200\230ing and he came away â\200\234very much

calls auywhere in the world. The

Shake .

- House yesterglay.

o5 President

dent Nelson Mandela in the garden of the White

Bush greets ANC deputy presl-.

@ Picture by Associated Press.

washrooms have been fitted withâ\204ç -  
| â\200\230gold-plated taps.

The aircraft is not, however, fitted  
with ovens, because the Trump Shut-

medls.

A lso not on the menu are any Coca-  
Cola products. A flight crew member  
said this had been ordered by the tour

organisers in protest against Coca-

Colaâ\200\231s continued operations in Souih  
Africa. 1

The crew member was, however,  
at a loss to explain why a Boeing 727

was being used, as Boeing continues .

to be a direct supplier of aircraft o  
South African Airways.

' @ See Pages 2 and 8.

v

- 8A TUESDAY, JUNE 26, 1990 - USA TODAY

BT o â\200\234USA TODAY hopes to  
e serve as a forum for better  
understanding and unity to  
help make the USA truly  
one nation."â\200\235

Editor  
Cathleen Black  
Publisher

DEBATE  
Mandela is right;

keep the sanctions

TODAYâ\200\231S DEBATE: sanctions. In USA TODAYâ\200\231s  
opinion, South Africa has taken only the first steps toward  
abolishing apartheid â\200\224 keep up the economic pressure. 8A.

Â» Support of â\200\234morally and politically wrongâ\200\235 sanctions  
ignores recent world history, says Ernest Lefever. 8A.

Ernest W. Lefever  
Senior Fellow In Applied Ethics

Ethics and Public Policy Center

1030 Fifteenth Street N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20005  
(202) 682-1200

. ERNEST W. LEFEVER

An opposing view

Mandela is wrong;

lift economic sanctions

WASHINGTON â\200\224 Why is Nelson Mandela given a New York  
ticker-tape parade and an appearance before Congress â\200\224 honors  
not accorded Alexander Solzhenitsyn or Martin Luther King?

Why the widespread praise for the leader of the African Na-  
tional Congress, a Marxist-oriented organization, just as Marxism,  
even in the Soviet Union, has been declared morally and political-  
ly bankrupt? :

The obvious answer is that Mandela -has become a symbol of  
the struggle against racism. So far, so good. :  
All decent persons should oppose racial and



tribal discrimination in South Africa, black Africa and elsewhere around the world.

Looking beneath Mandela the symbol, what about the man and his message?

We can admire Mandela's courage, but we should not overlook his flaws. After all, Mandela was jailed for 27 years not because he is black or he opposed apartheid. Tens of thousands of South African blacks and whites have opposed apartheid for years without being arrested. Mandela was jailed because he confessed to conspiring with others to commit acts of violence and i

While in prison, he lost touch with the outside world. As a free man, he is in a kind of time warp that permits him to praise certified tyrants as freedom fighters. He has repeatedly commended Fidel Castro and Moammar Gadhafi for their commitment to human rights and world peace. He has called South African Communist Party boss Joe Slovo one of our finest patriots. °

He has not disavowed the ANC's terrorist tactics, including the murder of innocent blacks in South Africa.

Mandela's urgent message in the USA includes three points:

» South Africa's apartheid system is the most brutal form of racism in the world. (He does not mention tribal tyranny in black Africa that has led to bloody genocide in Uganda and Ethiopia.)

» President F.W. de Klerk is sincere, but he has made no fundamental to eliminate apartheid. ¢

» The USA should continue and intensify economic sanctions against South Africa.

This, his central message, is seriously flawed. His pro-sanctions stance reflects the ANC's revolutionary views: The old order must be brought to its knees before a new order can be born.

. This prescription flies in the face of recent experience. All new socialist orders have failed. The new South Africa needs freedom and prosperity. Sanctions hurt the economy and cause unemploy-

Ernest W. Lefever is a senior fellow with the.

' ment for the very blacks the ANC seeks to liberate. Hence, the majority of black workers want sanctions ended. Only the violence-prone extremists of the left and right benefit from them.

Sanctions are morally and politically wrong. The USA should end them and increase trade with South Africa. President de

Klerk's courageous steps toward greater racial justice and prosperity merit our support. i ] .

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While Mzndela last week talked of remnmhanon vnthÂ»â\200\230  
mefMangesuthn Buthelezi; his wife appeared adamant:  
~B - Inkathi, she said, â\200\234works hand in Blove vnth the governs i  
L5 mï¬\201ntâ\200\224 kï¬\201[â\200\224opponents of apa\_"thmdâ\200\235 SN Al

" Ponahne-asked her: whether she:might have-â\200\230p\_%y:zmï¬\202y 4

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GOMMENT

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strain both

HE state of the country is not very reassur-  
ing.

There is a refusal by the African National  
Congress to abandon the armed struggle.

Mr Nelson Mandela, the ANC Deputy Presi-  
dent, has told President George Bush he be-  
lieves that a cessation of hostilities might be

arranged once the obstacles to negotiation -  
are removed â\200\224 but the ANC'â\200\231s list of obsta-

cles are not just the ones discussed at Groote  
Schoor.

There are other demands, contained in the  
UN and Harare declarations.

Significantly, Mr Mandela has refused to  
abandon the armed struggle.

That means that any cessation of hostilities  
will only be a tactical move.

The armed struggle will be reactivated when-  
ever it suits the ANC.

However, although there is a tendency to re-  
gard talk of the armed struggle as rhetorical  
these days, since no terrorist attacks on civi-  
lians are taking place, the attacks on police-  
men, Black councillors and other â\200\234symbolsâ\200\235  
of the system are continuing.

Hand-grenade attacks, the planting of limpet  
mines and the setting fire to homes are not  
being carried out by novices, but by trained

- cadres.

In these days of ANC-government dialogue,  
no official denunciation of the attacks is  
made.

Because of its desire to create a climate for  
negotiation, the government will not clamp  
down on Umkhonto we Sizwe under the se-  
curity laws still available to it.

The fact that the police no longer act with the  
firmness they once used has two conse-  
quences.

The first is that it encourages the people who  
attack the police and other officials to con-  
tinue their foul deeds. :

But worse than that, it encourages the extreme

Right among Whites to engage in their own brand of terrorism. =

The extremists are saying that the government is soft on Black radicals and terrorists and is harassing Whites who wish to make their own stand â\200\224 in their case, against possible ANC rule. (Coincidentally, the Black radicals are complaining the government is not clamping down on the Right-wing extremists). ;

Instead of a person like Piet (Skiet) Rudolph being regarded as a dangerous armed fugitive, capable of an irrational deed that could result in death and destruction, he is given heroic status.

According to the Right-wingers, he is merely doing what the Black activists have been doing all along â\200\224 he is fighting for a cause and is prepared to sacrifice his life for a cause. :

Open defiance is meanwhile being expressed by the leaders of organisations forming Boere commandos and Boere armies and training supposedly for the day Blacks take over the country. .

They make no bones about their militarism â\200\224 and they make no bones about their hatred of the government and its reforms.

We have never, since the days of the Ossewa-brandwag during World War Two, encountered such terrible bitterness in a section of the volk.

And this at a time when there should be peace and reconciliation and opposition to the policy of the government of the day should be political and not violent. s

The government has made it clear that it will not abandon its chosen path of introducing a

- new South Africa.

No government worth its salt would bow to

threats, from whichever quarter, and this government certainly wonâ\200\231t. :

After a meeting with three Right-wing organisations, one of which is â\200\234mobilising its armed forcesâ\200\235, the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, warned that the government would not tolerate anarchy and lawlessness.

â\200\234The government takes a strong stand against violence, from whatever source. ;

â\200\234Legislation will be applied strictly and impartially against whoever furthers violence and commits intimidation.â\200\235

We agree. The government must clamp down on both Black and White transgressors.

