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e Wime. Nercury 20- ps- 92

rom Alaska to the land
of the Zulus

OW DOES an American I
ofe, :
H Alaska come to help dramalt);ise as:grdgggÃ@
Wizh Zulu l;adgend for Natal theatre-goers?
considerable experience in this t
gnses%t;r% fxf i~\2021:: tii Thomas Riccio3 associatzp Srgf
e â\200\230 atre at the University of Alaska in
There, in additon to directin
ggakespeare, Jarry, Chekov, Pemr%vgilszy%a%
epard, Ionesco, Strindberg, Fugard and

Aeschylus, he h
0 gy as run the Tuma Theatre for

â\200\234Itâ\200\231s a student group mainl
l (y made up of
Ali~\201kan Esklmos;_ and Indians presenting pll)ays
lg)a ered by talking to tribal elders or written
th!agi studelxl)ts themselves,â\200\235 Riccio explains.
; year he journeyed to Denmark to
with Greenlapd Eskimos on the same tygâ\200\231: Ic.)kf
theatr_e. He will head for Denmark again after
spending a couple of months in South Africa.
Apart from his sojourns in Denmark â\200\224 where
e has also worked with a group of Tamils, ref-
ugees from strife-torn Sri Lanka â\200\224 Riccio has

ltlgÃ@;i:reg at&e Navaho Indians of New Mexico find

â\200\234I hold workshops in self-discovery. helpi
;,hem get to the roots of their cultural. â\200\231hefig;eg
t is from such ground work that plays can
grgwt.el d;f:t without a script.â\200\235
ater year he will develop a th: i
piece based on pre-Christian rli)tuals %thcsâ\200\230al

Thomas Riccio . . . searching for
: peopleâ\200\231s roots

It was Napac drama director Murray
McGibbonâ\200\231s quest for a director, possibly one
who had worked on off-Broadway productions,
that brought Riccio to Durban. i

â\200\234I think he had a commercial director in
mind but, on the strength of what I had done
with Tuma and other companies, I was en-
gaged to work with the Kwasa Group and Loft
Company.â\200\235 {

Before arriving to workshop and direct
| Emandulo, Riccio put in six months of re-

search, reading all the books he could find on
| Zulu rituals and ceremonies, myths and leg-
ends.

Â«I found that the Zulus are a more warrior-
orientated people than those I had worked
with on various Tuma Theatre projects. They
are more macho even in their daily lives.â\200\235

Such research adds to the numerous lectures

and papers he has presented and had published, resulting in many awards and travel grants, one such grant taking him to Italy to work with Teatro di Roma.

But while his assignment with Napac ties in with Tuma Theatre and indigenous theatre he has helped in other parts of the world, Riccio also has a solid grounding in Western-type theatre.

Born in Cleveland, his studies for degrees were there and at Boston University. Further

study was at New York University and he also attended the Yeats Summer School in Ireland. While in Cleveland he founded and was artis-

group in St Petersburg. Next year it will be able to help the local Eskimos regain their cultural roots. He is

artistic director for three years of the Cleveland Laboratory Theatre, a summer theatre company sponsored by Cleveland State University. - His later experience includes a spell as dramaturg at Cleveland Playhouse, as assistant literary director with the American Repertory Theatre at Harvard University and company manager of Boston's Little Flags Theatre.

Before taking up his present post with the University of Alaska in 1988, Riccio was artistic director of the Organic Theatre Company in Chicago for three-and-a-half years.

In that time he either produced, presented or co-produced more than 150 events involving theatre, music and the visual arts, including national and international events.

Now happily settled in a house outside Fairbanks, Riccio is enjoying the solitude it affords him while still being an easy drive from the university each day.

He is also happy with the generous leave granted staff members, leave that he has certainly put to good use by getting to know the countries he has visited and worked in.

Now that Emandulo is on the boards the Loft season extends to June 7 followed by performances at Pietermaritzburg's Hexagon Theatre from June 10 to 13 Riccio is seeing something of South Africa.

At present in KwaZulu, where he will lecture and hold workshops at the University of Zululand, he also plans to travel to Swaziland and to visit the Kruger National Park.

David Coleman

OR anyone n0t vet smcken.' Ca o

A% with:Codesa exhaustxor.g may: -
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â\200\230mnqtâ\200\231â\200\235andâ\200\224atouchmorehâ\200\224â\200\230

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or, not to be?â\204ç

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made by schoolchildren as part of-

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. | â\200\234openly debated: adults onlyâ\200\235, but |-
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- Codesa masochists. -

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|- afterâ\200\231 allâ\200\231 those earlierâ\200\231 Tipples
-;through â\200\230SAA4R, - Sanroc, .Cosas,
â\200\230Tnocsa and Nose â\200\224 all gen-
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the foyer of the _Johannesburg: - 5

main library there is currently a-

a â\200\234Fun In the Far Eastâ\200\235 contest.
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was by Seipei and Nola Ra.hube of
Dlepklloo& Soweto.

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looked like 2 hartebeest. Lettering

abgve it said â\200\234New South Africaâ\200\235"

~â\200\224 and below, â\200\234T'win Peaksâ\204¢.

What wes the nexus between

those two' inscriptions? Are Man-

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â\200\230Inkathz and the ANC? . ;
Or were the two youngsters Just

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. both your kids, and T1l guarantes .| =

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thh_nayezâ\200\235 â\200\230

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me, whereâ\200\231s the caten?â\200\235 -
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A LAST word' qn- Codai¬\201, from' | : |
. -Zach.de Beer on Workmg Group?.

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tory. :

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KNOW- the Boksburg: dei¬\201mtlon of
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As reader Dr Jane Bridges

- notes, we all know the bread. . A
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JOHN KAMPFNER reports from Moscow

No-frills Yeltsin under fire

happened at the Tashkent summit of the Commonwealth of Independent States. It was not the alliance's inability to grapple with the problems facing its 11 constituent na-

s OMETHING disquieting

tions, something we have come -

to expect in the five months since its inception. It was President Yeltsin's performance.

Never a man to bother about the niceties of diplomacy and presentation, in contrast to Mr Gorbachev, Mr Yeltsin allowed his emotions to get the better of him last Friday. Coinciding with accusations in parliament in Moscow about his drinking habit, the moral authority which swept him to power is beginning to be called into question by his erstwhile supporters.

His antics, real or fictional, with the bourbon bottle in America in 1989, his various brushes with a KGB loyal to the hardliners who so loathed him during the Gorbachev years, earned him affection among a people relieved to see the emergence of a fighter, of a no-frills muzhik (real man), of a politician who was committed to fighting the corruption and toadyism that was the hallmark of Soviet Communism.

Despite a huge drop in the standard of living following price liberalisation at the start of the year, Mr Yeltsin's person-

al rating has fallen only slightly, while his government, advisors, local authorities and especially the Russian parliament have been roundly criticised. He remains popular because there is no politician around with anything approaching his stature.

This very fact has given rise to complacency. Many of his promises of a cleaner, more up-front administration have been broken. The black chauffeur-driven limousines, taking offi-

cials to and from their offices, homes and country retreats are more in evidence than ever. The network of special hospitals, sanatoria and dachas has yet fully to be broken, merely transferred to a new ruling elite in time-honoured fashion.

Mr Yeltsin seems to rely more on his kitchen cabinet containing his closest allies from the â\200\234Sverdlovsk mafiaâ\200\235 from when he was First Secretary in the Urals city than he does on the young government led by Yegor Gaidar. His closest associates are Yuri Petrov, the head of his secretariat and Gennady Burbulis. According to one of his team, Mr Gaidar is much respected by Mr Yeltsin, and listened to, but he does not have the personal inside track that is so vital in Russian politics.

His administrationâ\200\231s flagrant disregard for the media is a step backwards. The workings of the

Yeltsin team are shrouded in secrecy. Press conferences by the president and his aides are few and far between. The lack of day-to-day accountability, a reminder of the old Politburo days, merely fuels the rumour mill. It would not be difficult for Mr Yeltsin to counter the accusations about his alleged drinking bouts and for his press office to pre-empt his sporadic disappearances by giving out his itinerary. v

Perhaps his aides take the old view that the people need not know, or that a dose of mystique is beneficial to the presidential aura. But Russian public opinion has grown up considerably since the â\200\234muzhikâ\200\235 days. It is at the same time increasingly sophisticated and frustrated. Many wonder whether Mr Yeltsin might not one day suffer Mr Gorbachevâ\200\231s fate and become hostage to a team that eventually betrays him.

Mr Gaidarâ\200\231s revolutionary free market policies, hitherto staunchly supported by Mr Yeltsin, have been courageous. But it is not just steadfastness which will be needed to transform the juggernaut into a competitive, and at the same time civil, society. To prevent Rus-

sian society from sinking irre-
mediably into a quagmire of
criminality and amorality will
require a herculean effort led by

the head of state, and .the one
remaining political figure who
still enjoys a modicum of trust.

Whether Mr Yeltsin, the lead-
er of what remains in nuclear
terms a superpower, enjoys a
drink or two after a hard dayâ\200\231s
work is neither here nor there.
What matters more is his coher-
ence and calmness the next
morning. His outburst against
Mr Gorbachev served only to
show how deep-rooted is their
mutual antagonism and Mr
Yeltsinâ\200\231s justified although
pointless annoyance at the
Westâ\200\231s penchant to fete a man
whose era has passed.

Mr Yeltsin has problems and
enemies enough not to have to
bother about Mr Gorbachev. As
the role of the CIS slowly but in-
exorably diminishes into a loose
co-ordinating body, relations
among its members are being
conducted more on a bilateral
basis. The most important of
these will be with Ukraine, with
tension rising over a number of
economic and military issues,
notably the status of the Cri-
mea. It will take a good deal of
finesse to resolve the issue
peacefully. By the autumn,
social and economic dislocation
in Russia could reach a new cri-
sis, with unemployment begin-
ning in earnest. Mr Yeltsin will
need to keep his hand steady. â\200\224
The Daily Telegraph

Boris Yeltsin . . . steady hand needed

The Narae Verewny R0 ~DS~92,

Mar

ela moves to

encourage investment

OSLOâ\200\224ANC president
Nelson Mandela yesterday
edged further away from
nationalisation, launching
an all-out effort to encour-
age investment and prom-
ising a rosy economic
future for SA.

In a speech at an invest-
ment seminar in Oslo, Mr
Mandela said the ANC envis-
aged a private sector-driven
economy. He urged business
. leaders to investigate invest-
ment opportunities immed-
| iately. ;

Focusing on SAâ\200\231s potential
rather than its current prob-
lems, Mr Mandela said: â\200\234We
have no hesitation to say,
with all humility, that our

Mercury Correspondent

country offers tremendous
business and investment op-
portunities.

â\200\234We are determined to cre-
ate the necessary climate
which foreign investors would
find attractive. We are also
determined that trade and in-
vestment sanctions should be
lifted as soon as possible,
namely once an interim gov-
ernment of national unity is
in place.â\200\235

Mr Mandela emphasised
the highly uneven levels of
wealth in SA, but said that
there were no quick fixes, and
added the ANC was not
bound to any doctrinaire
ideological positions.

SA could prosper under de-
mocracy with a dynamic.
blend of public and private
enterprise, in keeping with -
what the World Bank, in its
development report of 1991,
saw as â\200\234the interaction be-
tween governments and mar-

ketsâ\200\235, he said.

The ANC was seeking a .
mixed economy which, led by
the private sector, which
would play a central role in
ensuring the creation of
wealth and jobs.

It envisaged a public sector
similar to that of countries in
Western Europe where the
State played an important
role in areas such as educa-
tion, health and welfare and
the provision of infrastruc-
ture, he said.

ANC cautious about
OAU manâ\200\231s stanc

J OHANNESBURG-â\200\224The
ANC reacted caut;ou_sly
yesterday to the Nigerian
Foreign Ministerâ\200\231s back-
ing for a federal system in
this country.

Maj-Gen Ike Nwachuku,
who is also heading the 11-
member Organisation of Afri-
can Unity delegation curren-
tly in SA, made the comments
at a news conference on Mon-
day. :

Â«It is not the policy of the
ANC to comment on state-
ments and views of members
of international organisations
such as the OAU whether
they are personal Or cOrpo-

rate,â\200\235 the ANC said in a state-
ment.

Â«â\200\234However, it is the under-
standing of the ANC that it is
not customary for officials of

such organisations to make .

public comments on issues
such as a form of government
they prefer when such issues
are subjects of delicate ne-
gotiations.â\200\235

The OAU delegation, which
jets out today, observed pro-
ceedings at Codesa II at the
weekend, and has also moni-

tored the ongoing violence in
the country.

The ANC statement added:
â\200\234The ANC noted the com-
ments of the Minister of For-
eign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha,
who told a press briefing dur-
ing Codesa II that the Gov-
ernment had been advised by
the African delegation to dig
its feet in and concede noth-
ing on the issue of federalism.

Â«The effect of such advice to

the SA Government on the negotiation process is made obvious by the impasse reached by Codesa IL.â\200\235

As far as the ANC was concerned though, Gen Nwachuku and any other OAU official, or any other international organisations, are entitled to their views.

Transkeian military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said yesterday Gen Nwachukuâ\200\231s statements on federalism had dented the image of the OAU.

Gen Holomisa further said the OAU should address the issue of a report that Gen Nwachuku and two colleagues went on a R60 000-

plus shopping trip in Johannesburg on Saturday while proceedings at Codesa II were still on the go.

The Nigerian Foreign Minister declined to comment on Monday when approached about the report.

As far as Gen Holomisa was concerned, the federal system in Africa had failed: â\200\234Just look at Nigeria where the economy and ethnic infighting is still a problem even todayâ\200\235.

Â® Simon Barber reports from Washington the US Government is bringing a team of top ANC legal experts to Washington next month for a three-day symposium on how American federalism works.

Seven of the 11-member delegation sit on the ANCâ\200\231s constitutional committee. They include Prof Albie Sachs, Prof Kader Asmal, Mr George Bizos, Mr Abdoulah Omar and Mr Essa Moosa.

Secretary of State James Baker, Attorney General William Barr and New York Governor Mario Cuomo are scheduled to address the gathering. â\200\224 (Sapa) /

SR
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Too

By PETER VALE
THE reawakening hor-
ror of the Goniwe/Calata

killings and the breach

of public trust by offi-
cials of the Department
of Development Aid and
their political bosses
have understandably in-
censed - even the most
hardened cynics. - .

: We have every right to
be outraged and, if we
are honest about it,
ashamed at what hap-
pened in the name of de-

velopment and democra-
cy in the dank 1980s.
~; But these, - the times
which try our souls, are
the very times when we
should pause to reflect
on what it was that per-
suaded our politicians
that they could do these
awful things in the

of ideals. . . =, /..

As we do so, we should
also think of how, if at

all, we can prevent this
from happening per-

aps, repeatedly in -

the lifetimes of our
children, =i o0
It is not enough that
we all agree, in the fram-
ing of a new constitution,

d ser-

to be served .an .
viced by a Bill of Rights
the Supreme

No compunction
If the lessons of the
past 40 years are at all

relevant, South Africans
should recognise that

verly centralised
government has no com-

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On _COUrts OrF -constitu-

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â\200\234â\200\234The same lesson

teaches that the current
infatuation with democ-
racy will lift like morn-
ing fog as soon as a cen-
tral government feels

-jtself under some threat .

and, even sooner, if this
threat can be linked in
some way to the security
of the state. o aimi

As we grope for solu- -
.-tions â\200\224 tErougE Codesa -
but elsewhere, too â\200\224 in :
the dismal pall of em-
barrassment -which .
.. hangs over the country,

:we need to remembe
at the most effective â\200\224

not eificient, but effec-

jtive â\200\224 democratic poll.
â\202\224. tics turn on two lmpor- â\200\231

â\200\230tant linked issues:

nuanced appreciation of
individual vulnerability
and acute sensitivity to-
wards local issues.

â\200\234For all its byzantine

_efforts in this direction,

the National Party has
still to show that it un-
derstand what this

â\200\230means. How ironic, that

a party whose very fed-
eral structure has been
so crucial in the way it

. has elected its leader-
" ship has proved so singu-

larly inept at running
the country in the same
,sensible way. B

" Irony is the hand-

maiden of politics, of
course, which is why the
scandals now tripping
up ,
are the result of its fail-
ure to devolve account-
owards the low-
&st common poli

enominator. T
â\200\234But the Government is
not alone in this. /% -
â\200\230The 'ANC, too, seems

sire to centralise.-Thehr

: 9ffectively focus on. This
is where â\200\224 to all intents ., *OW Â¥
inclinations from tri-: "â\204ç

the National Party -
S o d Los Angeles, not to

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â\200\230power at

pect about the roots of

. its violence, who would
â\200\230leave Natal as the only

fully intact province?

â\200\230- The pull between the
centre .and the periph-
ery is as old as the na-
tion state itself. This is
not surprising since au-
thority â\200\230and .freedom at
â\200\230the local level touches

closest contact between
subject and state. L

3

Democracy =

crossing is too distant to

and purposes â\200\224 real de-:
mocracy begins and
where â\200\224 if the real truth
be told â\200\224 it ends. . -
But do not read into

this, as those selling the . â\200\234"" . B
! A good place to start is -

plasticware of quixotic
decentralisation would
have'us believe, that this
is all of politics. It isnâ\200\231t.

Politics is a rich tapes-
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â\200\234look so bleak in many Â°
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â\200\234*Yugoslavia. =% = -0 i<
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e our governments -
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Disrepute - ' g
'As the country stands __-Â°

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_culture â\200\224 as the disclo- |
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" centre; a process which *
â\200\234not only failed but

brought great disrepute
to the high ideals â\200\224 es-â\200\231
pecially democracy and .
development â\200\224 for.
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How we prevent these

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ducts are the challenges

â\200\234we face during this anx- | -

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democracy at local level:
to shore up its prospects
of success by making

certain that we are not

stampeded into another

constitutional corral By

â\200\234 politicians with one eye" :

on ommpo[ence and the -

the decade matures,
South Africa will not de- *
generate into the syn- .
drome of the dark 1980s:

the days when the coun-: -
tryâ\200\231s. every problem
looked like a nail be- -

was a.:
hammer. .o @
. O Peter Vale is -a Re- i -
search Professor in. the

. Centre for Southern Afri-

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gionalism are, to put It the Western Cape.. ..

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â\200\230e Father Timothy Smith,
â\200\230a Catholic priest for-
â\200\230merly based in
Elandskop, gives his
views on police involve-
ment% the Natal con-
flict. &

sentencing of the Trust.
Feed defendants,
(April 29, 1992) General
van der Merwe, com-

issioner of police,
stated on television

at this case was only
an isolated incident
and that no wider im-
plications could be
drawn about police in-
volvement in the Natal
conflict.

That is simply not
â\200\230true. I am a Roman
â\200\230Catholic priest and was
stationed at Elands-
kop, an Inkatha strong-
â\200\230hold outside Pieter-
â\200\230maritzburg, from 1983
to 1990. The evidence of

my own experience and
.that of many others is

that the police were

I was present on Jan-
uary 1, 1988 when such
an attack took place. I
personally called in
the riot police to stop
the attack. They did
not. Instead they as-

-sisted the attackers in

searching the UDF
area, after which a

young boy, Makhithiza |

Ndlovu, was arrested
by them and handed
over to Inkatha for the
night. His blood-
stained body was found
next to the road the fol-
lowing day. The mur-
derers have never been

brought to trial.

On January 12, 1988 I witnessed the beginnings of a mass Inkatha rally at Mafunze, near Elandskop. Although the state of emergency was in force, armed impis were allowed to congregate in a meeting in clear violation of

the regulations. I saw a number of plainclothes

deeply involved in the ;51

conflict from the beginning. Their aim was to support Inkatha and weaken the UDF and its allies. The conflict began on 2 March 1988. After this meeting, three youths allegedly dragged the local chief

372/88 Supreme Court. After brief training I saw police operating 41,050 recruits were in the Elandskop area, where their headquarters was the home of Inkatha headman and now MP for Vulindlela, David Ntombela. Young white policemen were always in evidence there, and one boasted to me of accompanying Ntombela on raids to flush out the evidence on a six-week training UDF. There were several and saturated

Buchner has said:

In November (1987) I found that we needed more men on the

racial killings of UDF families (over 200 with policing. -

families, such as the attack :

on the Mkhize family of October 1987, and the murder of the Kunene (Kentridge, p.208.)

family of February 11,

1988. In fact it rose. Many David Ntombela was of these special constables

implicated in the first blasts were used as body-

of these killings by Inkatha officials

inquest magistrate but officials, and some became the case never came to involved in the death

trial. (Mkhize case: squadsâ\200\235. In the

Interdict in Supreme Elandskop area, where Court 2887/87. Inquest I was stationed, these court magistrate, G.L.S. death squads were Holland). most active in the sum-

This joint Inkatha- mer of 1989. They oper- police operation suc- ated in threes at night, ceeded in restoring In- and shot people at ran- katha hegemony in the dom in the so-called

outlying areas of Vu- UDF area. Their names |

lindlela. Brigadier were well known in the Buchner has said of his community.

police them. Brigadier

â\200\230When 1 arrived m}was_â\200\234 ,
â\200\230gandskqp 3

Trust Feed case is only
s exampl _many,

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has eventuall
broughtto trial. \
The Natal conflict
began in the mid-eigh-
ties but assumed
alarming proportions
during 1987. During
that year the UDF
made spectacular
~ gains in the area
around Pietermaritz-
burg, reaching deep
into the rural area of
Vulindlela. Inkathaâ\200\231s
structures were in dis-
~array. In November of
~ that year Brigadier Jac
~ Buchner was ap:
pointed head of the
_security branch in
Pietermaritzburg, with
the overall command of
the riot police and the
uniformed branch. The
officer in charge of the
riot police was Major
Deon Terblanche, who
was subsequently
- killed by one of his own
policemen in 1990.

From 1987 the situa-
tion changed dramati-

cally. Heavy police reinforcements were called in, and a major Inkatha recruiting drive was begun. This took the form of mass rallies, often succeeded by armed attacks on UDF areas.

been
of these rallies was the

and shot. Most of the
UDF comrades had

1 it is only through been arrested by the
'%Qgĩ-\\201.Ãndfpĩ-\\201 Sâ\\202- police on .Thursday,
eDecember 31, 1987.

The most notorious

one which took place
on January 31, 1988 at
Mpumuza, the tribal
court of Chief Nsiya-
kezwe Zondi at Sweet-
waters. After much in-
flammatory talk this
rally was succeeded by
an attack on the neigh-
bouring area of Ash-
down, in which the
police took part. This
has been well docu-
mented in a Supreme
Court interdict. (Zondo,
Cosatu and others v In-
katha, Mvelase and
others.) Interdict No.

work: \\200\\234At the end of the

th
last year (1967) Inka a;1;his to the investiga-

was in dire stxjait, bu
we came in

restored a

ficial War,
page 208.)

In fact January and
February saw the high-
est.number of deaths in
the war to date. In Feb-
Adriaan
Vlok, then Minister of
Law and Order, visited

ruary too,

Pietermaritzburg and
said: \\200\\234Radicals . . . will
not be tolerated. We
will fight them. We
have put our foot in

that direction, and we
will eventually win in
the Pietermaritzburg
area.â\200\235 (The Natal Wit-
\ness, 27/2/88.) .

â\200\234All of the
above evidence
convinces me

that police
involvement in
the Natal
conflict has

During that year,
1988, the police began
to recruit young men as
special constables. The
recruiting was done
through Inkatha offi-
clqls, indunas and
chiefs. No account was
taken of educational

been far-
ranging and
decisive, and
that it has been
responsible for
the remarkable
escalation in
the conflict
since 1987.â\200\235

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standard, criminal
background or stand-
ing in the community.
Inkatha membership
and loyalty appeared to
be the main criteria of
selection.

and
certain
sense of law and order
by February.â\200\235 (An Unof-
Kentridge

When we reported

tions unit of the riot
police in Pietermaritz-
burg, some were called
in for questioning, but
Major Deon Terb-
lanche refused to
remove any from duty.
One has since then

been convicted in the Supreme Court in Pietermaritzburg murder. (Jama case, February 14, 1991.) Others have fled the area after being suspected of murder.

During the latter part of 1989 tensions in the Edendale valley rose. These were exacerbated by the holding of several rallies by Inkatha in different places. On March 25, Inkatha held their well-known rally in Kingâ\200\231s Park, Durban, - for which the SAP supplied much of the finance.

C Withees 20-0s-52

olice partiality?

After that, open war

broke out in the valley. On Monday and Tues-

day of that week there were large-scale attacks, but the biggest was that of Wednesday, March 29, 1990\$1 This

nds of v atniystw.ex% involved. The areas o kwaMnyandu and kwa-Shange, Vulisaka and

Gezubuso were dev-

astated, many were killed and 14 000 refugees fled into the

â\200\230lower Edendale valley.

The police were nowhere in evidence, and the army, though on standby, were never called in. I witnessed large groups of returning warriors in the evening, totally unhindered by the police.

On the following evening there was an attack by Inkatha on Songozima, a non-Inkatha area. Four home-

steads were burnt down. I was soon notified, and contacted the SAP at Boston, but they did not come. Going to the police station myself, I found that the station commander, one Warrant ~ Officer Frans van Biljon, had gone out taking the keys of the only police vehicle with him. |

I took three black policemen with me and we went to see the burning huts. From

of three of them the occu-

pants had escaped but in the fourth we found two bodies of women who had been shot with pump-action shotguns. Returning to the Mission, we were met by a black and two white riot policemen. Talking the next day to witnesses, I heard that the suspicion fell again on special constables. This case has a chilling resemblance to the Trust Feed case, and has not been solved.

All of the above evidence convinces me that police involvement in the Natal conflict has been far-ranging and decisive, and that it has been responsible for the remarkable escalation in the conflict since 1987. Neutral police action at the very beginning, the apprehension of those suspected of murder and their prosecution by law would have had an immediately dampening effect on the conflict, which today has spread to other parts of the country with such damaging effect.

The Inkatha Institute has been contacted for comment on the above article and its response will be published when it is received.

Shame and outrage

THE reawakening horror of the Goniwe/Calata killings and the breach of public trust by Department of Development Aid officials and their political bosses have understandably incensed even the most hardened cynic.

Let there be no mistake about it: we have every right to be outraged â\200\224 and, if we are honest about it, ashamed â\200\224 at what happened in the name of development and democracy in the dank 1980s.

But these, the times which try our souls, are the very times when we should pause to reflect on what it was that persuaded our politicians that they could do these awful things in the name of ideals.

As we do so, we should also think of how, if at all, we can prevent this from repeatedly happening in the lifetime of our children.

It is not enough that we all agree, in the framing of a new constitution, to be served by a bill of rights which the Supreme Court will defend to the hilt. If the lessons of the past 40 years are at all relevant, South Africans should recognise that overly centralised government has no compunction about leaning on courts or constitutions to push through, or defend, what it considers to be in the publicâ\200\231s interest.

The same lesson teaches that the current infatuation with democracy will lift like morning fog as soon as a central government feels itself under some threat and, even sooner, if this threat can be linked in some way to state security.

As we grope for solutions â\200\224 through Codesa but elsewhere, too â\200\224 in the dismal pall of embarrassment which hangs over the country, we need to remember that the most effective â\200\224 not efficient, but effective â\200\224 democratic politics turns on two important linked issues: nuanced appreciation of individual vulnerability and acute sensitivity towards local issues.

For all its Byzantine efforts in this direction, the National Party have still to show that they understand what this means. How ironic

that a party whose very federal structure has been so crucial in the way it has elected its leadership has proved so singularly inept at running the country in the same sensible way.

Irony is the handmaiden of politics, of course, which is why the scandals now tripping up the National Party are the result of its fail-

ure to devolve , , agc; ? % ntabilliâ \200\230z towards the lowest common political denominator. .

But the government are not alone in this. The ANC, too, seem mesmerised by the desire to centralise. Their recent proposals on regionalism are, to put it simply, woefully inadequate. They also seem to have approached the question of redrawing internal boundaries with a faulty theodolite: given what we all suspect about

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the roots of its violence, who would leave Natal as the only fully intact province?

The pull between the centre and the periphery is as old as the nation state itself. This is not surprising since authority and freedom at the local level touches upon schools, services and sewers: the points of closest contact between subject and state. In most societies anything further from this crossing is too distant to effectively focus upon. This is where â\200\224 to all intents and purposes â\200\224 real democracy begins and where â\200\224 if the real truth be told â\200\224 it ends.

But do not read into this, as those selling the tupperware of quixotic decentralisation would have us believe, that this is all of politics. It isnâ\200\231t. Politics is a rich tapestry: conviction, confidence, compromise, creativity, communication. In belt-tightening times, these are traits in short supply which is why, one is bound to say, things look so bleak in many parts of the world: witness the recent mess in Los Angeles, not to mention the horror of what was once called Yugoslavia.

Effective politics is best grounded in authentic democracy, a process most usefully practised as close to the heart as possible. This is where the transparency of

the new South Africa must be incessantly quizzed; this is where accountability must be more than an article of faith; this is where our governments must rise and fall.

As the country stands on the brink of a new order it may be considered unkind to point out the frontier temperament of its politics. A culture â\200\224 as the disclosures daily show â\200\224 incapable of responding to individual needs, a system bent on shoring up the ego of those in the centre; a process which not only failed but brought great disrepute to the high ideals â\200\224 especially democracy and development â\200\224 for which it purportedly stood.

How we prevent these inclinations from triumphing over our yearning for the genuine products are the challenges we face during this anxious transition. A good place to start is to seek out ways to implant democracy at the local level: to shore up its prospects of success by making certain that we are not stampeded into another constitutional corral by politicians with one eye on omnipotence and the other on tlgeir place

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â\200\234igÃ@eade Histires, that South Atrica

will not degenerate into the syndrome of the dark 1980s: the days

when every problem looked like a

nail because the governmentâ\200\231s only weapon was a hammer.

Â® Peter Vale is a Research Professor

in the Centre for Southern African

gtudies, University of the Western
ape.

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A song of praise
for a gentleman

A retirement function
for Professor Sibusiso
Nyembezi was held at
the Victoria Club last
Saturday. KHABA
MKHIZE reports.

If you want to sing for me

Sing now that I can hear

Donâ\200\231t wait until I am dead o
For I will neither hear you

Nor thank you for your sweet melody

This verse is an excerpt from a poem
written by Nicholas â\200\234Marooâ\200\235 Mbhele.
Mbhele, an editor for Reach Out Pub-
lishers, read the poem Itâ\200\231s Better Now
when delivering a speech to bid farewell
to Professor Nyembezi.

Nyembezi served Shuter and Shooter
for 314 years as chief editor of African
languages. Before joining Shooters,
Nyembezi lectured at Fort Hare Univer-
sity but walked off campus as he could
not swallow the introduction of Bantu
Education. Nyembezi, affectionately
called â\200\234Profâ\200\235, has written both in Zulu
and English. He wrote the great novel In-
kinsela YaseMgungundlovu and his latest
contribution, to be published next week,
is a modern dictionary titled Iswhaz:-
mazwi Sanamuhla Nayizolo, a work which
took ten years of toil and research.

Prof has more than 20 publications on
the market and has also edited a number
of anthologies .and made numerous
translations from English to Zulu, in-
cluding the great catalyst work by the
late Alan Paton Lafa Elihle Kakhulu (Cry
the Beloved Country).

Speakers at the function praised
Profâ\200\231s energetic wife, Muriel, who was
described as the grinding stone for her
husbandâ\200\231s pen. The first person who
read Inkinsela YaseMgungundlovu was
Muriel: a task which sentenced the pro-
fessor to do hard labour in the hot kit-
chen.

Another gripping novel which may do
well as a movie, like its predecessor Ink-
insela, is Mntanami, Mntanami and Ubu-
doda Abukhulelwa.

Inkinsela was also broadcast on Radio
Zulu and had to be repeated due to pub-
lic demand.

Nyembezi is the chairman of the board of directors for Reach Out Publishers; director of Shuter and Shooter; director of The Natal Witness; has been president of Ndzondelelo council of the Methodist Church for ten years (now life president); founder and committee member of the

alnutrition ,I;g I (Padmre); and foun mmmnuttÃ©emm-ber of the Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre.

The Nyembezis have two sons, three daughters and five grandchildren, three ofthem attending school in Britain.

The managing director of Shuter and Shooter, Max Prozesky, credited Nyembezi with building the African languages department of the publishing house to the success it is today.

Master of ceremonies Mlindeli Gcu-

Professor Ã©ibusiso NyÃ©mbezi with his wife Muriel.

misa, who is an editor at Reach Out Publishers, said many writers who have made their mark were inspired by Mtubatuba (clan name for Nyembezi, Nkwali Yenkosi).

Chairman of The Natal Witness Desmond Craib summed up Mtubatubaâ\200\231s profile in one word: â\200\234gentlemanâ\200\235.

Nick Mbhele said of Prof: â\200\234For a long time, I nurtured a faulty concept that if you are a Prof or a doctor, you have to talk in a special way and be cautious in choosing friends or the people to converse with. Through many years I have spent with Prof, I learnt a great lesson from him â\200\224 thatâ\200\231s HUMILITY.â\200\235

ANC:
compro

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 South Africaâ\200\231s consti-
tutional crisis deepened yesterday with the
news that any compromise positions offered
by the ANC are now to be reversed.

Mol;amed Valli Moosa, the ANCâ\200\231s chief
negotiator, yesterday compounded the fail-
ure of Codesa II by announcing that the
organisation is reverting to its original posi-
tion demanding only a two-thirds majority
in a constitution writing body, thus negating
the compromises achieved in four months
in Working Group 2.

â\200\234All compromise proposals are consi-
dered withdrawn. We are going back for
fresh mandates,â\200\235 Moosa told a media brief-
ingatthe ANC head office in Johannesburg.

a week or two the ANC will have finalised '
its negotiation position.

â\200\234Whatever proposal we put forward it
will include a demand for a two-thirds (ma-
jority) for a constitution-making body.â\200\235

Negotiations in Working Group 2 dead-
locked on Friday afternoon at Codesa II
when the government finally declined an
ANC â\200\234compromiseâ\200\235 proposal for a 70%
across-the-board agreement on most issues
plus a time frame of six months in which to
hammer out a new constitution.

â\200\234At great risk we moved away from our
original concept of 50 plus one (per cent) to
two-thirds (66,7%) and eventually to 70% and
75% for a bill of rights,â\200\235 Slovo said.

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He was flanked by fellow top negotiators
SA Communist Party chairman and ANC
executive member Joe Slovo, and the ANCâ\200\231s
Frene Ginwala, Matthew Phosa and Penuel
Maduna.

â\200\234The failure of Codesa II is a very serious
matter,â\200\235 Moosa said. â\200\234After five months of
negotiations (since Codesa I) it is not good
enough that we had nothing to offer the pub-
lic. . . something is seriously wrong.â\200\235

He said the ANC will carry out a major
assessment of the negotiations and will re-
view its position. The organisation will also
hold a series of consultations with ANC con-
stitutional experts, regional structures, Co-
satu and the SACP. Moosa added that within

Agreement in Codesaâ\200\231s four other work-
ing groups has been linked to, and in some

cases depends on, agreement in Working Group 2 on a constitution-making body.

The press briefing was marked by severe criticism of the government-National Party and its behaviour in the negotiations.

â\200\234We must remember that they have not

moved away from their September (1991) National Party proposals,â\200\235 Slovo said. â\200\234All they have done is change the wrapping paper.

â\200\234They want an elected (constitution-making) body with no real power and subjected to a white veto. They want Codesa itself to draw up a constitution.â\200\235

As far as the ANC was concerned, the government-NP wanted an interim constitution, intended to lay the ground for preparations for elections for a constitution-making body, to end up as the final one.

â\200\234What they are offering is, in effect, for the constitution-making body to decide only on the flag...â\200\235 Slovo said.

â\200\234They see transition lasting 10-15 years, and if they want it to last 10-15 years they are risking 10-15 years of chaos and civil strife.

â\200\234In the end Codesa II has left Codesa wandering around in the fog.â\200\235

Slovo said the ANC will not withdraw from Codesa because it wanted negotiations to succeed. He added however: â\200\234I am not

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no more

mises

that sure that it will succeed.â\200\235

Meanwhile Codesaâ\200\235s 10-person daily management committee met in Durban yesterday afternoon to discuss ways of accomplishing work still to be completed by the conventionâ\200\235s working groups and to prepare for a crucial management committee meeting next Monday.

Questioned on whether there had been focus on problems facing Working Group 2, management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said: â\200\234We discussed this briefly, but there will be further input to the DMC on Monday and then we will make recommendations to the management committee.â\200\235 â\200\224 Sapa.

O ORI WA 4.

STOCKHOLM â\200\224 African National Congress President Nelson Mandela encouraged Nordic businesses yesterday to invest in South Africa after a multi-ethnic interim government is in place. .

Before flying to Sweden to appear at a musical concert in his honour, Mandela told Norwegian businessmen he hopes negotiations with the South African government and other parties will produce a transition council by July.

â\200\234The problems which came up during the negotiations last week were a hindrance to the expected breakthrough., â\200\235 the national news agency, NTB, quoted Mandela as saying.

He was referring to the disagreements experienced at the Congress for a Democratic South Africa 11 negotiations, which ended on Saturday.

Mandelaâ\200\231s main message to the Nordic countries this week is to continue economic sanctions against South Africa until an interim government is in place. Norway's foreign minister, Thorvald Stoltenberg, told Mandela his government may lift sanctions earlier than that. so Norwegian businessmen donâ\200\231t lose out in the race to reinvest in South Africa.

Members of the Swedish centre-right

Nordic business

coalition government have also pushed for an early lifting of some sanctions. The government has said it will wait for sure signs of irreversible progress. But it has grown less insistent that an interim, multi-racial council be operating before trade sanctions end.

The Swedish Government budgeted \$20 million in aid to the ANC this year, and Mandela said one purpose of his second trip to Stockholm was to thank Swedes for their years of support.

Finland, which Mandela visits at the

end of the week, has already announced it will cut off aid to the ANC

now that it is no longer a liberation movement but one of many political parties free to operate in South Africa.

In Norway, Mandela made no specific suggestions about what kind of investment he would like to see. -

- But the Norwegian Export Council said it can help South Africa develop fisheries and shipping.

Norway's trade with South Africa was about \$1.5,6 million per year before economic sanctions were imposed in mid-1987. :

. Norway's export to South Africa is now \$1 million per year. Imports are worth \$40 million, most of it in manganese. Sapa-AF. :

N E WS

FRONT

ANC r\I)e@aderâ\200\231g digi¬\201 Â\$
taste of new S.A.

Tightly secure house
in plush white suburb
ringed by diplomats

By MONO BADELA

J OHANNESBURG â\200\224 Work-

ers were busy Saturday reno-

vating the new house in the
plush white suburb of Houghton,
soon to be the address of ANC lead-
er Nelson Mandela.

A high brick wall surrounds the
500,000 rand (\$250,000) property,
and spiked brass-tipped railings on
top of the wall and two electronical-
ly controlled gates deter the curi-

' ous.

The gates open briefly for a deliv-
ery van, offering a glimpse of the
house and partially completed,
landscaped garden. A large, newly
thatched outdoor entertainment
area overlooks the garden, where
workers are busy planting shrubs
and grass. Inside the house are
chandeliers, dark wooden panel-
ling, a large glossy dining room ta-
ble and a floral lounge suite.

Classic motifs carved onto the
wall overlook the quiet, tree-lined
street. Home furnishings are al-
ready in the house. New hi-tech se-
curity equipment has been in-
stalled, along with a sophisticated
intercom at the gate, which disguis-
es aminiature closed-circuit televi-
sion camera.

The ANC requests that, for securi-
ty reasons, the address of the house
not be published.

However, Mandelaâ\200\231s new neigh-
bourhood is no stranger to stringent
security â\200\224 the Canadian consulate
is just down the road, as are the con-
sulates of Portugal, Japan, Taiwan
and Lesotho.

Deserves better

Regarding Mandela's move, Chris Hani, South African Communist Party chief and former head of the ANC's armed wing, Umkonto weSizwe, says, "It's not a big deal. In fact, he deserves to live in Thuthu (the South African state president's official residence in Cape Town.)

"Mandela is not the only ANC official residing in the former exclusively white suburbs. I myself reside in a predominantly Conservative Party area.

"The problem is the government has not been building homes for the blacks in the townships for many years. The now defunct Group Areas Act has been keeping people from staying in these previously whites-only dominated suburbs.

Mandela moves to former all-white Houghton.

SOUTH AFRICA

"South Africa belongs to all, black and white. Now we are entitled to reside anywhere in South Africa. If we can't take the lead, who will do so?"

Similar views were expressed by Johannesburg businessperson Ron Kftel, a white lawyer who lives next door to Mandela's new home.

"It's been a progressive area for 30 years, ever since Helen Suzman entered parliament," Kftel says. "I really don't see any problem."

Kftel says he went round last week, but discovered Mandela was out of the country.

"I saw the guards and everything. I think it's going to add to our security in the area."

Kftel says a cake will be sent to Mandela when he moves into the new home.

His old house, at 11805 in Orlando West, is occupied by his only son Malgatho Mandela from his previous wife Eveline Mandela, who

now resides in the Transkei. Malgatho is a law student at the University of Natal.

Another former neighbour, Edward Madima, who lives opposite the \$375,000 mansion Mandela left to his estranged wife Winnie Mandela, says the ANC leader was the best neighbour he had in his life.

On New Year's Day in 1991, Mandela personally went door to door in the neighbourhood and begged us not to prepare any dinner the next day. Instead, he invited us all to dine with him at his house,

called the parliament, in the evening. It was wonderful. o

T

By Htelei Grange
and JMcKee Kotlomp

Thousands of illegal immigrants are flooding into South Africa and the northern self-governing territories every month primarily to escape violence now racking most countries in southern Africa,

The situation has prompted

the Government to form a task committee whose brief is to flush out the refugees, and visits will be undertaken today and tomorrow to the burgeoning refugee camps in Komatipoort and Giyana. : This follows a police raid, called Operation Sentry, which netted more than 1100 illegal immigrants recently. Thousands of refugees from as far as Zaire are reported to have descended lately on the PWW area, and refugee camps in (Fazankulu and Kgwanene) are mushrooming with the influx; of between 500 and 1000 refugees monthly, says Operation Hunger's Ina Perlman,

the Department of Home Affairs -

last year repatriated a

record 47 074 Mozambicans and

7174 Zimbabweans, Some 7097 refugees from Botswana, Swaziland and other neighbouring states were also repatriated.

Illegals from /

RO - & |

north pouring
into Republic

Authorities in Gazankulu and Kgwanene could not estimate the number of illegals in their respective territories, but both have for years provided legal sanctuary to refugees, issuing them with six-months renewable residence permits.

Despite the hope that after six months the refugees (mostly Mozambican) would go home, this has not been the case, and

~ the territories are now home to

thousands without permits or with expired permits,

Although the drought in the northern parts of Zimbabwe

and Mozambique is a contributory factor to the influx, authorities and feeding project staff agree that violence and general poverty are the main reasons

. for migration south,

Many were also seeking medical attention, a Home Affairs Department spokesman said.

Phillip Ruscassier, a field worker for an independent welfare organisation in Komati-called Nedecin Sans Fron.

tiers (Doctors without Frontiers), estimates the number of

refugees in the area to be |

around 60 000.

Mr Ruscassier said his organisation fed about 25 000 refugees in the area. They were faced with a number of problems, including slave trade, malnutrition, water shortage and ignorance of human rights, he said.

â\200\230needs to have say on future roleâ\200\231

PRETORIAâ\200\224Umkhonto we Sizwe chief Joe Modise yesterday criticised Defence Minister Roelf Meyer for having allegedly denied the SADF permission to participate in a military conference outside to :

ria.

Mr Modise told a news conference at Tiegerpoort that Mr Meyer used the Defence Force as an instrument, and would not grant it the right to participate and think for itself

regarding its own future.

He was speaking at the conclusion of a Five Freedoms Forum conference on Defence

' and Security in Transition,

which was attended by senior representatives from the African National Congress's MK, the Transkei and Venda defence forces, academics, Democratic Party defence spokesman Bob Rogers and military attaches.

Gen Rogers said he would ensure that the contents of a consensus document drafted at the conference would be brought to Mr Meyer's notice.

Mr Modise reiterated charges that the SADF was involved in township violence, and called for the disbandment of 31 and 32 Battalions. !

Consensus was reached on the need for the creation of a new defence force on the basis of integrating all armed forces of parties in the wider negotiation process.

These forces will be disbanded at the point of integration into a new national defence force, said the consensus document, released at the news conference.

Reacting to Mr Modise's charges, a spokesman for the Ministry of Defence said the Government and the Defence Force were involved in direct bilateral and multi-lateral talks with concerned parties on the subject of the future defence force.

There is therefore no need to discuss the subject with organisations outside these talks, the spokesman said. (Sapa)

At home, the ANC toughens its stance at negotiating table, but Nelson Mandela tells the world abroad . . .

well to

; MK spokesman Mr Calvin
Ironically Khan said he had not seen the full text of Mr Mandela's state-

We can now hope that the 'c',
\2011;?d s b

higherments between the ANC | |oot M, slways Sligueq e
: and the government on the | | he said o
' B A g S . . - 1. | handling of the recruitment | Wiy S â\200\230
pota i | gttty et | | SRS UK i | | s lt vhat s b g
AR the ANC x | still being negotiated and sug- | ' the identification of arms g;id e kidins b
R
â\200\234 NC toughens- gests thal agreement between | caches and joint control over 1 1 i
its negotiation stance, | the ANC and the government arms will be viewed more seri- e%â
\200\234tl.lzdxewoâ\200\230:nâ\200\230igï\202:â\200\230etâ\200\230nâ\200\234â\200\230;gg
Mr Nelson Mandela | on the future of the armed | Oâ\200\234ï\202i gggtzrgï\201r:agiyï
\202a?alg?rlg:iiâ\200\231c Â\$treï\201g{heÂ\$ its convent,â\200\230xf:al ca-
gpd Umkhonto we | Wing s mmmment - tained | | that Mr Mandela had made his pabilities â\200
\234so that we can play
izwe have fina me politicians maintaine 1 st ; : a meaningful role in a new de-
ve finally | that the statement contrasted statement when other ANC | Â\$op0e forceâ\200\235
ruled out a return to | sharply with the ANC's new | | jeaders weve adopdse & more | |, g d
re satiing (6 pance; | -
the armed struggle tougher approach to negotia- intransigent stance 04 NEOUA- | | that's wh
y we are involved in
ggle. tions and the decision to with- tions. This indicated dualism in negotiations;ms B ot
A statement by Mr | | draw constitutional compro- | ANC ranks. = il Sl 1
Mandela in Olso yester- mises it earlier offered. - | Degwcl;Ã@ï\201c P==}rtyh leader Dr
day that the armed strug- Mr Mandela has in turn ac- - a?th " eerl said he reacted
1 â\202-d Strug- | | cused the government of in- with great pleasure to the ref-
gle Vzas not an option if transigence | erenceto a prlvatf-sec:gr:ix;ll;;- -
negotiations failed, was | | Mr Piet Coetzer MP, the Na- | | S8 Sconomyâ\200\231 noting tha
t the
~ MrP ' e o A g
pefotistons led, wa o MRe e am el | | Mnblei ot | 7
MK spokesman. | | said a statement that the vio- | | 51 ohvious truthâ\200\235 g8 /4 V2
: 3 lence option was unconditional- | / ; 5% 47&/ e
It is the first time Mr Man- ly being dropped from the ne- | 'f Dr De Beer added: â\200\234I
am A7 Âf

C/)\i-\201PE X
L MES 9 D - S â\200\224 9

Too much power at
centre is a threat
to democracy in S

By PETER VALE

THE reawakening hor-
ror of the Goniwe/Calata
killings and the breach
of public trust by offi-
cials of the Department
of Development Aid and
their political bosses
have understandably in-
censed even the most
hardened cynics.

We have every right to
be outraged â\200\224 and, if we
are honest about it,
ashamed â\200\224 at what hap-
pened in the name of de-
velopment and democra-
cy in the dank 1980s.

But these, the times
which try our souls, are
the very times when we
should pause to reflect

on what it was that per-
suaded our politicians

at they co do t
A hings In the name
of ideals.

As we do so, we should
also think of how, if at

all, we can prevent this
from happening â\200\224 per-
haps, repeatedly â\200\224 in
the lifetimes of our

children. e
It is not enough that
wÃ© all agree, in the fram-
ing of a new constitution,
d ser-

to be served an
viced by a Bill of Rights
e Supreme

which
Court will aefenÃ© to the

hilt.

st

No compunction

If the lessons of the past 40 years are at all relevant, South Africans should recognise that verily centralised government has no com-

ctio anin

on cou or_constifu

are the result of its failure to devolve account-

tions to push through, or defend, what it consid-

ers to be in the public's interest.

The same lesson teaches that the current infatuation with democracy will lift like morning fog as soon as a central government feels itself under some threat and, even sooner, if this threat can be linked in some way to the security of the state.

As we grope for solutions but elsewhere, too in the dismal pall of embarrassment which hangs over the country, we need to remember that the most effective not efficient, but effective democratic politics to on two impor-

fant linked issues:

nuanced appreciation of individual vulnerability and acute sensitivity towards local issues.

For all its byzantine efforts in this direction, the National Party has still to show that it understand what this

means. How ironic, that a party whose very federal structure has been so crucial in the way it has elected its leadership has proved so singularly inept at running the country in the same sensible way.

Irony is the handmaiden of politics, of course, which is why the scandals now tripping up the National Party

abilify towards the lowest common denominator.

~ But the Government is not alone in this.

The ANC, too, seems mesmerised by the desire

sire to centralise. Their recent proposals on regionalism are, to put it

simply, woefully inadequate. They also seem to have approached the question of redrawing internal boundaries

with a faulty theodolite:

given what we all suspect

about the roots of its violence, who would

leave Natal as the only

fully intact province?

The pull between the centre and the periphery is as old as the nation state itself. This is not surprising since authority and freedom at the local level touches schools, services and sewers: the points of closest contact between subject and state.

Democracy

In most societies anything further from this crossing is too distant to effectively focus on. This is where it is to all intents

and purposes â\200\224 real de-
mocracy begins and
where â\200\224 if the real truth
be told â\200\224 it ends.

But do not read into
this, as those selling the
plasticware of quixotic
decentralisation would
have'us believe, that this
is all of politics. It isnâ\200\231t.

BQEHâ\200\234:â\200\234Lâ\200\230E%â\200\231.IEâ\200\230-â\200\230-EE;
try: conviction, Â¢ -

â\202¬ compromise, cre-

b
ativity, tommunication.

In belt-tightening times,
.thesel art;l j;raits in short
supply which iSwhy, one
is gound to say, things
look so bleak in many
parts of the world: wit-
ness the recent mess in
Los Angeles, not to
.mention the horror of
what was once called
Yugoslavia. .

Effective politics i
best_grounded i -

ic democracy, a

process most usefully
practised as close to the
hearth as possible.
There is where the tran-

sparency of the new
South Africa must be in-

A~

cessantly quizzed; t)gâ\200\230i s is
where accountability
ust be more than an ar-

ticle of faith; this 1
where our governments
must rise and fall.
Disrepute

As the country stands
on the brink of a new
order it may be consid-
ered unkind to point out
the frontier tempera-
ment of its politics. A
culture â\200\224 as the disclo-
sures daily show â\200\224 in-
capable of responding to
individual needs; a sys-
tem bent on shoring up

the ego of those in the centre; a process which not only failed but brought great disrepute to the high ideals â\200\224 especially democracy and development â\200\224 for which it purportedly stood. â\200\231

How we prevent these inclinations from tri-umphing over our yearning for the genuine products are the challenges we face during this anxious transition.

_A good place to start is to s s to implan democracy at local level: to shore up lits prospec of success by making certain that we are not stampeded into another constitutional corral by politicians with one eye" on omnipotence and the

other on their pIace n

history. :
~Only this can ensure as

the decade matures, South Africa will not de-generate into the syn-drome of the dark 1980s: the days when the coun-tryâ\200\231s. every problem looked like a nail be-

.cause the governmentâ\200\231s

only weapon was a hammer. it

[Peter Vale is a Re-search Professor in the Centre for Southern Afri-can Studies, University of the Western Cape.

ape Times

WEDNESDAY, MAY 20 1992

'Economic
- Codesa

HE establishment of a virtual economic
Codesa at a meeting in the city this week is
arguably the biggest breakthrough in weeks in
the negotiations for a new order in South Africa.

That the meeting between government,
business and labour could take place at all is
encouraging, given the De Klerk administration's
previous declarations that it would not allow
outside parties to take over the role of
government by stealth. For the gathering to take
place while Codesa is stalled is remarkable; the
event signals no shift from
unilateral decision making on the economy by
the authorities to a process of consultation and/or
consensus. Such progress should, in turn,
facilitate the proceedings of Codesa proper.
More power to new Finance Minister Derek
Keys and the rest of the participants for
succeeding where only recently there did not
even appear to be an opening. :

The road to transition has been severely
hampered by disagreement on essential
economic issues, ranging from VAT to housing,
transport, wages, subsidies. . . the framing of the
national budget itself. To be sure, the protest
campaigns on economic issues such as VAT have
largely failed, but the ill-will obviously persists, to
the detriment of the entire negotiation process.
There will, of course, be many more hurdles to
overcome, but there was never a hope of
government, the ANC, or any other group doing
so unilaterally. Then too, the parlous state of the
economy is not the stuff of easy accords.
Fortunately, however, the process now
underway will provide vastly improved insight on
alternatives and priorities that have hitherto been
lacking for so many for so long.

el

THE Government scored a tactical victory over the ANC-led Patriotic Front alliance at Codesa 2 but the triumph may prove to be short-lived and ultimately hollow.

For, in the process of out-manoeuvring the ANC, the Government exposed more of its own negotiation cards than it probably wanted to at this stage.

What emerged served to heighten the fears and suspicions and no doubt the embarrassment of the ANC's top strategists and negotiators.

The Codesa 2 post-mortems show that the Government came so close to having the ANC over a barrel that the movement is now likely to embark on a complete strategic rethink.

So, after the two sides came so agonisingly close to clinching a deal in Working Group 2 at the weekend, the ANC and the Government could now find themselves moving further apart on key issues.

These include questions affecting the whole area of international relations, as well as how and when a final constitution should be written.

Amazingly, it apparently only dawned on the ANC at the 11th hour that the package deal it had come so close to endorsing at Codesa 2 would have seen the movement locked in an indefinite period of interim government.

Under this arrangement, the Government and its allies almost certainly would have had

the central question of constitution-writing.

By the eve of Codesa 2, Government strategists had almost lured the ANC into accepting a position in terms of which

the final constitution almost certainly would look roughly the same as the Interim Constitution if indeed the process:

stitution if indeed the process

because the draft agreement made no clear provision for time frames, :

The ANC somewhat naively assumed that the interim meant a brief a cardinal error to make when dealing with a Government which for years has used every trick in the book to cling to power.

The Government more recently

signalled a preparedness to share power under certain strict conditions and some of which the ANC's tactics appeared to have lost sight. : More important, the ANC came within an ace of being

the capacity to block demands by the ANC for a final election

caught with its pants down over

where the Government

ever was allowed to move from the interim to the final.

This would have been a major coup for the Government because all parties had agreed that the "interim" constitution would be drafted by Codesa and

has an

effective veto. ! otherwise The ANC, on the other hand,

has been promising its support-

ers that a popula; 1

stituent a

- What is more, the ANC's presi-
dent, Mr Nelson Mandela, pre-
dicted at the movement's
national congress in Durban

) (t lon y
Once the penny had
_dropped at Codesa 2, Mr
- dela declined to be held to time

- mont

last year that a popularly elect-
ed overm i r
~stai r under a final constitu-

by the end of this year.

inally
Man-

frames for the transition to de-

_mocracy.

The ANC will also have a
explaining to its con-

Ã©n%u-ents wi r\201%\: ani nferim govern-
ment â\200\224 contrary to what it has
pre%

icted repeatedly in a bid to

: placgte is impatient supporters

] be installed next

e ANC's gamble in making
extravagant predictions about
time frames has not paid off.
Indeed, these rash promises
â\200\230were used by the Government as
a lever to try to pressure its
negotiators into striking an
agreement at Codesa 2 that the
ANC migh&ave come to regret.

As the ANC attempts to save
face, it is likely to become a
more formidable opponent at
the negotiations table â\200\224 and on
the streets. =

Burgey 20./ . 92 gk
Betekenisvolle strategie neem ANC, halfpad

na kompromis

OEWEL hy homself onder die

optimiste tel, moet hy daarop
wys dat die gebeure van die afgelope
twee weke die Regering se geloof-
waardigheid onberekenbare skade
berokken en sy bedingingsposisie
verswak het, het prof. Welsh gesê.

Getuienis oor grootskeepse kor-
rupsie in Lebowa en KwaNdebele en

~ die onthullings wat pas deur die
Goldstone-kommissie gemaak is,
spreek van 'n regering wat nie ten
volle in beheer is nie. Die integriteit
~ en vordering van die oorgangspro-
ses is ernstig aangetas deur dié ge-
| beurde.

Pres. F.W. de Klerk is sekerlik die
enigste leier wat in staat is om die
groot meerderheid blankes na 'n

- skikking te lei. Hy besef sy geloof-
waardigheid is nog nooit op die spel
nie. Hy sal moet wys dat sy aanspra-

ke dat hy in beheer is, nie ongegrond
is nie,

Prof. Welsh het gesê persoonlik
was hy nog nooit so optimisties om
te dink dat daar 'n betreklik gladde
oorgang na 'n grondwetlike skikking
sou wees nie. Om diep vasgestamp-
te rasse-ongelykheid wat oor gene-
rasies strek ongedaan te maak en die
sprong na 'n demokratiese stelsel te
maak, sou altyd 'n monumentale
taak wees. :

Hy glo egter dat 'n proses soortge-
lyk aan Kodesa binnekort hervat sal
word. Dit kan dalk nog vanjaar wees

in die vorm van 'n byeenkoms as

simboliese herdenking van verlede
Jaar se Kodesa. -

promis, sê prof.
Afrika-studie aan die Universit
stad. Carl Meyer

doen versla

Die strategie wat die ANC se Nasionale Werk-
komitee vandeeweke goedgekeur het, is 'n be-
lowende vertrekpunt vir 'n historiese kom-
avid Welsh, hoogleraar in
eit van Kaap-

oor 'n toe-

spraak wat hy voor die Suid-Afrikaanse Insti-
tute vir Internasionale Aangeleenthede in
Kaapstad gehou het. :

Ondanks al die teleurstelling oor
die ineenstorting van Kodesa in Mei
vanjaar, moet die aansienlike vorde-
ring nie vergeet word wat gemaak is
nie. Die Verklaring van Voorneme,
waarin Suid-Afrika verbind word
tot 'n liberale soort demokratiese re-
geringstelsel, was 'n merkbare pres-
tasie. Die werkgroepe 1, 3 en 4 het

ook aansienlike konsensus bereik,

terwyl werkgroep 5 daarvan weer-
hou is om sy werk af te handel omdat
geen ooreenkoms in werkgroep 2 be-
reik kon word nie.

Twyfelagtige steun

Hopelik het die onderhandelaars
uit die probleme van Kodesa geleer.
Ten eerste was Kodesa hopeloos te
groot en lomp. Baie van die partye
het twyfelagtige steun geniet en, op
enkele uitsonderings na, min byge-
dra wat die proses aangehelp het.

Ten tweede was die verrigtings te !

afgebroke dat die proses volgehou
kon word.

Ten derde het die verskillende af-
vaardigings met baie uiteenlopende
ideeë na Kodesa gegaan oor wat sy

funksie sou wees. Die ANC het dit
gesien as die liggaam wat die weg
moes baan vir die instelling van 'n!

tussentydse regering en die hou van
verkiesings vir 'n grondwetgewende
vergadering wat die nuwe grondwet
sou moet opstel.

Die Regering het 'n veel meer ope-
siening gehad, hoewel hy volgens
prof. Welsh waarskynlik gehoop het
dat Kodesa self 'n tussentydse grond-
wet sou opstel wat in die praktyk
moeilik verander sou kon word.

-Die probleem oor hoe verteen-
woordigend die partye is wat aan die
onderhandelings deelneem, is moei-
lik om te hanteer: slegs verkiesings
kan bepaal hoe verteenwoordigend
die onderskeie organisasies is. Dit is

'n punt wat in beginsel aanvaar is
deur sowel die Regering as die ANC
in die Notule van Verstandhouding
van 26 September. Daar is nog nie
beslissing verkry oor hoe so 'n ver-

kose grondwetgewende liggaam be-
sluite sal neem nie. Daar sal onthou
word dit dit juis oor diÃ© kwessie was

. wat werkgroep 2 vasgeval het.

Die noodsaaklikheid van onder-
handelings as 'n heeltydse proses sal
nou erken moet word, meen. prof.
Welsh. Wat hopelik nou â\200\231'n kleiner
liggaam sal wees, sal ook op 'n meer
volgehoue grondslag moet ontmoet.

Die kwessie van Kodesa se eintlike

doel is minstens opgelos wat die Re-
gering en die ANC betref, maar
hoegenaamd nie wat Inkatha betref
nie. Inkatha sal nie maklik tevrede
gestel word nie. Dit is te â\200\230betwyfel of
Inkatha die hele tyd deel sal bly as
hy weer in die proses ingetrek sou-
word, tensy vaste verskerings gegee
word oor â\200\231'n streek-/federale skik-

king. Â» :

Dit was juis diÃ© kwessie wat soveel
bespreking in werkgroep 2 veroor-
saak het en wat na prof. Welsh se me-
ning die groot grondwetlike kwessie
van 1993 sal word.

Daar kan dwingende argumente
teen sowel die Regering as die ANC
se grondwetlike voorstelle gevoer
word. Die â\200\234gedwonge koalisiesâ\200\235 soos

deur die Regering voorgestel is, het
nÃ©rens geslaag nie. Aan die ander
Kkant, soos teenstanders van die ANC
aangetoon het, kon meerderheidsre-
gering, selfs van die geregverdigde
soort soos deur die ANC voorgestel
is, ook nÃ©rens demokrasie in 'n diep
verdeelde gemeenskap verseker nie.
Die ANC wou egter weet wat van op-

. posisiepartye word as koalisies oor

'n breÃ© grondslag geinstitu-
sionaliseer moet word. i

Dit is diÃ© strikvraag wat die bran-
dende politieke kwessie is wat Suid-
Afrika in die gesig staar. As 'n kom-
promis daaroor bereik kan word, sal

baie van die hitte uit van die ander

vraagstukke gehaal word.

In â\200\231'n hoogs betekensvolle verkla-

ring wat die ANC se Nasionale

. Werkkomitee vroeÃ©r vandeeweeke:

' uitgereik het, beweeg die ANC half-
pad na so 'n kompromis. Onder alâ\200\231

die â\200\234struggleâ\200\235-retoriek erken die organisasie dat die dooie punt wat ver-

' oorsaak word deur die opponerende

magte wat die onderhandelingspro-
â\200\230'ses in die eerste plek geïnisieer het,
steeds die hoofkenmerk is van die
politieke situasie.

Die â\200\234regimeâ\200\235 kan nie doeltreffend -

regeer nie, maar beskik nog oor
groot mag, die steun van â\200\234kragtige
ekonomiese magteâ\200\235 en die kapasiteit
om â\200\234teen-revolusionêre geweld aan
te wendâ\200\235. Die ANC, aan die ander
kant, ly aan organisatoriese swakhe-
de, is nie in beheer van betekenis-
â\200\230volle militêre en finansiële bronne
nie en is â\200\234militêr nie in staat om die
teen-revolusionêre te verslaan of die
mense behoorlik te beskerm nieâ\200\235.

â\200\230Reeds gewenâ\200\231

â\200\234Desondanks, beweer die ANC, ge-
â\200\230niet hy die steun van die meerder-
â\200\230heid. :

Die verskillende fases wat die
ANC vir die oorgangsproses voor-
sien, kan basies versoen word met
die Regering se eie siening oor hoe
die proses vorentoe moet verloop.
Wat belangrik is, is dat die ANC die
noodsaak vir 'n kompromis erken:
â\200\234Ons kan dalk nie alles verkry wat
ons wou bereik nieâ\200\235. :

- Prof. Welsh meen â\200\231n deel van die
verklaring wat van kritieke belang

is, is die volgende: â\200\234Ons het reeds ge-

wen met die eis vir 'n tussentydse
regering van nasionale eenheid. Ons
moet egter ook aanvaar dat selfs nd

' die aanvaarding van 'n nuwe grond-

wet die magsewewig en die belange
â\200\230van die land in die geheel steeds van
ons die instelling van 'n regering van
nasionale eenheid vereis - op voor-
waarde dat die partye wat die ver-
kiesing verloor het, nie in staat sal
wees om die werking van die rege-
ring te verlam nie.â\200\235

â\200\230Die belangrikste besorgdheid in
die verklaring is oor die bedreiging
vir die stabiliteit van 'n nuwe demo-
krasie. Daar word ook erken dat die

+ ANC aandag sal moet gee aan werk-

sekerheid, pensioene en â\200\231n algemene
amnestie vir lede van die Weermag,

die Polisie en die staatsdiens in die algemeen.

In die verklaring word in wese er-

' ken dat die demokratisering nie 'n

skielikq breuk met die verlede kan wees nie. Dgar word afgesluit met (die implikasie dat van die kwessies

| in multilaterale ooreenkomste en an-

der in bilaterale ooreenkomste tussen die ANC en die NP hanteer sal moet word.

Die verklaring is vroeër deur ANC-radikale soos dr. Pallo Jordan gekrtisegr. Dit weerspieël waar-skyklik die siening van die pragma-

tiste in die ANC, wat blykbaar nou

na vore tree nadat hulle â\200\231n tyd lank

. onder was.

Die verklaring verteenwoordig 'n belowende vertrekpunt vir 'n historiese kompromis, het prof. Welsh gesê. Hopelik sal die Regering die geleentheid aangryp. '

16_ - The Star Wednesday May 20 1992

Che Star

Established 1887
South Africaâ\200\231s largest daily newspaper
- |

e

-Rebirth of
- federalism

IGERIAâ\200\231S Foreign MiniÂ\$jer,

Major-General Nwachuku, has

counselled South Africans to con-

sider federalism in their search
for a political settlement. Federalism, he
says, offers the best hope of accommodat-
ing diversity in heterogeneous countries.
General Nwachukuâ\200\231s advice should be con-
sidered carefully.

After more than 30 years of bloodshed
â\200\230and ethnic strife, Nigeria believes that fed-
eralism is the best prescription for its own

~ difficult and volatile problems. Two feder-

- ations have collapsed in Nigeria, but its
leaders have concluded that the need is for
more federalism, not less. The latest plan
â\200\230for Africaâ\200\231s most populous country envis-
ages a federal state of 30 components,
a tenfold increase on the number in the
first post-independence constitution.

Nigeriaâ\200\231s anti-apartheid credentials are

- impeccable. It is not commending federal-
ism as a disguised form of separate de-
â\200\230velopment, but as a sensible and respect-

- able constitutional device for accommo-
- dating differences and minimising conflict.

Federalism has been shunned until re-
cently by major political forces in South
Africa. The National Party under PW
Botha saw it as a form of liberalism; ele-
ments in the ANC regarded it as a vehi-
cle for a new form of partition and hence
an obstacle to a reunited country.

Fortunately that is changing. President
de Klerk now speaks openly in favour of

~ federalism and the ANC has given a nod in its direction. The ANC favours regionalism

- and has even agreed that regional as well as national representatives should play a role in drafting a â\200\234finalâ\200\235 post-apartheid constitution.

Federalism, once a dirty word in our political lexicon, is being restored to its rightful place as a respectable concept.

In the debate -which lies ahead over the details of a new constitution one point should be emphasised again and again: fed-

. eration is a form of union, albeit a looser rather than a closer union. As the amended Declaration of Intent at Codesa makes

' clear, it is consistent to advocate both a federal system and a united South Africa.