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NP wants multiparty coalition in

By Brian Stuart

NATIONAL Party leaders have set a multi-party coalition as their aim for the first government in a new South Africa, with a role for the NP within that government.

Statements made at the Natal and Free State NP congresses have clearly stressed the move to open party membership to all as a step towards creating an alliance or even establishing a "broad political movement".

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development, said earlier this year that the NP would not be "the" government in the new South Africa, but hoped to be part of it.

Since then the "alliance" concept has become a orominent part of the government. And it is this concept which Mr De

Klerk presented in Natal

prominent part of the platform of almost all the would-be constitutional negotiators. But it was given new meaning by the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, when he raised the concept of establishing a new "broad political movement".

Mr Barend du Plessis, Transvaal leader of the NP, emphasised the point again at the week's Free State congress, saying that the new South Africa should be administered by a multi-party Cabinet, representative of all groups.

Party sources said yesterday there could clearly not be a multi-party Cabinet without a coalition last week, and which has already won unanimous support from the Natal and Free State congresses.

Speaking in Bloemfon-

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NP's coalition plan

FROM PAGE 1

tein yesterday, Dr Viljoen again rejected the ANC's proposed interim government, saying that the present legal government must remain in place until negotiations have established a new constitution.

He indicated NP support for a federal constitution, in which regional authorities such as the independent states and selfgoverning states could become second-tier governmental bodies.

Dr Viljoen has therefore strengthened the
trend within Parliamentary political parties to
conceive of a new South
Africa with a coalition
government at first tier level, second-tier regional
bodies with a large measure of self-determination,
and a new system of nonracial local government as
the third tier.

"Any change, however, must be the subject of negotiation," Dr Viljoen added.

At the same time, he again emphasised that there was no place for concepts of race and colour in the new South Africa.

"The argument that the Group Areas Act is essential to protect community life is not true. There was an Afrikaner community life before this law.

"We cannot depend on laws, but each community's life must come from their inner convictions.

Similarly, the race provisions of the Population Registration Act would

"The Population Registration Act will disappear together with the present constitution, and will be replaced in a new constitution with definitions not based on race or colour."

A Bill of Rights would protect both individual and group rights.

The NP's "Plan of Action", published last year, also makes it clear that the executive, judicial and legislative functions should be clearly divided and well-defined, to prevent centralisation of

Mr Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Justice, has spoken of the courts playing a vital role in a future South Africa in protecting individuals against injustice and the misuse of authority. A Bill of Rights would strengthen the position of the courts.

Opposition political parties yesterday questioned whether the government and the ANC had not struck a "private deal" to share jointly in governing a new South Africa.

The government and the ANC may already be planning a coalition government for a new South Africa, Dr Zach de Beer, Parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, said yesterday.

Conservative Party spokesman Mr Koos van der Merwe commented: "I am very excited that Dr De Beer's eyes are now open. We in the CP have very good information that such a deal has already been made."

Government spokesmen, including Mr De Klerk, have persistently denied CP claims in the past, stating that its talks with the ANC were aimed at removing stumbling blocks, so as to get the ANC to the negotiation table.

Dr De Beer told The Citizen in an interview yesterday that he was struck by statements within the past few days by ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Barend du Plessis. Both referred to a multi-party and non-racial coalition in a new South Africa.

Mr Mandela made his remarks in a television interview.

"The appearances are that the government and the ANC are already planning to set up a joint government," said Dr De Beer.

"The government's position is that they are simply talking with one another to remove the obstacles to negotiation.

"But it seems to me that the ANC and the government are sliding over from perfectly legitimate talks, about obstacles to negotiation, into talks about what sort of government we're going to get."

Dr De Beer said the point he wished to make was that Mr De Klerk, had promised that all political groups would participate in the negotiation process.

Mr Van der Merwe said the CP's information was that a deal was struck between Mr Mandela and the government before Mr Mandela was released in February.

"This means that the Coloured and Indian people, the homeland leaders, Inkatha, the CP and the DP are all left out, and that it is not the spirit of negotiation," said Mr Van der Merwe.

"A negotiation process
— and I believe there is
potential for negotiation
in South Africa — should
be a process in which all
are involved."

Mr Van der Merwe said the CP had more support than the NP, and Inkatha had more support than the ANC. The NP and the ANC therefore had no right to make deals, as if they represented the majority of Whites and Blacks.

The NP's "Plan of Action", published last year, also makes it clear that the executive, judicial and legislative functions should be clearly divided and well-defined, to prevent centralisation of power, and therefore the misuse of power.

A reader defends Winnie Mandela

When Nelson Mandela was given life imprisonment and sent to Robben Island he said that one of his big regrets was that he had to sacrifice his position as a husband and a father for the sake of his people. Much has been said about his suffering and rightly so, but little has been said about the hardships endured by his wife.

Mrs Mandela has had to bring uptwo children on her own. The children didn't see their father until
they were 16. It was prison policy,
then not to allow such visits as it
was thought young children would
find such a visit too traumatic.
What must have been equally traumatic for Mrs Mandela was the constant harassment she had to put up
with, when her house was continually raided and searched.

Under the old political dispensation Mrs Mandela was detained in prison often. During 1969 and 1970 she was in solitary confinement for nearly a year. When she was acquitted in a terrorism trial in 1970 she

was put under house arrest. In 1976, when her two daughters came home for the school holidays from their boarding school their mother had been arrested that morning.

In 1977 Mrs Mandela was banished to Brandfort in the Orange Free State and she stayed there for nine years. She went knowing noone, but by the time she left she had



Long-suffering . . . A reader is not surprised by some of Mrs Mande-la's statements.

started a creche, opened a clinic, and taught people to grow their own vegetables. At heart and by train-

ing, she is a social worker.

If Mrs Mandela sometimes says or does things that are open to criticism it is hardly surprising after the treatment she has received. It is remarkable that her husband is so lacking in bitterness but she, as a mother defending her young, has had to assume a militant role, and allowance must be made for that.

A more compassionate and understanding attitude towards her might help to heal the wounds.

Dorothy F Yates

Houghton, Johannesburg

Tell truth or leave Inkatha, Buthelezi told

As a member of Inkatha, I believe Chief Buthelezi got into power during the time blacks were oppressed by Afrikaners. He claimed that he was fighting for the liberation of Zulus but he never fought; instead he helped the oppressors to oppress even more.

When other political organisations were unbanned, this was the time to prove he was fighting for our freedom, but the only thing he did was to cause conflict between us (Zulus) and other tribes.

We kill innocent people because he does not tell us the truth. We also lose members, friends and brothers. I don't know who is going to feed all these children who lost parents.

We left the hostels; I don't know who is going to give us jobs when we go back to Natal.

Why is Buthelezi working alone? All organisations isolate him. Inkatha is losing members because of our leader, Buthelezi. Please Mangosuthu, tell people the truth or resign and let Inkatha operate without you.

J Khumalo

Jeppe Hostel, Johannesburg

Jackson's smile has become somewhat strained

People are beginning to get sick of the sight of the Rev Jesse Jackson's toothpaste smile.

Wherever there are international television cameras, he's in front of them. Wherever there's a crisis, he's on the spot. Whenever there's a cause, he's championing it.

Clutching

But no precedent could have prepared America - or the rest of the world that's grown accustomed to his beaming face - for his ultimate publicity coup.

Determinedly clutching President Saddam Hussein's most famous hosGEORGE GORDON, New York correspondent of London's Daily Mail, writes that politically ambitious Jesse Jackson is still out in the wilderness, in spite of his obsession with publicity.

tage, five-year-old Stuart Lockwood, Mr Jackson loomed out from millions of television sets, prompting the baffling question: "What's Jesse running for?"

But there are those who say that "Jesse Jackson Show". it's all the last desperate gasp of a candidate on the road to nowhere.

Once the darling of America, the fiery preacher and civil rights leader with his eye on the presidency could do no wrong.

But less than two years on, the

tables have turned completely. Jackson couldn't get in on the Middle East action as a national political figure. So, instead, he went as a TV reporter for his soon-to-be-aired

For Jackson, the stunt and its TV coverage was as essential as oxygen. He was back in the limelight, proving to his own Democratic Party Jesse won't be forgotton.

But many people had. Recently he held a press conference and one reporter turned up. After an embarrassing and fruitless 20-minute wait for more arrivals, Jackson answered two questions and fled.

In a desperate bid to swivel back into the limelight, he has become the professional champion of the underdog, of any cause at any time.

Jackson's second run for the presidency proved one thing - that the white population doesn't trust him.

Now there are new black candidates. The most prominent is Governor Douglas Wilder of Virginia.
Clutching bewildered Stuart

Lockwood may be great for the first week's ratings - but politically Jesse Jackson is in the cold.

Mandela

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New masters, old danger

A black South African journalist asked recently whether "the suppression of news is not an African disease".

Much the same thought pervaded a conference in Benin last month of the West African Journalists' Association when it called for support of journalists who had been victimised, for continued pressure on West African governments to end official and unofficial censorship and their "tutoring" role over the media, and for an end to the ignoring of human rights violations, especially torture.

There is a coming of age among black journalists on the continent. More and more of them feel there is no longer any need - if there ever was one - to put political causes before their calling as newsmen.

In Zimbabwe, where there has not been much freedom of the press under Mr Mugabe, the recent role of the Financial Gazette in revealing the internal debates within Zanu PF's politburo is testing the limits of a rediscovered free press.

Yet, in South Africa, poised to discover the wonders of democracy, the ANC is sending unmistakable signals that it will control the press if it ever gets its hands on power.

Dateline London Stanley Uys



It repudiated the UDF's Western Cape president Christmas Tinto, who had told newspapermen: "We expect the majority of you to be card-carrying members of the ANC," but it uses the same terminology National Party politicians employed so ominously.

Alarm bells

When a politician declares he welcomes a "free" press, but it must be a "responsible" press and its reporting must be "factual" and not "malicious" (I am quoting the ANC's Aziz Pahad), then beware - the alarm bells are ringing.

These warnings presuppose that the press is subject to two separate disciplines: criminal and civil law, and whatever authoritarian idea might flit through the mind of a pol- real test of independence. John Duitician at any particular moment.

Attacks on press "monopolies" and on Government control of the

SABC are ambiguous, too. Is the intention genuinely to liberate the control for another?

When I close my eyes, I can hear the language of Afrikaner Cabinet Ministers over almost four decades. Most Afrikaner journalists in that period believed their first loyalty was to Afrikaner nationalism and only secondly to journalism.

The price Afrikaner journalists paid for this surrender of their independence was that they became simply party hacks.

When a later generation of black journalists (not the rugged individualists of the Drum era) argued the same point - cause before calling - they were simply treading the path cleared for them by Afrikaner nationalist newspapermen.

I am not saying we on the English-language press were blameless. I recall with no great pride our uncritical support of the United Party. But at least when the time came we were the ones to send the UP to its last resting place.

Criticising one's own side is the gard has made the point that nearly 40 years of struggle taught liberals to withstand the racism and repres-

sion of the radical Right, but "the threat from the radical Left is more media or simply to substitute one insidious ... liberals must therefore resist the intolerance of the Left

> If press freedom survives in South Africa, probably it will be because of the efforts of black journalists themselves. When newsmen like Thami Mazwai can say suppression of the media by a black government will be no less an abuse than censorship by a white government, black politicians should take notice.

Necklacing

It is much more difficult for a black journalist to take up an independent position than it ever was for an Afrikaner journalist. As Nomayenda Mathiane explains: "If a black journalist writes a story interpreted as against the movement, then anything from ostracisation or the gutting of the journalist's house to necklacing is possible."

Nevertheless, hope for the freedom of the press lies mainly with black journalists in South Africa.

No politician likes an independent press, but they have to be taught to learn to live with it.

Getting the 6 Ser 1990 welcome welcome mats ready

Even though major elements of apartheid are still in place, black. Africa is already preparing to welcome South Africa, whites and all, into its ranks.

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia reflected the mood when he spoke in Gaborone recently about the prospect of South Africa joining the continent's formal organisations: the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC, commonly known as Sadec) and the Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern Africa (PTA).

A prospect once seen dimly suddenly looms large in African capitals. It is almost certainly viewed there with some pleasure, and not only because it will mean the end of the indignity apartheid inflicted on black South Africans (and, by empathetic extension, on all Africans). It will also enable black Africa to enjoy the benefits of dealing with South Africa — Africa's moral leper, but its economic giant.

Formal admission to the OAU and Africa's other clubs is unlikely until South Africa is considered to conform to the "democratic, non-racial" criterion. The OAU might only accept South Africa meets it when the ANC says it does.

But some of the members of those clubs (such as Madagascar, which recently threw open its doors to President de Klerk) are not in a mood to wait. They want access now to the goods, services and technology South Africa can offer cheaper and more quickly than anyone else.

Long before the ANC gives the nod, a large number of African countries, putting need before conformity, will almost certainly have developed open, if informal, relations with South Africa. Nearly, a fifth of the OAU member states are already dealing openly with South Africa and others seem poised to follow suit.

South Africa is about to grasp the Walvis Bay nettle, according to Prime Minister Hage Geingob of Namibia, and other reliable sources. Both Mr Geingob and the sources say negotiations will soon open between South Africa and Namibia over the future of the South African enclave.

The dispute over its ownership was put on the back burner during and immediately after independence. Now the Namibians want it brought to the front of the stove.

The compromise, once touted by Walvis Bay's National Party MP Chris de Jager, of turning it into a free port is understood to have received a cold reception in Pretoria as well as Windhoek.

South Africa's claim to the enclave is watertight in international law, however, and it would seem naive to just give the place away. The question exercising acute minds in Pretoria is what to demand in exchange.

The trouble is there is very little Namibia can give. In the end Pretoria may have to surrender Walvis for nothing more than goodwill. But that may be acceptable to a government that does not have much of it. After all, you have to trade for what the market will bear.

They may start calling Gaborone the Beijing of the Kalahari if the Chinese become much more active there. The latest news is that a Chinese company, Complant, is building the new R14 million head-quarters for Air Botswana out at Sir Seretse Khama airport.

Chinese entrepreneurs — is there such a thing as a communist entrepreneur? — are also putting up a big new office block in downtown Gaborone. Yes, Gaborone, the only boom town in Africa, is getting big enough now to have a downtown. The contract price for the office block, if not the airline headquarters too, is reputed to be astonishingly low.

The Times. 6/7/90-London

hat was no gaffe of Nelson Mandela's, in Dublin this week, about the IRA. The comments were not made because he was "tired". They were part of a deliberate, concerted, collective political strategy, of which Mr Mandela is now the spokesman, though not the architect. The recommendation that the government hold talks with the IRA belongs with his praise, in America, for Arafat, Castro and Gadaffi. It belongs with the re-iterated opposition to any relaxation of sanctions. Above all, it belongs with the insistence that the "war" of the African National Congress must continue until apartheid is well and truly over.

The Provisional IRA — through its legal front, Sinn Fein — is actually now part of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement, Mr Mandela's host in Dublin. The executive of the Irish Ami-Apartheid Movement decided, a few years ago, to affiliate Provisional Sinn Fein. The decision was taken on the recommendation of the present chairman of the move-ment, Kadar Asmal, an astute, hard-left lawyer.

That decision precipitated the resignation from the movement of a number of prominent people, including the former taoiseach, Garret FitzGerald. From being a "bourgeois" organisation, as it was in the Sixties - when I was chairman - and up to the late Seventies, the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement became a tightly controlled organisation of the hard left, on the cosiest of terms with both Sinn Fein-IRA in Ireland and the hardliners in the ANC leadership in Lusaka and now also in South Africa. That was the combination that produced Mr Mandela's recommendation for talks with the IRA.

That recommendation, and no more than that, is precisely what the IRA wanted from Nelson Mandela, and with the help of its friends in the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement, and in the ANC leadership, the IRA got what it wanted. It gave it, of course, a propaganda bonanza, both internationally and in Ireland Gerry Adams, president of Sinn Fein, duly thanked Mr Mandela for having said what Gerry Adams's friends had told him to say.

As it happens, I have some practical experience of the ANC-



Conor Cruise O'Brien argues that the ANC leader's fears of an internal split led him to placate hardliners in his group and grant the IRA a propaganda coup

IRA link-up. At the time of the affiliation of Provisional Sinn Fein to the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement, I publicly protested, as a sponsor and former chairman of the movement. Later, in an article in *The Times* in 1986, I denounced the ANC's so-called "academic boycott" as victimizing both individual scholars and institutions - like the universities of Cape Town and Witwatersrand which have actually broken South African law by completely de-

segregating their campuses.

Mr Asmal, as chairman of the
Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement. publicly attacked me for opposing the "academic boycott" in principle and for violating it in practice, by accepting an invita-

tion from the University of Cape Town's department of political science for a five-week teaching spell. Towards the end of that spell. Towards the end of that spell, my class was violently broken up by a mob of students and non-students. Among the placards carried by members of that mob was one that read on one side, "Viva ANE", and on the other, "Viva IRA".

There have, in the past, been military links between the PRA and the ANC. Two former HA leaders recalled, in Dublin this week, the days in the late Seventies when the IRA provided military training for ANC units. I do not believe there are now any serious military links between the IRA

and the ANC, For one thing, the

"POOR MANIPULATED MANDELA, PRISONER OF OTHERS' WORDS.

Zulu

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Klerk told revised laws on dangerous weapons could fuel violence, not curb it

Political Correspondent MARTIN CHALLENOR

gerous weapons would actually made to the laws on carrying dan-F.W. de Klerk that the changes he tuel the political violence, not curb have angrily told State President LAWYERS and unrest monitors

except in a few instances. force the Dangerous Weapons Act unrest monitors appealed to the and provisions of the Natal Code of authorities in recent months to en Zulu Law which prevented people from carrying dangerous weapons The Legal Resources Centre and Their plea was made against the re-

eatly appreciated amountment of the

MINISTER: KWAZUKU

TOGRAM written authority to carry a dangerous duty or employment. Natal, for a specific period or service. A district officer could give people in an area, or the whole of

spears and axes, because it was a "traarm mobs of people armed with sticks,

luctance of the security forces to dis-

armed could a start be made to end the that only if armed people were disditional" Zulu custom and in the belief

Unrest monitors have regularly no

stick as an aid for walking. and needed a staff or sharp pointed urban area, or was aged or infirmed Code of Zuin Law, applicable to black bona fide travelling at night outside an member of the police, or hunting, or engaged in some public duty, or was a or any other dangerous weapon would be guilty of an offence unless he were gai, swordstick, battle axe, stick shod any black person who carried an assepeople living outside of KwaZulu, said THE original provisions of the Natal with iron, staff or sharp pointed stick night travelling outside an urban area. gaged in public duty, is a member of a dangerous weapon if he or she is enbattle-axe, stick shod with iron, staff From September 30 a black person hunting or is engaged in bona fide police force established by law, is or sharp-pointed stick or any other may carry an assegai, sword stick

written permission to carry a dangermay give a person or group of people ous weapon The commander of a police station usages, customs or religions can do so. accordance with traditional tion to carry dangerous weapons in to prove they had the bons fide intenpeople remain the same. People able The provisions for old and infirm

dent de Klerk would greatly expand lawyers and unrest monitors have said weapons could be carried, outraged the circumstances in which dangerous

the police expressly allowed any group ment would also generate a host of usage on every occasion. The amendthey to arm itself with traditional weapons. complaints about police impartiality if one carrying a dangerous weapon as the security forces to act against any-It would be virtually impossible for could now plead "traditional"

cuss the laws that prevented the carry-

cal opponents and neutral people. weapons have gone on to attack politi ticed how people carrying "traditional"

The LRC met with senior police off-

ing of dangerous weapons in Natal and cers on two occasions recently to dis-

in stark contrast to the provisions that existed previously," Mr Howard Varthe Natal Code "greatly facilitates the carrying of dangerous weapons and is The State President's amendment to

had been referred to the

But the affects of the amendment to see Matal Zulu Code signed by Presi-

forced, but the Natal Code of Zulu Law Dangerous Weapons Act would be en African Police told the LRC that the ties strictly to enforce them. The South KwaZulu. The LBC asked the authors

> orities have no intention of enforcing in public. strict limitations of carrying weapons the orginal Natal Code which places from the amendment is that the authney of the LRC said, "What is clear

pletely out of control. may be. armed, as the new provisions permit sier for persons to appear in public weapons in this province has gone comthe carrying of weapons according "The amendment now makes it ea The use and proliferation of Zulu usage; whatever this

laws pertaining to weapons in Natal's the trast with steps that they have taken in problem, the authorities, "Instead of clamping down on this Transvaal, have seen fit to relax in stark con-

amendment "does not come from the

right-wing policemen on the ground,

batting political violence, but this

but from the legislators",

behaviour of allegedly right-wing

He felt the amendment was a step

members of the security farces in combackwards. Much had been made of the Mr Varney said

climate of intense political conflict violence", Mr Varney said. reduce the prevailing pyschology be doing everything within its power of violence in Natal. In the present level of provocation and intensification irresponsible and clearly adds to the circumstances the Government should "Such a step taken in the prevailing

feel Party's unrest monitoring action group said people carrying traditional weapthe seriousness of the Government's often went on to commit violence: "We ons to political rallies and meetings commitment to end black-on-black vio-Mrs Eve Jenkin of the Democratic the amendment throws into doubt

its motives in making this amendment: ing the Code was not interested said the Government had to explain "Whoever was responsible for amend-Mrs Ann Colvin of the Black Sash

Democratic Alterative for South Africa said the amendment allowed dangerous home-made guns could be described wide that it was useless and even tradition" the law had been cast so obnoxious way. By allowing "hone fide weapons to be exhibited in a more "traditional" under the amended code, Mr Steve Collins of the Institute for a

FROM:

TRVIN

THE

DAL SAILY

Now is right time for American trip and Holland also sends invitation

FW likely to visit United States soon

Daily News Foreign Service

WASHINGTON: An official working visit to the United States by President F.W. de Klerk, could take place within weeks as both South African and American officials believe the timing for such an event has never been better.

In addition, the State President is likely to visit Holland in October, says the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Hans van den Broek.

He said yesterday the steps taken by Mr de Klerk since February had encouraged the Dutch Government and given it hope that there could be new and stronger ties between The Netherlands and South Africa.

A spokesman for the State President's office confirmed on inquiry that an invitation had been received and that it was being given favourable consideration.

Mr de Klerk postponed his visit to the US in June following a controversy in the Congress about the fact that it would take place before African National Congress deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela visited the country.

The State President said at the time he would take up the invitation extended by President George Bush to visit the US when there would be less controversy over it.

Mr Bush invited both Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk to visit Washington as part of his administration's policy to play a constructive facilitating role in the negotiation process in South Africa.

He received Mr Mandela in late June and the two men and their delegations held lengthy talks about the need to move away from violence and about specific requests for financial and other assistance made by the ANC.

Mr Bush and Mr de Klerk have maintained a close telephone relationship since Mr de Klerk was elected State President. Washington sources say the two men get on well and that a face-to-face meeting will do much to enhance the relationship.

The State President will visit Washington for three days and two nights as the official guest of the US government.

Congressional leaders have already said they will receive Mr de Klerk on Capitol Hill, where he is set to address senators at a private dinner.

It is not clear how prominently the issue of sanctions will feature on the agenda for talks at the White House and on Capitol Hill, but it is likely Mr de Klerk will not make it a major item. The US Government and the Congress has repeatedly said there will

be no relaxation of sanctions unless prerequisites set out in US law have been met.

Mr de Klerk is likely to also visit New York during his US visit.

There has been some talk of him also visiting Canada, but no details of this could be confirmed.

Unrest threat to growth in Natal

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

THE violence seemed set to continue unless fundamental inequalities in access to power and resources were overcome, Miss Dori Posel, of the University of Natal's Durban economic research unit, said at a university lecture in Pietermaritzburg yesterday.

To restore long-term peace, any immediate ceasefire had to be seen as a pre-condition for a more long-term political settlement and redistribution of wealth that would redress an entrenched lack of infrastructure and recent damage to property.

She said that one of the most damaging economic consequences of the unrest would be its adverse impact on the growth of industry.

Given the immediate costs of the violence to production, many factories which were seeking to expand production in Natal were forced to adopt a "wait and see" attitude.

In April the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Industries estimated that its members were losing R500 000 a day in production costs because of the violence.

As business confidence declined in Natal, so the province risked being struck off the list of locations earmarked for new investment ventures. One such venture was the recent relocation of a R100 million industrial complex to the Transvaal which was initially intended for the Durban area.

Stagnating or contracting industry in Natal would only compound the problem of unemployment.

WHITES TOOK PART IN HOSTEL TACK, SEBOKENG **ESIDENTS CLAI**

Daily News Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Armed whites took part in a pre-dawn attack on a Sebokeng hostel where the SADF later shot dead 11 people, witnesses claim.

According to hostel residents and victims at Sebokeng Hospital, there were two separate inci-dents in which people died on Tuesday morn-

ing.
The first began at 2.30am when men moved from block to block. It was among this group that the white men were

seen.

Fighting continued for several hours until police are said to have stepped in to prevent fleeing hostel residents from regrouping and launching a counter-attack.

The second incident took place about 9am when an SADF back-up unit formed a line across the road outside the hostel and fired teargas, residents said.

Hostel residents said that they had seen:

Armed whites on a roof in Block 4, sniping at fleeing men;

A white man standing on the shoulders of another to climb on to a dormitory roof;

Balaclava-clad men with white hands clasping rifles crouching among a group of blacks who launched an attack on Blocks H and G. The white men opened fire when the blacks rushed at the buildings shouting a war cry;
White men driving three vans that dropped a large group of black men at the hostel entrance several hours be fore trouble erupted. The

black men then moved into the hostel grounds. None of the whites in these incidents was seen

to be in uniform. Meanwhile the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, has hotly disputed remarks by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela on the killings.

He said yesterday that Mr Mandela had spoken on the strength of hasty impressions, condemning the SADF prematurely and even convicting them - all on the grounds of untested information.

A police spokesman said the death toll in Sebokeng rose to 40 yesterday after three men died in Sebokeng Hospital.

Troubled flared in Soweto early today when a Zulu migrant worker was murdered near Merafe station.

Police said the man was on his way to work when a mob attacked and stabbed him. The man made his way back to the nearby hostel and bled to death.

Hundreds of enraged hostel dwellers who gathered half an hour later at the station to avenge the killing were dispersed by an SAP pa-

Lessons of Sebokeng

ONCE again Sebokeng has been forever obscured by the scene of a shorting to a shorting to the scene of a sho

the scene of a shooting tragedy that will echo around the world and set back efforts to bring peace to the townships. This week's confrontation, in which 11 people were shot dead by troops trying to disperse a crowd of 5 000, came only days after the Goldstone report criticised both trigger-happy police and protest organisers for their part in the earlier clash at Sebokeng, last March.

The final culpability for the latest outbreak may remain

forever obscured by the heat and confusion of the moment. A military board of inquiry has been convened, notwithstanding the call for a completely impartial body, but either would find it difficult to decide exactly how and when the spark was ignited. Certainly the outrage and sadness over Sebokeng grimly endorse the Goldstone message: when provocation and preservation are the issues, discipline on both sides is a deadly serious factor.



Communist domination

SIR - Mandela's document, "How to be a Good Communist", which was used as evidence during his trial, reads: "In our own country, the struggle for the oppressed people is guided by the South African Communist Party and inspired by its policies.
"The aim of the SACP

is to defeat the Nationalist Government and to free the people of South Africa from the evils of racial discrimination and exploitation ...

To replace it with what? ... a classless socialist society in which the land, the mines, the mills etc ... will be nationalised.

Has Mandela's intense ideology been softened during imprisonment?

On February 11 on the balcony of the Cape Town City Hall he stated: "I salute the general secretary, Joe Slovo, (head of the SACP and an ex-KGB colonel) one of our finest patriots. We are heartened by the fact that the alliance between ourselves and the party (SACP) remains as strong as it always was. I salute the SACP for its steady contribution to the struggle of democracy."

There is no doubt that the ANC's National Executive Committee is dominated by commu-

There is nothing surprising in this, but what is incomprehensible is the fact that liberals be-lieve the "Communism is dead" fable.

M.E.H. VAN BILJON Richards Bay

Anti-Communist front is needed?

THE Western world will not help South Africa from becoming a Communist dictatorship. They will just stand on the sidelines and watch this country slide into totalitarianism and poverty.

If South Africa is to be saved from Communism, it will not be saved by the numerous splinter groups of the so-called Rightwing, but by a coalition or a union of all the anti-Communist forces, Rightwingers and others.

If the Communistdominated ANC won an election and came to power, Joe Slovo and his clique could and probably would call in Communisttrained troops from Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola to put down any opposition to his party.

For this reason, it is im-

perative for all of the anti-Communist groups to get together now and establish areas of co-operation to fight the common ene-

Communism is not going to be defeated by planting bombs in dust-bins. Such mindless violence of the ANC type will achieve nothing as we all know.

What is going to be needed is a tight, highly disciplined, national anti-Communist organisation with lines of supply and communication well-established, nationally and internationally, to other anti-Communist groups world-wide, and these lines must be established now before a Communist take-over, not afterwards.

There have been many

letters published in this paper, written by people concerned about the possible take-over of this country by Communist forces.

I would like to suggest that these people and all others who are concerned about a possible Communist take-over of this country get together to see what steps can be taken to prevent such a catastrophe.

In this regard, I would like such people to contact me with a view to launching an anti-Communist front. This would not be a political party but rather a grouping of people who appreciate the evils of Communism.

C WALKER

PO Box 445, Highlands North, 2037

Policies will assure ted political policies, if plemented, will assure majority rule

MR DE KLERKS projected political policies, if implemented, will assure majority rule, with the inevitable result of domination by the numerically superior Black inhabitants of the Republic. Any other assessment should be viewed as a pipedream.

In my opinion, there is no requirement for such a disastrous political reversal, if only for the following reasons.

Russian influence in Africa, while still considerable, is greatly depleted. Russia's disciples in Africa, Cuba and Central America are not receiving nor are they likely to receive, the generous type of military and economic aid that was so much taken for granted in the bygone era.

Russia appears to have more pressing problems nearer home!

Furthermore, independent African countries are no longer commanding the same degree of sympathy from the Western democracies, in that the international banking consortiums are not reflecting too much enthusiasm for the continuation of Third World loans in general.

It has, at last, become apparent that money invested or loaned to the vast majority of newly created African States is a non-starter, with regard to both interest and capital return.

If Black majority rule would ensure economic and political stability, a better life style for the Black inhabitants in the South Africa of tomorrow, then I and many like me, would be delighted to see this achieved. Unfortunately, the track record of the States to the North can only depress responsible Black and White Africans who South would otherwise, conceivably, lend support to the policy which Mr De Klerk appears to advocate.

J A T (PADDY) JONES (EX-SAAF)

> Calgary Canada

FW: If we lose referendum...

BLOEMFONTEIN.

— The government would return to the drawing board if it lost a referendum on the new constitutional proposals, the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, said

yesterday.

"Our promise to the voters is that we will not carry on with a plan that has been rejected by the majority in a referendum.

State President, Mr back to the drawing board for a new plan to

bring the irreversible situation to its conclusion," Mr De Klerk told the Free State National Party congress.

Mr De Klerk was responding to a delegate quoting Herstigte Na-

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CITIZEN 6/9/90

FW on referendum

FROM PAGE 1

sionale Party leader, Mr Jaap Marais, saying it would be meaningless to hold a referendum after the negotiations had been completed.

"The HNP has been totally destroyed in the previous two general elections and Mr Marais now finds himself in the company of organisations from which he always distanced himself.

"I have always stood up for Mr Marais as a man who believed in democracy. I am sorry for him, because he has now become impoverished by these organisations and I call on him to distance himself from these radicals," said Mr De Klerk.

Mr De Klerk said South Africa would never again return to a pattern of racism and discrimination.

"A momentum has begun which is making the negotiation process irreversible.

"We will not turn back, nor will we be stopped at giving everySouth African a say in decision-making," said Mr De Klerk.

He said the NP would not agree to any system in which the basic rights of any minority, like the Whites, were negated.

Further minimum conditions which would have to be met before the NP would approve a new constitutional system were:

 The security forces of the new South Africa would have to be managed and manned properly. A professional and well-trained defence force and police force, which were not subject to political expediency, presented the best guarantee for the maintenance of a safe environment in which everyone could work and live in freedom.

There would have to be built-in guarantees and mechanisms which would prevent South Africa from falling into a one-party state or being delivered into the hands of an irrational dictator.

• A bill of rights

would have to be entrenched.

- There would have to be regular elections in South Africa, with any government having a limited life-span.
- The economic system would have to remain based on the healthy principles" of

the free market and pri-

vate initiative.

- The new South Africa would have to be one nation, enriched by the most beautiful elements from a rich diversity of people who had come to the country from all parts of the world
- There had to be an independent judiciary.
- The political system of the new South Africa would have to provide for leaders subscribing to these values to be represented in governmental organs.

Mr De Klerk said the government and the National Party were convinced that these and other attributes would make of the new South Africa a safe, fair and prosperous land for all its people.

The elimination of discrimination would also have to be the re-sult of an orderly process. — Sapa? 11921 hand.

Ciskei says fire (foolish' strikers at Mercedes-trike at the Mercedes-

BISHO. — In its first official reaction to the strike at the Mercedes-Benz plant in East London, the Ciskei Government yesterday launched a strong attack on the strikers, calling for their summary dismissal.

The ruling Council of State also labelled them "foolish and misguided" as well as "selfish rebels", "rogue workers" and a "totally undisciplined ragtag of people acting in defiance of their own union".

In a statement yesterday to Sapa, the Ciskei Council of State called on the workers to return to work.

The Council also called for the summary dismissal of those backing "this reckless behaviour", and said they should be dealt with by law if they engaged in any more "confrontational conduct".

The Council stated:
"Nowhere in the world can behaviour of this kind be tolerated. The foolish, and misguided workers who noisily supported the criminal occupation of the plant, should not doubt the seriousness of their folly.

"This insane behaviour has cost Mercedes-Ben/ well over R162 million, and caused them to consider relocating somewhere not cursed by an unruly labour element. The men behind the trouble at the plant should not doubt their fate if the factory were closed.

"Spelt out, the closure of Mercedes-Benz would result in the closure of many other factories supplying components in the Ciskei, and elsewhere in this region, and even further afield:

"This would mean thousands of people out of work. It would also signal the departure of investors no longer prepared to operate in an area notorious for its undisciplined work force," the Council noted.

"The effects on ordinary people will be catastrophic, resulting in no work, hardship, and starvation for thousands of innocents.

"Is this what the rogue workers of Mercedes-Benz want? If so, can these people be sane? It is high time to become constructive rather than destructive

The council praised Mercedes-Benz for its "proud record in our area.

"Its workers have always been among the best paid in the industry. Every need has been catered for, in the fields of sport, welfare, and medical care. Employees have been accorded every recognition, their careers enhanced by specialist training, and by being sent on courses to the mother factory in Germany. Nobody could have done more, or associated themselves so closely with the local community.

"... to the stubborn

element who have caused all the disruption, and who ignorantly think their action will result in inflated salaries from a cowed employer, we would commend the words of the great American civil rights leader Martin Luther King, who said in 1963: 'Nothing in the world is more dangerous than sincere ignorance and conscientious stupidity'," the statement concluded. — Sapa.

Not the Zulu leader

IN the phone-in programme on Radio Zulu on August 30, the Minister of Law and Order mentioned that Chief Buthelezi is the leader of the Zulus.

I was surprised to hear this from the Minister. This has been reiterated by a number of Whites. It shows a lack of understanding about the Blacks in general.

Firstly, I would like to deny the claim that Buthelezi is the leader of the Zulus. Buthelezi is the leader of the Buthelezi clan in which he is the chief.

Secondly, he is the leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, as it is recently called.

I am a Zulu. I do not belong to the Buthelezi clan, nor am I a member of Inkatha. I feel very offended if someone comes around and tells me that he is the leader of the Zulus. The only person who can be said to be the leader of the Zulus is King Goodwill Zwelithini.

Buthelezi is the leader of only a fraction of the Zulus, but not all the Zulus.

FED-UP ZULU

Newcastle

Township violence blamed on Inkatha

Citizen Reporter and Sapa THE KwaZulu Chief Minister and president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was guilty of associating and involving himself in criminal activities carried out by his impis, the publicity secretary of the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO), Mr Parks Mankahlana, said in a statement issued in Johannesburg yesterday.

Mr Mankahlana blamed Chief Buthelezi for being the source of the township violence and demanded that he should denounce the chairman of the Inkatha Transvaal Youth Brigade, Mr Themba Khoza, who has been arrested "while on a killing spree with four AK-47 rifles" in Sebokeng on Tuesday.

"Failure on Chief Buthelezi's part to denounce Mr Khoza and his cohorts is paramount to exhorting his bandits to continue to kill people," Mr Mankahlana said.

He accused Inkatha of presently being on a campaign of destabilisation, and said its continued existence was threatening the negotiation process and a future democratic and united South Africa.

"Inkatha's role was the same as that of Renamo in Mozambique and Unita in Angola."

Referring to the killing this week of 36 people "by the Defence Force and Inkatha" in Sebokeng as well as the arrest of members of Inkatha, "some of them armed with AK-47 rifles", Mr Mankahlana said it confirmed Sayco's long-held view that the violence was a well-orchestrated campaign supported by elements of the State.

He said that due to Inkatha's deteriorating support throughout the country, it did not have the capacity to engage ANC supporters in terror and violence on a wide scale. He reinforced his view that Inkatha members were now armed with AK-47 rifles.

"Quite a number of AK-47 rifles have been discovered by the police in Inkatha-dominated hostels before. These factors point to an Inkatha which is heavily armed with weapons of foreign origin.

"We see this as nothing else but the creation of a South African-style Renamo-Unita bandit force," he said. Sayco put the blame and responsibility for the creation of such a movement "squarely on the shoulders of the South African Government".

Sayco demanded that arrested members of Inkatha be brought to court and charged with murder and manslaughter, and the same should apply to members of the Defence Force "who killed all people"

THE CITIZEN COMMENT 6/9/90

More violence

THE renewed township violence, which has claimed more than 40 lives, is utterly de-

plorable.

One would have thought that after the previous death toll soared above 500, the ANC, Inkatha and community leaders would have moved heaven and earth to ensure that peace prevailed.

But no. The killing continues.

Nobody wants to accept any responsibility and the recriminations go on endlessly.

Inkatha is accused of attacking the "communi-

ty". Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is accused of instigating the violence.

The ANC, no mean hand at committing violence and intimidation, claims it is not involved, though others say it is.

Inkatha and Chief Buthelezi deny they are

causing the mayhem.

Some township dwellers blame the Zulus, but ANC spokesmen claim the fighting is not between Zulus and Xhosas.

And the police, who have to bear the brunt of trying to keep the opposing factions apart, are accused of instigating the violence, or of taking sides with Inkatha, or of shooting marchers and protesters with live ammunition when tearsmoke would have been adequate.

Now, with 11 dead in an incident involving Coloured soldiers, the Army is a target of

condemnation.

The dreadful hostels, in and around which much of the horror of the past few weeks has been enacted, are also blamed, the hostels being seen as breeding grounds for social tension and ethnic violence.

There are demands that the hostels be pulled down immediately, without any consideration for the accute shortage of alternative

housing.

What is clear is that the ANC has been trying to keep Inkatha out of its "territory" in the Transvaal townships, just as Inkatha kept the ANC's affiliates, Cosatu and the UDF, from taking over its territory in Natal.

It is also clear that the main fighting is between Xhosas (the ANC) and Zulus (Inkatha).

Therefore, the assumption that the fighting is both political and ethnic is not wrong.

One would have thought that, as a matter of priority, Mr Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the ANC, would meet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

But Mr Mandela and the ANC suspect Chief Buthelezi of using the violence to project his own image as a leader by forcing Mr Mande-

la to meet him.

Discussions are left to others in the organisa-

In Natal, they have achieved a truce; in the Transvaal, the killing continues.

The two leaders must meet, since an end to the violence is needed desperately.

As for the police, the Goldstone commission criticised the action of some policemen in the Sebokeng shootings in March.

It is true that Mr Justice Goldstone does not have to face a potentially dangerous crowd of 50 000 in the course of his judicial duties, and that he does not suffer the terrible stress of policemen whose lives may be at risk.

However, this does not invalidate his findings. But they are not an indictment of the whole police force, and it is ludicrous to suggest

that they are.

There are — and we have said it often enough — some policemen who overstep the mark, but the great majority carry out a thankless and extremely dangerous task with remarkable forbearance.

There is now an outcry for a judicial probe of

the incident involving the soldiers.

We cannot have judicial inquiries into every incident. The army has set up a board of inquiry, but this does not satisfy the ANC or the Democratic Party. If a judicial probe is necessary, let's have one, since the Army must not be accused of a cover-up.

The basic fact remains that the violence has to end and only the organisations involved can

stop it

They must get together and declare peace before the new violence plunges the townships into another "war".

FW invites all parties to talk √

By Sapa and Rohan Minogue BLOEMFONTEIN.

— The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, yesterday extended a public invitation to all parties and movements who were not yet talking to the government to do so now.

Addressing the Free State Congress of the National Party, he said the invitation applied to the Conservative Party. all other parliamentary opposition parties and extra-parliamentary parties and groupings, no matter how small.

"Now is the time to rise above petty differerences," Mr De Klerk said.

Instead of emphasising negative matters and breaking up NP meetings, the CP should "come and talk to us".

Mr De Klerk was given a standing ovation at the end of his speech.

Dr Zach de Beer, coleader of the Democratic Party, welcomed Mr De Klerk's appeal.

Dr De Beer noted that DP leaders had already held talks with the government this year and said the party was ready, at any time, for bilateral talks with the government or for multilateral talks in a wider forum.

While he understood that the ANC might have a problem with formal ne

gotiations because Mr Mac Maharaj, a member of the ANC's national executive committee, remained detained without charge, he believed the time was ripe for talks to start. Dr De Beer recalled Mr De Klerk's pledge that all political leaders with a proven constituency, no matter how small, should participate in the talks.

The leader of the Con-

servative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, refused to comment on the invitation yesterday.

His secretary said Dr Treurnicht would respond when he spoke in Kroonstad tonight.

Buthelezi denies Inkatha violence

By Rohan Minogue

THE KwaZulu Chief Minister and President of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday rejected any suggestion that Inkatha could have been involved in attacks during the past month of internecine unrest in Black townships on the Reef.

"That is utter balderdash to suspect I could be involved in planning attacks on anybody," he said.

Chief Buthelezi addressed a Press conference on his return from Poland, answering questions regarding the arrest of 150 Inkatha members in Sebokeng on Tuesday

Among those arrested was the Inkatha Transvaal Youth Brigade Chairman, Mr Themba Khoza, in connection with the possession of AK-47 rifles and pistols

Inkatha had n ither an armed wing nor weapons and had always believed in peaceful change, he said.

"It's laughable. I wouldn't have access to such things ... Inkatha hasn't got access to any armoury of AK-47's."

He was sorry to hear of Mr Khoza's arrest and believed the matter would be taken care of by the courts, Chief Buthelezi Senior Inkatha officials were touring the townships to try to end the violence and meetings were being held at various levers with the alliance of the United Democratic Front and Congress of South African Trade Unions, he said.

While in Warsaw, he had heard that a senior African National Congress official wanted to meet him on the violence, Chief Buthelezi said. He would not name the official.

He criticised the ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, for refusing to meet him and for remarks made while Mr Mandela was in Zambia last week.

"He has stated he is not willing to see me, stating that I am a person who likes to see the blood of people flow," Chief Buthelezi said.

Allegations of this nature "stoke the flames of violence".

"It (a meeting) will be a major contribution towards the diffusion of violence," he said.

Asked about the ethnic aspect of the violence, Chief Buthelezi said he had worked for Black unity all his life and that it was "utter balderdash" to say he had encouraged ethnic conflict.

The violence had begun in Sebokeng after attacks on the homes of Inkatha supporters and the disruption of an Inkatha ralv on July 22

Insults directed at himself and at King Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus had enraged Zulus, but the conflict was not essentially ethnic, he said.

Chief Buthelezi condemned the hostel system — identified by the ANC as a root cause of the fighting — but said more housing was needed before it could be abolished.

Asked about allegations of collusion between Inkatha and the police, Chief Buthelezi said the accusations were nothing new and that Inkatha had no working relationship with the police.

"I don't think, if these people become angry and go berserk, they would need the police to assist them" he said.

He rejected the findings of a recent opinion poll conducted by Natal University Institute of Black Research, which estimated national support for Inkatha at 1,5 percent.

He had met Polish leaders including the Prime Minister on his trip and heard that socialism had ruined the Polish economy, Chief Buthelezi

2 years for Trevor Tutu

Ben Schoeman Airport on October 8, 1989, when Tutu left a Johan-East London.

After officials would N not to injure people. not allow him to reboard, he inferred there court to consider the atwas an explosive device titude of society regardon board. The flight was ving Tutu. He had never v delayed while a fourhour bomb search was carried out, and the cost of the delay and subsequent delays of five flights has been estimated at R27 770.

Defence attorney, Mr H Lalla, requested the

court to consider that Tutu was married with two minor children. He asked the court to impose a fine.

when Tutu left a Jonan nesburg-bound flight Tutu's action was to get The motive behind during a stopover in back on to the plane —

> been a threat to the extent he was perceived to

Tutu would not be a threat to society if the court imposed a suspended sentence.

Passing sentence, the magistrate, Mr

Oosthuizen, said Tutu's offence of contravening the CAA was a serious crime which deserved a minimum sentence of five years.

The court took into account the fact that Tutu's luggage had to be He also asked the removed because of the delay he had caused. It also took into account that passenger safety was of paramount importance.

> The flight was delayed for about four hours, and passengers had to disembark and identify their luggage.

The court also took

into account that a second delay was caused by the seriousness of Tutu's threats.

The threats resulted in a second disembarkation and the removal of all luggage. The plane was taken to a place where it was searched thoroughly by special-

The court took into account the fact that Tutu committed the crime while out on bail pending an appeal against conviction on a similar offence.

The court noted that Tutu had not complied with bail conditions of his previous conviction. Tutu, who had applied for a bail of R1 000, was granted bail of R5 000 pending appeal.

The court ordered that if the appeal failed, Tutu would have to report to the court at East London within seven days. - Sapa.

revor

EAST LONDON. -Trevor Tutu, son of Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, was sentenced in the East Regional London Court yesterday to an effective three and a imhalf years' prisonment but was released on bail of R5 000 pending an appeal. CITIZEN

A further four and a half years, suspended for five years, was also imposed. 6/9/9/

He was convicted on Wednesday of three counts of contravening the Civil Aviation Act and one count of contravening airport regulations. Tutu had pleaded not guilty to all four counts.

The charges arose from an incident at the

TO PAGE 2

ANC Reds face the Axe, says journal

By Tony Stirling

THE authoritative British intelligence digest, Africa Confidential, suggests that a number of Communists on the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the ANC will not be re-elected when the ANC holds its first internal conference in South Africa on December 16.

Among those the journal says are unlikely to be re-elected, or who stand an even chance only, are some powerful figures. They include ANC General Secretary, Alfred Nzo, Jacob Zuma, the ANC head of intelligence, Jackie Selibe, ANC youth section head and chairman of the National Repatriation Committee, and Robert Conco, the SACP man at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania.

The journal, predicts however. that with 16 NEC members still undeclared in the SACP's recent announcement of the names of its interim leadership in South Africa, along with the fact that at least five members of the SACP will probably be re-elected on merit alone, the SACP will still have a strong representation on the NEC.

SACP will thus be able to operate on two fronts simultaneously — publicly through the powerful party machine announced on July 29 and clandestintely from within the ANC.

The journal points out that many of the key administrative posts, besides those on the highest policy-making body, the NEC, are held by SACP members.

It states that the SACP was bidding for new constituencies by unveiling as party members respected

leaders of the United Democratic Front (UDF).

These include persons such as Ms Cheryl Carolus, who with the "demise of the Rev Allan Boesak" is emerging as the new cult figure for Coloured radicals, and whom the SACP was hoping would lure the Coloured community away from the Trotskyite influence of Dr Neville Alexander and the Islamic fundamentalism of Qibla, which is close to the Pan African Congress (PAC).

Others who had emerged from within the UDF were Natal Indian Billy Nair, and figures from the Labour movement such as Sydney Mafumadi, John Gomomo and Chris Dlamini, while Jeremy Cronin represented the party on the White Left.

Harry Gwala, a staunch, Maoist, was important as a Zulu to be deployed against the KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha President, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

The digest said, however, that despite making efforts to reveal the names of members known for their internal activity rather than for membership of the ANC in exile, when it made the names of its interim leadership known, the ANC had failed to deflect allegations that it dominated the ANC.

By revealing only three members of the ANC's Black exiled leadership as SACP members, the SACP had taken the gamble of opening itself to criticism by the PAC, which claimed it was dominated by non-Blacks, while the SACP itself claimed a 70 percent Black membership.

The names it revealed in this regard were, in any case, already known SACP members — Chris Hani, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, John Nkadimeng, head of

the now defunct trade union arm of the ANC, the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) and Sizakele Sigxash a member of the security apparatus.

The fact that the SACP did not reveal Thabo Mbeki, the ANC Director of International Affairs, as a member was to be expected. His position in the party was under speculation and he could not be considered an active Communist.

Latent tensions over the SACP's role in the ANC were coming to light. This could be seen in the recent unprecedented "visceral" attack launched by Dr Pallo Jordan in which his targets were Joe Slovo SACP General Secretary, and the cult of Stalinism.

It was the first such public attack by a member of the ANC leadership since the declaration of the ANC/SACP alliance.

Africa Confidential predicted that, now that the SACP had to some extent broken cover, a host of minor battles between Communists and Nationalists in the ANC could ensue.

With the armed struggle now suspended, non-Communist Joe Modise, the commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe, could use the SACP dimension to bolster his flagging status by claiming that his struggle with his chief of staff, Mr Hani and Mr Slovo, was aimed at thwarting SACP designs on Umkhonto.

On the other hand, Mr Hani, also seeking a new power base with the suspension of armed struggle, was cultivating a new constituency as champion of the working class and militant youth, which was further being reinforced by his popularity in the Eastern Cape. (He has based himself in Umtata.)

Other members who could lose their positions on the ANC's NEC be-

cause of personal unpopularity, according to Africa Confidential, includes Mr Nkadimeng, Ronnie Kasrils, Mac Maharaj, and Mr Sigxash, who was not only unpopular but could be damaged by reports of atrocities committed by the ANC security organ in Angola.

Mr Maharaj is at present being held in connection with police investigations into an alleged ANC plot to seize power in the event of negotiations failing, while Mr Kasrils is being sought in the same connection.

What to do with Mrs Mandela?

HERE' is huge controversy surrounding Nelson Mandela's wife, Winnie. We are currently waiting to hear whether she will be put on trial for com-plicity in the murder of a child, Stompie Mocketsi, and the torture of several other youths in her house by members of her infamous "football team".

At this somewhat sensitive time, and with the ANC having just agreed to end its armed struggle, Winnie gave a brilliant speech arguing that "violence should not cease". This created consternation within the ANC: Mandela suddenly cancelled his appearance at the launch of the ANC Women's League and Winnie, though she attended the launch, sat glowering, clearly forbidden to

Each time that Winnte lets loose another intemperate outburst the ANC quickly re-minds everyone that she holds no official position within the movement and speaks only for herself.

But this policy has now been stood on its head with the announcement that Winnic is to assume shadow cabinet status and take over the ANC portfolio on social welfare matters

Winnie herself refused to comment on her appointment (which has led to fran-tic petitions from social welfare bodies); doubtless, rightly, she views it as an attempt to get her to confine herself to social welfare matters in Diture.

But all attempts to bribe her into silence scem doomed to fail. Meanwhile, tongues have begun to wag over the fact that Nelson, devoted to Winnie as he undoubtedly is, has just taken a holiday and now a foreign tour without her.

While he was away this time Winnie turned up at the funeral of some of the Transvaal unrest victims attired in camouflage uniform and army boots and giving mili-tant salutes- the clearest possible hint that for her the armed struggle is still very much on.

The police have an-nounced that they will have to charge Winnie-the wearing of uniforms suggesting

membership of a private army is an offence.

But nobody really knows what to do about Winnie. She effectively regards herself as above the law and seems ready to pursue pri-

can control her", but it is not clear how far even his "control" extends.

Meanwhile the government, only too well aware of Mandela's indispensability is desperately keen to maintain his goodwill—which is hardly consistent with putting his wife on trial.

Within the ANC the dilemma is even sharper now that Whinie has shadow cabinet status. Moreover, excitement is already building over the impending return of scores of thousands of exites. scores of thousands of exiles; many of whom have acute

many of whom have acute welfare problems.

ANC members blanch as they realise that Winnie's new portfolio could give her a commanding role in the whole drama of extle return.

"Maybe the best thing for Winnie," one activist said to me, "would be to put her away somewhere—for about 27 years."

27 years.

The Evening Standard 6/9/90 London

VIERNATIONAL

HE latest opinion poll here (among all races) shows Nelson Mandela favoured for presiit by 42 per cent, ahead the actual president, V de Klerk, with 27 per

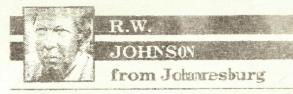
he poll is based on a preninantly urban, educated aple and nobody doubts t rural folk of all races · more conservative. This y mean that overall, de ark is running closer beid Mandela.

t is not surprising that de rk-hailed even by Jesse kson as "South Africa's icoln"-runs well ahead his Nationalist Party. iat is more surprising is it Mandela runs behind ANC. True, the ANC ens a vast, if rather undeied, goodwill among cks-indeed, it is at its st powerful as an idea.

lut viewed up close it ms a somewhat shamic organisation. Its officfunction badly, if at all; incompetence is already aost legendary-it is genilly impossible to get ough to its headquarters phone or fax; it speaks h many different voices, ny of them extreme and tarian; and even after six in 60,000 members.

A hefty proportion of these e white, Asian and untry's 25 million Afrirteenth of the claimed >mbership of Chief thelezi's Inkatha meve-

The cheque collector



Moreover, as the recent his own prescription that tribal crife in the Transvaal showed the organisation is Ra, he fighting should often irrtually non-existent regreludetalking. on the ground; its supporters were ffectively leaderless smad lisbdief when it during the fighting with vs has announced that their Zulu opponents.

All of which makes Mr with the strictorn Trans-Mandela utterly indispensa- valowship-was off on ble. He is the only figure authoriternational tour. with unquestioned authority over the loose rambling coa- pe n ; seninar on "he lition f support that makes up the ANC and his immense international stature makes him the ANC's diplomatic Vs: in the Iuwait crisis. trumpeard.

eral ewnts have conspired to out in the world offident the magic of the Man- daly aporting Iraq. dela name.

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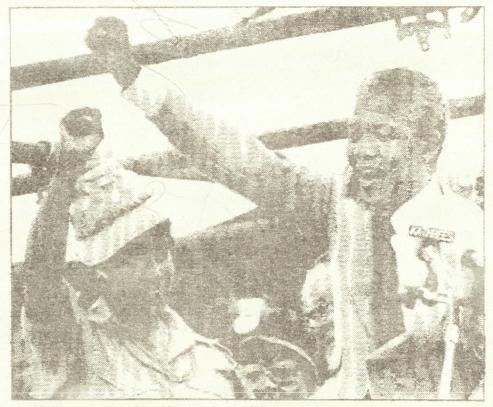
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Winnis and Nelson Mandéa. . trying in different ways to raise the ANC's profile

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But where admiration was once unalleyed, one can now hear a certain muttaing.

Natal violence 'causing businesses to mechanise

Witness Reporter

MANY Natal companies are opting for mechanisation to counter the disruptive effects of the ongoing violence on their labour and production, says University of Natal economics lecturer Dori Posel.

Delivering a college lecture on "The economic implications of violence in Natal" at the Pietermaritzburg campus yesterday, Posel said firms that were struggling to survive in the province were opting for more capital-intensive techniques of production.

There have also been indications

that, as the reliability of the existing labour force is seen to decline, so firms are also changing their hiring practices by using more expensive Indian or white pensioner labour, rather than unionised or non-unionised African workers.

"It is likely that the immediate and visible effects of the violence on the Natal economy will be transformed into the more structural problem of permanently reduced employment prospects and the deterioration of already adverse living conditions in the townships.

"Insofar as socio-economic condi-

tions fuel the violence and discontent, the possibilities of a long-term resolution of the unrest will be and are - being eroded.

"A self-perpetuating cycle is being created whereby prolonged conflict both reinforces and is reinforced by decling economic activity," Posel said.

The optimism generated by President F.W. de Klerk's reform initiatives was rapidly evaporating due to the continuing violence. The conflict was likely to inhibit much-needed foreign investment in Natal, she added.

De Klerk invites all parties to talks

'Now is the time to rise above petty differences'

MFONTEIN - State President F.W. de yesterday extended a public invitation to resident may visit Holland The president was given a standing ovation at the end of his speech.

BLOEMFONTEIN - State President F.W. de Klerk yesterday extended a public invitation to all parties and movements who were not yet talking to the Government, to do so now.

Addressing the Free State congress of the National Party, he said the invitation applied to the Conservative Party, all other parliamentary opposition parties and extra-parliamentary parties and groupings, no matter how small.

"Now is the time to rise above petty differences." De Klerk said.

Instead of emphasising negative matters and breaking up NP meetings, the CP should "come and talk to us"

De Klerk also said the Government would return to the drawing board if it lost a referendum on the new constitutional proposals.

"Our promise to the voters is that we will not carry on with a plan that has been rejected by the majority in a referendum.

"If we lose, we will go back to the drawing board for a new plan to bring the irreversible situation to its conclusion," De Klerk said.

He described the country as being irreversibly on the way to a new South Africa, free of all forms of statutory discrimination.

He said the NP would not agree to any system in which the basic rights of any minority, like the whites, were negated.

PRETORIA - The Dutch minister of foreign affairs, Hans van den Broek, said yesterday State President F.W. de Klerk would probably visit The Netherlands in October.

Van den Broek said the political unanimity and the willingness on both sides needed for such a visit had already been achieved. The agenda for the visit was under discussion.

Van den Broek said the steps taken by De Klerk since February had encouraged the Dutch Government and given it hope that there could be new and stronger ties between The Netherlands and South Africa.

The state president's office confirmed on inquiry that an invitation had been received and that it was being given favourable consideration. -Sapa.

De Klerk said the Government and the National Party were convinced that these and other attributes would make the new South Africa a safe, fair and prosperous land for all its people. The elimination of discrimination would also have to be the result of an orderly process, he said.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said the Government totally rejected the concept of an interim administration while constitutional negotiations were in process.

"South Africa is a sovereign country with a legal Government and this must remain in place while negotiations take place," he told the con-

The Government was willing to negotiate with all, but the responsibility of managing South Africa must remain with the Government, he said.

South Africa wanted to reform, but in an orderly manner and the Government also had no intention of nullifying the independent states, as they were sovereign, he said.

"Some of the leaders have indicated that they wanted to reasses their constitutional status. Because they are sovereign, their status cannot be changed unilaterally but only through negotiation.

"The individual patterns developed in these states during their years of independence must also be taken into consideration," he said. -Sapa.

See page 7

Drama at Jamile's trial NATAL WITNESS - 6/9/90 Couple arrested for alleged intimidation of witness

Witness Reporter

IN a dramatic turn during a murder trial in the city yesterday, two people were arrested for allegedly intimidating a witness testifying against KwaZulu Member of Parliament Samuel Bhekizizwe Jamile.

A woman and a man were taken into custody after Jamile's former driver, Khohlwangifile "Twist" Ngema, claimed that one of them said that he was "fit to be killed for telling the court nonsense".

Ngema had ealier testified under cross-examination that the evidence he had given in court was "untruthful" because he was afraid of Clermont businessman Woyi Richard Phili, who had "forced" him to make certain allegations.

In his evidence, Ngema told the court that he had overheard Jamile telling some men that he would "get and harm Phili, community leader Aubrey Nyembezi and someone known as Zazi".

He said that Jamile had blamed the three for an attack on him, in which a hand grenade was thrown at his car.

However, under cross-examination by counsel for the defence, Ngema claimed that he had only said this because Phili had told him to do so if he wanted to avoid another attack by the "comrades".

He said that he consented to this as he had just came out of hospital after an attack on him by people who he believed to be "comrades".

Ngema said that Phili also initiated an article which appeared

in a Johannesburg-based Sunday newspaper, in which he "apologised to the community" of Clermont for his relationship with "their enemy" Jamile.

He said that he had visited Jamile after the article was published and Jamile had asked him to make a second statement to the police.

During re-examination, Ngema confirmed hearing Jamile making threats to "hurt" Phili and others and claimed that he had misunderstood the questions asked by Jamile's defence counsel.

He insisted, however, that he had read "some of the things" he had originally alleged were said by Jamile in pamphlets which were circulated in Clermont.

The case continues today.

Buthelezi reacts to Inkatha arrest JOHANNESBURG — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu and leader of Inkatha, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, reacting to the reported arrest this week of the Transvaal Inkatha youth brigade chairman, Themba Khoza, said

he believed in peace and that the law had to take its course.

Reacting to reports that his Inkatha Freedom Party could form an alliance with the ruling National Party, Buthelezi also said nothing had been discussed officially, but that in general he was in favour of co-operation.

The Inkatha president made his comments yesterday at Jan Smuts airport after his return home from a trip to Poland. - Sapa.

Hospital Strike NATAL WITNESS 6/9/90 resolved

THE crippling strike that nearly brought Natal's health service to its knees was resolved at Edendale Hospital late yesterday afternoon with nurses agreeing to return to work immediately.

The strike at Durban's Prince Mshiyeni Hospital was unresolved by late last night and negotiations will continue today.

The KwaZulu secretary for health, Dr Darryl Hackland, said last night that the agreement reached with the nurses at Edendale Hospital would be applicable to all nurses and general assistants employed by the KwaZulu Department of Health.

In terms of the Edendale agreement, nurses and general assistants will be refunded the overpayment on allowances that was made to them and then deducted without warning in a lump sum from their salaries.

The overpayment will now be recovered in monthly deductions until March 1991.

Pay problems addressed, nurses go back to work

The authorities also undertook to pay by September 15 the recently promised increases to bring KwaZulu nursing staff and general assistants on a par with nursing staff in the rest of the country.

It was also resolved that those Edendale staff not reporting for work by Friday would have to present themselves to the administrator of the hospital to validate reasons for their absence according to usual conditions of service. They are to be accompanied by members of the joint working committee, who represented the

nurses in the negotiations during the strike.

According to the medical superintendent for Edendale Hospital, Dr Peter Evans, those nurses who were available reported for duty last night.

No patients were transferred back to the hospital last night from Grey's and Northdale hospitals, which came under tremendous pressure during the strike at Edendale.

Evans said that situation would be assessed today to set the "wheels going again".

Hackland said that negotiations between the KwaZulu minister of health, Frank Mdlalose, and the joint working committee for the nurses at Prince Mshiyeni would continue today.

Basic services were being provided by a skeleton staff, who had been working around the clock since the nurses began their strike on Monday. No patients were transferred to other hospitals, according to Hackland.

Okushiwo nguDr Mandela ngokubonana nomholi weNkatha

ETHEKWINI:-IPhini likaMongameli we-ANC, uDr. Nelson Mandela, uthe akazimisele nakancane ukubonana noMholi weNkatha Freedom Party futhi onguMongameli waKwaZulu, uDr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ngoba ukholwa wukuthi kuliphutha elikhulu ukubonana kwakhe nomholi osathanda ukubona ukuphophoza kwegazi lomuntu oMnyama.

Lesitatimende okuthiwa usisho eseLusaka lapho ebehambele khona umhlangano wamazwe angomakhelwane beSouth Africa, uphinde wasiphinda ngenkathi etheleka esikhumulweni sezindiza eGoli lapho ebenomhlangano khona nabacosheli bezindaba. Uhlabe kakhulu uDr. Buthelezi ngokuthi nguyena odala udlame eSouth Africa.

Kubikwa ukuthi obengusihlalo walomhlangano, uMongameli waseZambia, uDr. Kenneth Kaunda, uthe esikhathini esiphambili bebehlala njalo bemcoma uMongameli weNkatha, uDr. Buthelezi, ukuthi nguyena olwa nobandlulo futhi zikhona izimpawu zokunqoba, kodwa uma kutholakala ukuthi nguyena kanye onodlame kumele ashintshe abuyele ekhaya emzabalazweni woquqaba oluMnyama.

Abaholi bamazwe angaphandle bawuphethe lomhlangano ngazwi linye bethi kumele uMongameli wezwe, uMnuz. F.W. de Klerk, kube nguyena kanye oqeda udlame lomnyama komnyama eSouth Africa, okulindeleke ukuba lomyalezo udluliselwe kuyena nguDr. Mandela maduze nie.

Kulomhlangano obuhanjelwe nguMongameli waseBotswana, uMnuz. Quitt Masire, owaseNamibia uMnuz. Sam Nujoma, uJoacquim Chissano waseMozambique kanye noNgqongqoshe wezangaPhandle waseZimbabwe, uMnuz. Nathan Shamuyarira, uMnuz. Benjamin Mkapa waseTanzania noPedro van Dumen wase-Angola.

Kulomhlangano odonse usuku lonke bekukhona nabebemele iPan Africanist Congress, kubona okubalwe phambili usihlalo wayo uMnuz. Johnson Mlambo nobezochazela lomhlangano ngesimo nezinguquko esezikhona kuleli.

Kwenzekalokhu nje, ilunga leKomidi elikhulu le-ANC ngaphakathi kuleli, uMnuz. Ahmed Kathrada uveze ukuthi inhlangano yakhe ayiwuyekile umzabalazo wezikhali kodwa isawumisile nje. Lokhu ukusho emhlanganweni obuhanjelwe ngabalandeli be-ANC ngenkathi kuvulwa elinye lamagatsha ayo amasha eThekwini, Umngeni North.

Usihlalo wegatsha lalenhlangano eLamontville osanda kukhululwa ejele, uMnuz. Bheki Cele, uthe wonke amalunga e-ANC kumele aziphathe ngendlela ephucuzekile futhi avikele isithunzi senhlangano yabo esineminyaka engu-78 yabakhona.

Ngesikhathi sokuloba ubengakabikho kulelizwe uDr Buthelezi ukuze aziphendulele ngokushiwo ngave nguDr Mandela noDr Kaunda.

ANC, NP link, says De Beer

CHARGES surfaced yesterday that the National Party and African National Congress are together quietly preparing a future constitution for the new South Africa.

"It looks as though President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela want to cosily stitch the whole thing together before they let anybody else in the room," Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said.

Semarks Remarks

He was linking two remarks - the first from Mandela at a news conference on Monday and the other from Finance Minister Barend du Plessis at the NP's Free State congress in Bloemfontein on Tuesday.

De Beer expressed alarm at the simultaneous appearance of the idea. "The statement by Mandela that there would be 'arrangements' for a multi-party government appears to have been confirmed by Du Plessis when he proposed a multi-party Cabinet representative of all groups in Parliament."

Suggested

This suggested that the Nats and the ANC had been talking bilaterally, not merely about the removal of obstacles to negotiation but about the shape of a new government.

Mandela said the first multi-racial government would consist of various political parties. Some arrangement was likely after the first non-racial election "so that a new government will be representative of all political opinion. - Sapa.