

THE STAR 22-01-93

Piet 'Promises' proves that apartheid really is dead

OF ALL the many words Piet Koornhof has been using to explain or justify his relationship with a young person of colour, it took the good doctor himself to utter the most obvious ones.

Quoth he: "In the end, just as I was proved right in 1979 when I said apartheid was dead... they'll see that I'm right again."

Not too many people agreed with the facts as Piet saw them in 1979, and the upset Lulu Koornhof probably won't agree that her errant hubbie has been proved right in the present *skandaal*.

Still, he certainly seems to have underlined that as far he is concerned, apartheid is truly dead.

Said Mrs K, after seeing those tell-tale pix in the paper and phoning Piet in the US: "He said there was nothing wrong... I really don't know what he means by that."

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WELCOME to the club, Lulu. You're by no means the first to be puzzled by what he says. During his political career Piet "Promises" Koornhof was famous for his

obfuscations.

As Minister of Sport in the 1970s — and a closet verligte — he created such bafflement with his concepts of "normalised" and "multinational" sport (as distinct from the big no-no word "multiracial") that he did indeed play a role in hastening the demise of apartheid.

It was only the unkind who linked the length of his famous nose with what happened to Pinocchio when he told fibs.

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MORE obfuscation ensued during his six years as Minister of Co-operation (or Plural Relations) and Development — those titles being euphemisms for what rightly used to be called BAD, for Bantu Affairs Department.

However unpleasant his role in forced removals and township policies — and he would sometimes confess to that himself — the affable Piet always contrived to look as if he meant well.

His style was redeemed by a self-deprecating sense of humour. Right now, it looks as if it's going

The Inside Track



to be tested to the full.

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THERE are several ways of reading Nelson Mandela's remarks in the US on lifting sanctions and the ANC's conditions for helping the process. One is to dismiss them as economic naivety.

"If I can get an assurance from business," said Mandela, "that they will be able to make a significant contribution toward cutting unemployment within the next six or 12 months, and to freeze retrenchment, then... I would say to my organisation, 'Let's lift sanctions now'."

But a business type asks Sauer: "How is business to get itself out of the dwang and provide more jobs? Only by growth, which depends on having sanctions lifted, and then only after they've been

lifted for some time.

"Sanctions can't be turned on and off like a tap: it takes years to recover lost markets.

"Otherwise we all sink deeper into the dwang. In other words, he's talking Catch 22."

Says a less charitable chap: "Mandela was just threatening businessmen to push on for faster change — or else. Then if the economy goes down further it will be their fault and not the ANC's, which of course set off most of the decline. He's putting himself into a win-win situation."

You pays yer money — if you have any left — and takes yer choice.

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FANS of British comedy videos would immediately have recognised the brass-band fanfare at Bill Clinton's inauguration. It was the same one that introduces Monty Python's Flying Circus.

Was this a subtle warning of impending chaos, or were the organisers preparing for a documentary entitled "Life of Bill"?

For the record, the Americans



Pauline

"I love it when he talks dirty."

— The Independent, 12/1/93

can legitimately lay prior claim to the tune. It was De Souza's "Liberty Bell" march.

□ □ □

BARONESS Thatcher is determined her autobiography will be a sensation when it hits the bookshelves in October. To help it on its way, she and her publisher recently gave a lavish dinner for the moguls of the book business.

With the cigars and port came a taste of things to come... from the Iron Lady herself. Muttered a guest: "Humility and loyalty are

not words which come to mind when she talks about the book."

Said another: "She is determined that this book will be a best-seller and she is prepared to do anything and everything possible within the bounds of the law to ensure its success."

Money doesn't matter — she is reputed to have signed a deal worth R16 million — but reputation does. Nigel Lawson, Geoffrey Howe and John Major may wish to inquire about the possibilities of asylum in Siberia.

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ONE last lesson emerges from Piet Koornhof's travails over his "beautiful friendship" with Marcelle Adams.

After young Willem de Klerk's recent close encounter with a "multinational" relationship, any good fortune-teller would warn top Afrikaners (and their families) to avoid dusky ladies surnamed Adams. □

Hector Sauer

Shaka's curse blocks prospect of Zulu rule

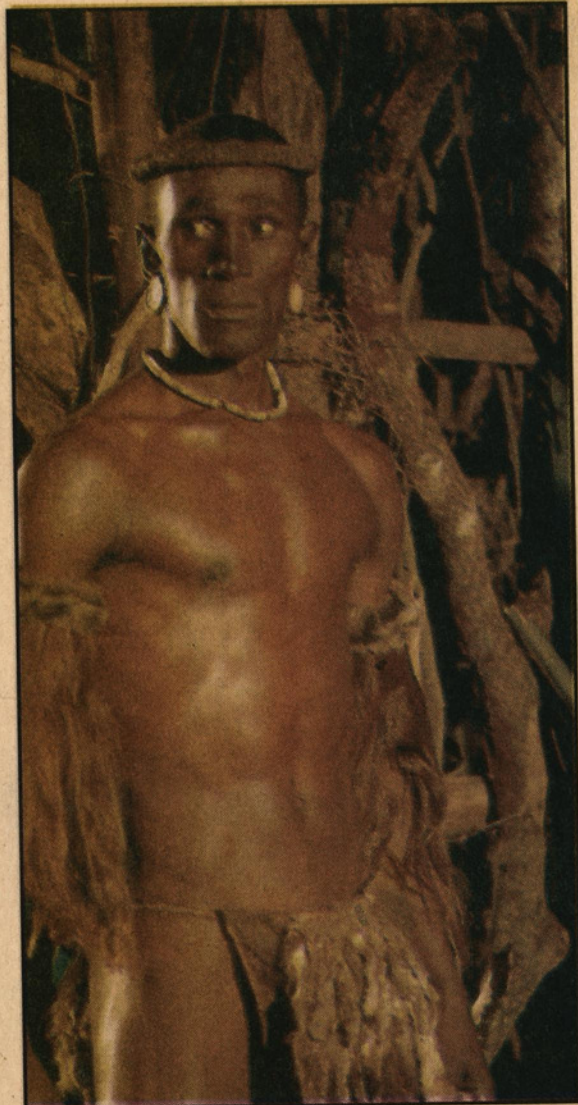
Zulus will never rule this country, as envisaged by Gatsha Buthelezi and Goodwill Zwelithini (even though they are the largest minority group, and irrespective of how many innocent, defenceless and apolitical people they kill in order to reach their goal). Why? Because all the Zulus are under a curse!

Their first king, Shaka Zulu, shortly before being stabbed by his brother Dingaan, said the latter was killing him in the hope that he would rule this land ... but that would never be the case. Instead, Shaka foresaw other people from elsewhere ruling this land. The Zulus, however, would be men of blood and war!

Can anything be more to the point? Exactly the same thing is happening today as prophesied by Shaka Zulu many years ago.

Gatsha Buthelezi says he has no private army, but strangely enough he is Minister of Police in KwaZulu, also president of Inkatha and Chief Minister in his bantustan. He collaborates with racist rightwingers, with Mangope and Gqozo, and he is sacrificing the lives of many innocent blacks in order to appease whites who agree with him. This strange man claims to be a Christian, yet his way of life contradicts that.

He also says he believes in democracy, yet he is terribly scared of the results of democratic elections. It is apparent that Gatsha has a high degree of lust for power, he is a bloodthirsty dictator, who ruthlessly im-



Shaka Zulu played by Henry Cele ... warned that fratricide by Dingaan would never succeed in producing Zulu hegemony.

poses his will on others, because it seems as if he'll do just about anything to be in power, and that includes following in the footsteps of Jonas Savimbi and Alfonso Dhlakama, thereby turning our country into killing fields.

But nobody has to

worry about him, he will never rule South Africa, his struggle is in vain. Even Shaka Zulu said so shortly before he died. All the Zulus are under a curse.

(Dr) Alfred Ntlotleng
Norwood
Johannesburg

THE STAR 22-01-93

Govt-ANC collusion over new SABC board denied

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government and ANC were looking at the possibility of an independent selection committee to recommend to President de Klerk who should be appointed to the new SABC board in April, Home Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar confirmed yesterday.

In an interview in Parliament, Pienaar said this was one of many proposals for reconstituting the board that had been made to his department. No decisions had been taken, and he still intended to consult widely.

He strongly rejected Conservative Party accusations that the Government and the ANC had "cut a deal" to appoint a board that favoured them.

Pienaar confirmed he had held a day-long discussion with

an ANC delegation this week, but had told them their proposal was just one among many.

Both the ANC and the Campaign for Independent Broadcasting had proposed that judges be appointed to choose the selection panel.

Pienaar said he was not aware of any specific nominees who had been submitted for specific positions in a reconstituted board, or in the SABC hierarchy.

He would "hate" the new board to represent just ANC and NP interests, and would like it to be as broadly representative as possible. The board should also represent a broad range of technical expertise rather than political interests.

The Minister said he felt it might be wise to maintain some of the existing board members "for the sake of continuity".

However, he agreed that once a new board had been appointed, it could reconstitute the SABC from top to bottom — and

would have the power to fire everyone from the top down.

But he did not envisage it making major changes to SABC personnel. It would be wrong to hire and fire just for the sake of doing so or for political reasons.

Pienaar said he would have preferred the new board to have been appointed through Codesa, but it was not functioning and the matter was urgent.

"The urgency is that within a year we will be in national elections and there is a perception that the playing field is not level as far as the SABC is concerned. I deny that is so, and the NP and Government have as much cause for complaint about partiality as any other party. But that is the perception and we have to avoid such perceptions."

He confirmed that the move to find a new method of appointing the board had been prompted by the fact that the present board's term of office expired on March 31.

In the present political climate, a one-sided reappointment would have been unacceptable.

It is understood that the deadline for making submissions on procedures for appointing a new board and new board members has been extended from January 18 to January 25 to allow for late submissions.

The question is to be discussed at the bosberaad between the Government and the ANC next week, sources said.

CP media spokesman Dr Pieter Mulder said this week that information had been leaked to the CP from within the SABC that the Government and the ANC were planning behind the scenes how to reconstitute the board.

Democratic Party media spokesman Peter Soal said he believed the CP fears that the NP and ANC would appoint the new board between themselves were "a little exaggerated".

New call for Zambia to probe ANC

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee (Recoc) chairman Mwezi Twala has asked Zambian President Frederick Chiluba to appoint a commission of inquiry to investigate human rights abuses allegedly committed by the ANC on Zambian soil, it was announced yesterday.

Twala said in a statement that he had written to Chiluba asking him to set up a commission to cleanse "the shameful history of the Zambian people as collaborators in these human rights abuses".

He reminded the Zambian president that one of the Douglas Commission's findings — released in Johannesburg last week — was that the governments of the countries in which the ANC had camps appeared to have "fully co-operated with the ANC-SACP...".

Three commissions — one appointed by the ANC and the others by Amnesty International and the International Freedom Foundation — have all been scathing in their criticism of torture in ANC camps.

If appointed, Zambia's will be the fifth commission to investigate human rights abuses in ANC camps in exile. Acting on a recommendation of its own commission, the ANC has appointed another commission — now the fourth — to carry the investigations further.

In his letter to Chiluba, Twala said the ANC's human rights violations in that country had been committed during the days of "the undemocratic (Kenneth) Kaunda regime".

16/1/11

ANC attack under APLA banner denied

CITIZEN 22/01/93

THE African National Congress and Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief-of-staff Sphiwe Nyanda strongly deny allegations made at the Goldstone Committee yesterday that MK, the Transkei Defence Force and the Azanian People's Liberation Army intended to attack the security forces

and three homelands from February under the banner of APLA.

This was submitted by ANC counsel Azhar Cachalia after he had contacted Mr Nyanda, who is attending the bilateral meeting between the government and the ANC at a secret venue in the Transvaal.

Mr Nyanda informed

Mr Cachalia that it was the "first time he had heard of these serious allegations".

Direct evidence would be led to repudiate the claims made by police Captain Petrus Grundling of the Soweto-based Crime Information Service to the Goldstone Committee probing attacks on policemen, Mr Cachalia said.

Capt Grundling yesterday testified that a "reliable" informer had told him Mr Nyanda on January 5 this year said that MK, the Pan Africanist Congress and its military wing APLA, and the Transkei Defence Force, had reached agreement at a meeting in Butterworth, Transkei in December last year to attack Kwa-Zulu, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and the security forces from February this year.

Asked if there was a relationship between MK and APLA, Capt Grundling said on December 26, 1991 a certain "Solly", an MK member, in the presence of Oupa Monareng, the MK co-ordinator for Soweto, had told people at Zola North that MK, since they had established underground structures, had forged close links with APLA members to eliminate as many South African policemen as possible. —Sapa.

Friday 22 January 1993

THE CITIZEN

Forced ANC rule would hit economy, warns Dr T

THE coming to power of an African National Congress regime in South Africa is not a foregone conclusion, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

But if ANC rule was enforced on the CP, South Africans would not benefit from the lifting of sanctions because the ensuing conflict would destroy any semblance of a functioning economy.

Dr Treurnicht was responding to ANC president Nelson Mandela's "offer to dictate whether sanctions against South Africa should be lifted".

Said Dr Treurnicht: "Not only the CP but other important groups refuse to be subjected to an ANC regime."

"It would appear that this fact is being ignored by foreign governments who have funded the ANC to help put the ANC into power in South Africa."

It should also be remembered that most of South Africa's strategic minerals are mined in areas controlled by people who are against an ANC government, he

said.

Foreign governments and benefactors of the ANC would do well to take note of the recent findings of the Human Sciences Research Council regarding both Black and White attitudes towards an interim government.

"The overwhelming result was a thumbs down, even among the Black population."

By giving credibility to what the ANC says, and by acting upon the organi-

sation's demands, foreign governments were antagonising the very people who could keep South Africa running as a viable and prosperous entity.

"They are furthermore breaching the norms of international relations by endorsing and funding as a government in waiting a terrorist movement with no proven support and no territorial representation, as well as setting the stage for conflict in South Africa by this one-sided support for the ANC." — Sapa.

Govt, IFP in heated slanging match

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

CAPE TOWN — The Government gave the Inkatha Freedom Party an extraordinary dressing down at last week's bilateral meeting, confidential documents in the possession of The Star reveal.

The crucial talks between the two sides — the first since IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi broke off contact with the Government last year — ended with a terse statement saying

more discussions were planned.

But the documents show for the first time the depth of acrimony which actually existed.

It emerges that a memorandum presented at the meeting by the IFP so infuriated the Government delegation — led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer — that a counter-memorandum was presented describing the IFP submissions as "the last straw".

When the talks started on Monday the IFP, led by national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, tabled a memorandum to the Government containing a series of serious allegations about Government-ANC connivance in negotiations.

After its presentation the two parties adjourned until until 12.30 pm on Tuesday. The meeting finished only 45 minutes later, after the Government had read out its counter-blast.

The confidential memoranda give a graphic picture of the anger that exists on both sides. In its no-punches-pulled memorandum the Government accused IFP leaders and the KwaZulu government of making "untrue and distorted allegations" about its behaviour in the negotiation process.

The Government said because of its special responsibilities to the process, it had resisted the temptation to react publicly to the IFP's provocation.

However, "the latest memorandum was the last straw: too many lies and distortions repeated once too often", the Government said.

It labelled the IFP memorandum as "blatant, untrue, hard propaganda".

The Government added: "Reading the document (and listening to it being read out to the meeting) leaves one with a sense of shocked disbelief that such a piece of banal nonsense could be pro-

EXCLUSIVE

duced from within the ranks of a respected political party and of the proud Zulu nation.

"The explanation clearly lies in the fact that this document was compiled by a person who is poorly informed, technically unqualified, and with questionable ulterior motives. It would appear that senior members of the IFP delegation had no hand

● To Page 3

● From Page 1

in the compilation of the document."

In the original memorandum, which sparked the furious response, the IFP said there had been minimal co-operation between the two parties since the collapse of Codesa 2 in May.

It accused the Government of a strategy which aimed at creating a long and open-ended process of transition in which the Government and the ANC would share power.

Leaks

The IFP added: "One could speculate how on earth the most secure offices and files in intelligence quarters were rifled to expose financial dealings which were aimed at making Dr Buthelezi look like the stooge the ANC says he was."

"The Official Secrets Act was obviously transgressed by someone in intelligence, and yet there are no Goldstone inquiries into the leaks."

Hitting back, the Government delegation said: "... when IFP delegates were absent from important Codesa meetings, or when IFP delegates had to operate without a

mandate because they could not get one from their principals, or when IFP delegates entered into agreements that were afterwards not well received at home and then blamed others for their predicament, or when strange foreigners appeared as IFP delegates," it had actively promoted IFP interests.

The IFP should blame itself, and not other parties, for its perceived misfortunes at Codesa, the Government said.

The Government proposed that the two parties discuss their common ground and said: "The real leaders should talk to each other and play a decisive role throughout."

It warned the IFP that there were "forces" wanting to destroy the trust and common purpose between them.

"We cannot prescribe to one another who should be used as advisers, but we do ask that advisers should not be allowed to dictate the terms and mood between us which is so vital for a sound and productive relationship," the Government said.

The next meeting between the two sides is scheduled for Wednesday.

● The Government-ANC bosheraad enters its third day today with no news of how the deliberations are going at a secret venue.

The Star understands that today is the last day of discussions on violence-related matters, including the implementation of the September 26 Record of Understanding.

Commission

The next two or three days of the bush indaba have been devoted to constitutional matters, including the reincorporation of TBVC states and matters pertaining to elections.

A draft electoral law and the setting up of an election commission, including the ANC's Transition to Democracy Act of 1992, will also be discussed, according to reliable sources.

Government negotiators, led by Meyer, will then proceed to Cape Town after the bosheraad — the second between the two main political players since last month — for the official opening of Parliament next Friday.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Take care

THE "serious differences" reported at talks between the government and the Inkatha Freedom Party were not unexpected.

The IFP has a feeling (not confined to it) that the government is intent on reaching an agreement with the African National Congress to share power in the initial period after the new South Africa is born.

As the correspondent of the London Financial Times put it, both parties have decided to put stability before democracy.

Time will tell whether the ANC intends to erect just a facade of power sharing, while retaining all important powers for itself, and whether the government clings still unrealistically to an effective White veto, the newspaper says.

The two sides, according to this report, have decided that neither can govern alone. Pretoria lacks the legitimacy and the ANC lacks the skills.

South Africa would effectively be a one-party state with 75 percent or more of the vote. The ANC-NP would thus drive a wedge between opposition on the Left and Right.

We do not say this scenario is the correct one, but the fear that it might be is very much in the minds of the IFP and other members of the Concerned South Africans Group.

Hence the "serious disagreements" in the discussions between the IFP and government this week.

Apparently the IFP accused the government of doing a deal with the ANC.

This was vigorously denied by the government delegation led by Mr Roelf Meyer, the Constitutional Development Minister.

Mr Meyer signed the Record of Understanding with the ANC that soured relations between Chief Buthelezi and the government and caused concern even within the government.

Mr Meyer had one bosberaad with the ANC and is now in the midst of a six-day one.

This has given rise to fears that he and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC secretary-general, are cooking up another of their "understandings".

This will be denied, since the government is planning to get multi-party talks going again in March.

Nevertheless, the fears of those who oppose an ANC-NP deal are bound to increase.

Another cause of dispute between the government and the IFP is the IFP's plan for a Natal regional state.

Chief Buthelezi talks of holding a referendum.

Initial suggestions that he was going to go it alone in Natal have been refuted. The plan will be put on the table at the multi-party talks.

However, the government will find that Natal will favour the plan if there is a referendum (and there is no reason why there shouldn't be one). Even prominent Nationalists in the province favour the Natal option.

It will thus be very difficult to dismiss the idea out of hand.

One has a feeling that the government is not aware of the resistance building up among Whites to a transitional or interim government or any deal with the ANC.

It tends to discount the threat of a CP-Inkatha alliance, yet that threat is a real one — and if there is a link-up between the two, this country will be in serious trouble.

Similarly, the ANC does not seem to pay much attention to the danger of its radical wing opposing any power sharing deal with the government and gaining the upper hand in the organisation.

There seems to be just as little awareness of the danger of the Pan Africanist Congress becoming the voice of the "oppressed" and scooping up the young Black radicals of the townships.

We warn the government: Great care has to be taken not to force an alliance between the CP and IFP, or undermine ANC moderates and strengthen the PAC.

In other words, the government should not allow itself to be accused of any deals with the ANC at the expense of the rest.

The decisions — and final settlement — should be reached at the multi-party talks.

22/01/93

Call to Zambian Govt for ANC abuses probe

THE Returned Exile Coordinating Committee has asked the Zambian government to appoint a commission of inquiry to investigate African National Congress human rights abuses in that country.

Recoc said in a statement issued yesterday it had written to Zambia's

President Frank Chiluba asking him to investigate human rights abuses committed by the ANC on Zambian soil.

In the letter, purportedly written on behalf of victims of ANC atrocities, Recoc chairman Mwezi Twala said the ANC/SA Communist Party alliance had been responsible for

creating and running prison camps throughout Africa, including some in Zambia.

"In these camps the ANC maimed, murdered and tortured its own members. It was responsible for a reign of terror to enforce compliance with unpopular leadership decisions."

Pointing out that the former detainees could not afford the cost of travelling to Zambia to lay charges against their former tormentors, Recoc appealed to President Chiluba to send representatives of the Zambian Attorney General to take sworn statements from the survivors of ANC abuses so that the perpetrators could be extradited from South Africa and tried in Zambian courts. — Sapa.

'R1-bn too little' given KwaZulu

DURBAN. — The Natal/KwaZulu region is underfunded in excess of R1 billion annually.

This emerged from the findings of an investigation into government funding of health, roads and education, commissioned by the Natal/KwaZulu Joint Executive Authority.

The survey conducted by Deloitte and Touche Management Consultants showed the region had been receiving less than a proportional share of public funding relative to its population.

spokesman Guy Harris said Natal/KwaZulu had been the victim of apartheid bias in government spending, as funding seemed to be correlated with the number of Whites living in each region.

Those with the smallest White populations, such as Natal, appeared to receive the lowest level of government support.

As a result it would take 52 years before the region's community services output per capita would reach parity with that of the South African average, Mr Harris said.

Sapa

THE CITIZEN 22-01-93

More are disillusioned with De Klerk: Poll

Citizen Reporter

DISILLUSIONMENT with President De Klerk's leadership abilities has increased among all South Africans, according to the latest findings released yesterday, on socio-political and economic trends, by the Markinor research group.

According to Christine Woessner, Markinor deputy managing director, the results of the survey indicate the lowest vote of confidence, by both Blacks and Whites since Mr De Klerk became State President.

"In fact, among Whites, it is the lowest score obtained by any State President since the survey began in 1976."

The survey involved

800 urban and rural Whites and 1 300 Blacks living in Metropolitan areas in November last year.

Ms Woessner said the poll showed that Whites believed there had been no improvement in their economic situation since May 1992, while Blacks felt there has been a deterioration in the economic situation.

She said the findings continued a downward trend which began in 1989 for Whites and in November 1990 for Blacks.

The latest poll findings also show a definite deterioration in the relationship between Blacks and Whites.

Ms Woessner said this was a sharp turnaround

since the last poll which was conducted shortly after the referendum, when there was a prevailing feeling that relationships between Blacks and Whites were improving.

She added that lack of confidence about a "happy future for all races" had reached its highest levels since 1988 to 1989, with 42 percent of both races feeling "not very" or "not at all" confident.

Among "Black" organisations, the IFP enjoyed the most support amongst Whites, with 19 percent supporting the organisation.

The major loser among Blacks surveyed was the National Party, at 28 percent from 52 percent.

Should fire them

GOOD show Mrs Budd but (Govt must resign, The Citizen, January 15), sorry to disagree with you. The government must not resign. They must be fired. If they resign, think of the fat pensions they will all receive. Fire them and use their pension money to build more prisons for all those

dear little boys who will all be released within a few weeks.

But they had better hurry, because they will have to let out hundreds more soon, because with all the White chaps refusing to go into the services they will need room for them when their cases go to court.

The ANC state they will be in charge within the year, so why must the young lads go into the forces, and in most cases, as work is hard to come by, what a good excuse for the bosses to fire them and save more money for the government to claim.

ANOTHER NO

Ermelo

■ TWO speeches I recently heard by African National Congress leaders have caused me to wonder whether the ANC is taking the Peace Accord seriously enough.

It was perhaps to be expected that Harry Gwala would use the opportunity to address University of Cape Town students in July last year to whip up emotions against Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Inkatha. A packed auditorium of Xhosa-speaking students responded with unrestrained enthusiasm to Gwala's call to rid Natal of Buthelezi.

The second incident was in October, 1992, when Thabo Mbeki, introduced as South Africa's future foreign minister, excited the audience at the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem, New York, with his disparaging remarks about Buthelezi. Do these public attacks on Buthelezi really get us any closer to solving problems of political violence in South Africa?

I am not a fan of Buthelezi and regard him as a walking disaster. Yet, the leadership of the ANC has the responsibility to diffuse the situation, and not give further ammunition to Buthelezi's warlordism. — Steven Robinsky, Manhattan, New York

■ IN A recent article suggesting possible members for a new SABC board (WM January 8-14), Mark Gevisser listed a large number of candidates, including current and past SABC officials and journalists, actors, musicians, playwrights, and cricket impresarios.

Notably missing from his list were any film or television producers or directors from the independent film and television community — representatives of those filmmakers who have struggled for many years in the face of the censorship and repression to which the SABC long stood as an accomplice, and whose voices have been excluded from our airwaves up until now.

If South Africa is to have a new and representative filmmaking culture and industry, addressing the needs of a diverse culture, and if the SABC is to play the major role in this that we believe it should, stimulating and presenting the work of a vibrant independent filmmaking community, then representatives of this independent producing sector should be included on the board of the SABC along with the other interested parties that you mention.

Your oversight only helps perpetuate the existing structure of a closed broadcasting system which, therefore, will continue to present a restricted and limited reflection of this complex society. — Jonathan Miller, managing director, Free Film Makers and Video Batho, member of executive committee of the Film and Allied Workers' Organisation

LETTERS

The ANC must take peace seriously

■ MARK GEVISSER nominates several interesting personalities he finds suitable for a position on the SABC board of governors. As a Capetonian, I suggest Eddie Shalala of Cape Town. A former correspondent of overseas publications and a regular contributor for more than 20 years to the now defunct *Film Daily* of New York, he was offered a position by the late Spyros Skouras, the then chairman of 20th Century Fox.

A walking encyclopaedia of show business and films, a Leslie Halliwell of South Africa. I am sure he could have run SABC on his own. Look what Madala Mphahlele did for CCV. — S Hood, Sea Point, Cape Town

■ I HOPE Marino Corazza had his tongue firmly in his cheek when he wrote of his methods of getting guinea-fowl to the pot, and that he does not practise what he preaches. Unfortunately, his article gives the impression that guinea-fowl are there to be taken by anyone at any time in any manner.

If he was up hoping to shoot them at 4:15am, this must have been in the summer, when they are breeding and when it is illegal to shoot guinea-fowl. It would also be cruel and wasteful as a sitting hen, or one with small chicks, might be shot, wiping out the entire brood.

No game bird may be shot in South Africa, even with the landowner's permission, without the appropriate provincial licence. Hunting seasons are strictly defined, and the hunter is asked to record his bag for every shooting day and return this to the relevant provincial authority with the expired licence. This is to assist conservation departments in the management of game birds.

Letters should be addressed to: The Letters Page, The Weekly Mail, PO Box 260425, Exton 2023. The editors reserve the right to edit for clarity and space.

Corazza's second method, if it really does work (Roald Dahl's hero in *Danny, Champion of the World*, used ground-up sleeping pills in raisins), involves both poisoning and trapping, which are illegal (not to mention reprehensible). — L Stephenson, Parktown West, Johannesburg

■ YOUR triumph at increased sales and advertising revenue is well deserved, and your commitment to "a changing South Africa", as you claim in your slogan, is clear.

Would you please do something more to effect a changed South Africa and refuse to publish advertisements that discriminate against women (just as you already do not print ads discriminating on the grounds of ethnicity).

Your issue of December 23 to 29 carries an advertisement for a "pleasantly mature executive" that describes how the future "incumbent" will spend "his" time; applicants are whimsically advised that since the job is located in a cold climate, "a healthy beard should be worn". — Eva Hunter, Oranjezicht

■ Coenraad Visser's uncalled for attack on Neels Hansen (WM Dec 23 - 29), who has taken Pact Opera to international status, and Mimi Coertse, one of South Africa's most celebrated singers and an artist still held in high esteem in Vienna and in other European opera houses, seems like mere vindictiveness.

He will doubtless be "relieved" to know the proposed production of *Maria Stuarda*, which would have starred Ms Coertse, has now been cancelled (although he seems to have had his critique ready in advance for it).

Inexplicably, Pact Opera is the only opera management in the country to be taken apart in detail, while Cape Town is praised for joining the Rossini celebrations with performances of (concert only) *Guglielmo Tell* and (fully staged) *Il Turco in Italia*. Neither production is reviewed here, so the point is a moot one.

Why is the founding of Pact's Opera Studio (not school) "too little too late"? Pact is not a training institution, but felt the need to provide further training to singers who were undoubtedly heading for solo careers. The studio comes at a time when more and more reliance is being placed on local artists: it can never be "too late" for such an institution, and if it is "too little", would Mr Visser please come up with some constructive suggestions?

— George Kok, Artistic Director, Pact Opera

THREE powerful personalities are at the centre of the battle in the African National Congress' Natal region over the planned summit between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Spearheading the anti-talks faction are ANC Midlands chairman Harry Gwala and his northern Natal counterpart, Aaron Ndlovu. Their opposition has sparked concern that the summit — if it takes place at all — stands little chance of winning peace in Natal.

But the pro-talks faction — led by Jacob Zuma — is determined to press ahead with summit plans, believing that an accord with Buthelezi would open the way for the ANC to recruit members freely in Natal.

The divisions within the ANC reached new heights last week when Gwala led a delegation to meet Mandela in Johannesburg. Midlands deputy chairman Blade Nzimande said the region demanded the suspension of bilateral talks with Inkatha — a position rejected by the ANC president. Ndlovu — also at the meeting — said: "He (Mandela) felt that the talks should go ahead. However, he also said the matter could go to the NEC for discussion."

Ndlovu's hands were tied by a resolution adopted by northern Natal at a "consultative conference" a few days earlier endorsing peace talks. But he made it clear that his region had no faith in the talks. "We are saying for the sake of solidarity we endorse the decision of the NEC," he said.

Ndlovu appears to have little respect for Zuma and Thabo Mbeki, another key talks advocate. "The level of determination — if not overzealousness — on the part of key participants (in the talks) is cause for concern," he remarked.

In contrast, he has immense respect for Gwala, whom he sees as his political mentor. "I have always admired that old man. He pulls no punches and I respect his intellectual capacity," Ndlovu said.

An academic from the University of Zululand, Ndlovu is a rising star who has strengthened Gwala's hand in confrontations with the national leadership. After taking the reins in northern Natal in 1991, he faced a serious leadership challenge in regional elections last November from National Union of Metalworkers stalwart Willis Mchunu.

Ndlovu staved off the challenge by 69 votes to 48 — which he regards as a comfortable margin. Mchunu is known to be more sympathetic to talks with Inkatha, though sources say this was not the primary reason for his decision to contest the election.

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ANC in Natal: A summit of discontent

A summit between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi is on — officially. But the militant leaders of the powerful Midlands and northern Natal regions of the ANC are not convinced that the talks should take place, reports FAROUK CHOTHIA



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favour of treating with Inkatha, having attended all three bilateral meetings. It changed its stance last November.

"You are not going to say 'come hail come sunshine' you are going to push your region's position. You are also a member of the NEC and sometimes you've got to stand above (regional dynamics) for the sake of progress," Radebe said.

Ndlovu said northern Natal and the Midlands were not present when the resolution was adopted — and claimed that the issue did not "even appear on the agenda".

The hawks initially had the support of the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African Communist Party in Natal. But these switched position after their national leaders threw their weight behind talks.

Arguing against a Mandela-Buthelezi pow-wow, the Midlands and northern Natal point out that a summit in 1991 failed to yield positive results. "Buthelezi reneged on those agreements," Ndlovu said.

They also argue that a summit would inject life into Buthelezi's tottering

political career. "After Inkathagate, after Trust Feeds, Inkatha's image suffered badly. They now want the talks to boost the organisation's and Buthelezi's image," Nzimande said.

The two regions are determined to ensure that Buthelezi does not secure a one-to-one audience with Mandela and argue for a "multilateral" peace forum to be convened.

"The wisdom of collective leadership supersedes the wisdom of two people meeting on a one-to-one basis," Ndlovu commented.

There is a third reason for their opposition to the talks. Both the Midlands and northern Natal are, at present, hard hit by violence. Three districts in the Midlands were recently declared unrest areas, making it difficult for the ANC to organise in these areas.

Attitudes have hardened in ANC ranks in the region, with the movement organising a protest march in Pietermaritzburg last Thursday. Gwala threatened a "mammoth" consumer boycott if the restrictions were not lifted.

Three senior Midlands leaders — Reggie Hadebe, Skhumbuzo Ngwenya and Prof Sibankulu — were assassinated in a space of eight months last year. All three, Nzimande said, were involved in peace initiatives at local level.

The region has faced stiff resistance in its attempts to use kwaZulu-controlled facilities. Nzimande said it had met the kwaZulu Interior Minister Steven Sithebe last year but that he had refused them access to facilities in certain townships.

In northern Natal, the ANC appears to face similar problems. "Inkatha is arrogantly attacking us. It must first show a commitment (to peace) before talks at national level," Nzimande said.

With the Midlands and north predominantly rural areas, Inkatha appears reluctant to loosen its grip. Northern Natal, in particular, forms the core of its support. The ANC, in turn, appears determined to penetrate the areas, being aware of the significance of capturing the rural vote before an election.

The more heavily urbanised south is largely under ANC control, and less volatile than the rest of the province. Bloody battles for power in this region were waged in the '80s, with Inkatha emerging as the loser. Its presence in the region is now said to be largely confined to the rural areas along the south coast.

Having entrenched itself on the ground, southern Natal appears keen to negotiate with Inkatha, believing that it is doing so from a position of strength.

One killed, 4 hurt in Ratanda shooting

Citizen Reporter

ONE man was killed and at least four wounded in a flare-up of violence in Ratanda township, outside Heidelberg, in the Eastern Transvaal yesterday morning.

A police spokesman said that a taxi, thought to have been carrying Inkatha Freedom Party supporters, had been attacked from the rear by an AK-47 wielding gun-

man at 6.15 am yesterday on the Heidelberg/Vaal Dam road. Four people were wounded in this attack.

The gunman had disappeared into the township.

The wounded were admitted to the AG Visser Hospital in Heidelberg.

"Later another man was shot dead with a 9mm pistol," said the police spokesman. "As members of the Internal Stability Unit arrived on the scene they saw a man with a pistol running towards the township hostel."

The hostel was searched but nothing was found.

Police said it appeared as if the second attack was carried out in revenge for the first.

The ANC, however, also released a statement alleging that the person who had attacked the minibus had also been involved in the second attack.

An ANC statement said that one man was shot "and another seriously wounded when gunmen clad in balaclavas attacked Ratanda residents at random at 6.30 am" yesterday.

"The two were on their way to work at Boshock brickworks when three men, who had just attacked a minibus taxi, fired shots at them," said the ANC statement.

The ANC statement said the shootings were the latest in a series of incidents in the township "which has caused schooling to grind to a halt".

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Can South African voters play fair?

With elections promised within the year, **MARK GEVISSER** looks at whether South Africa's climate of political intolerance will allow a fair poll

KENYA: So violent is last month's electoral campaign that more than 30 are killed and three sons hack their father to death for his choice of candidate. So severe are allegations of rigging that the opposition refuses to accept the results.

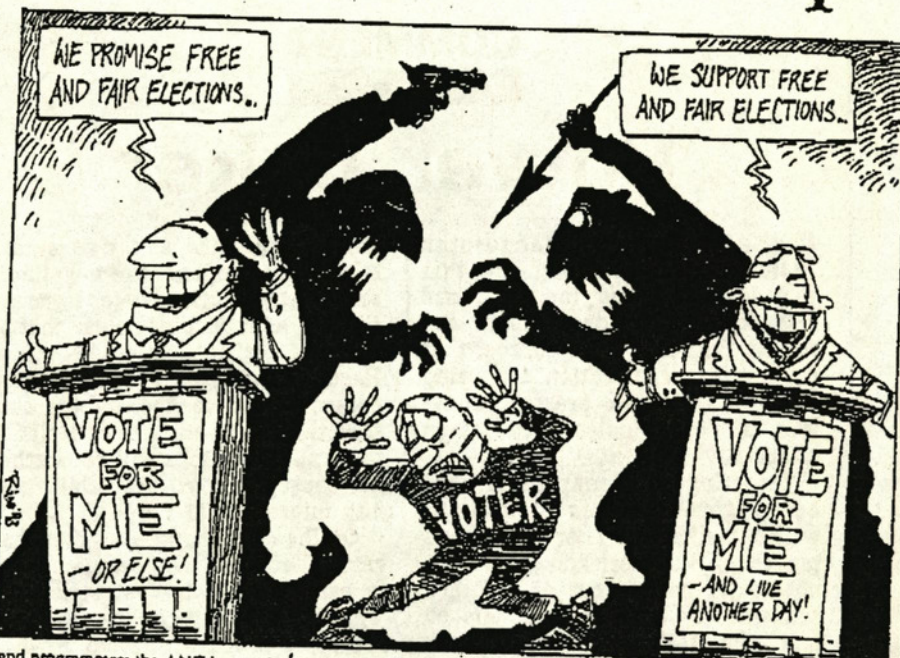
ANGOLA: Hope is destroyed after a promising campaign and model elections, when Jonas Savimbi cries foul and plunges the country back into civil war.

SOUTH AFRICA: The break-up of a Democratic Party meeting in Guguletu last week raises questions, once again, about the possibility of free political organisation in a radically intolerant society. But this latest fracas is the tip of a jagged iceberg: in many parts of the land — Natal, the Vaal Triangle, Bekkersdal — the wrong political alliances can be a death sentence. And yet the country is gearing up for an election before the end of the year.

Popo Molefe, head of the African National Congress elections commission, puts it simply: "Our people want democracy. They have wanted it since 1912. They cannot wait another day."

The will of "the people" is not the only reason why ANC president Nelson Mandela has declared 1993 the year of South Africa's first democratic elections. There is also the feeling, strongest in the liberation movements and its supporters, that violence cannot be tackled until there is a new and credible government, and that the longer the wait, the more the intolerance.

And so the race is on. Voter education has become one of the biggest growth-industries in the development world, with more than 20 organisations bringing out a plethora of publications



and programmes: the ANC has set in motion a programme of training for a projected 170 000 electoral canvassers; the National Party is frantically attempting to cobble together a coalition of Christian Democrats; and the Democratic Party has launched an organising drive in the townships.

But all this election fever begs the fundamental questions: Are we headed for a form of a democratic election without democratic content? Is it possible, in 1993, to have elections that will truly be "free and fair"? And, if not, is it worth going through with the exercise anyway?

"I think we will have elections soon," comments John Kane-Berman, executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, "but I suspect

that they will be unfree and unfair. The great risk of holding elections in the present climate of intolerance and coercion is that the results will reflect who, in a given area, has the greatest capacity to intimidate, and not who has the highest support."

All the political players claim to be dealing with this problem. Molefe acknowledges, for example, that "our priority is to build a positive image of the ANC, and this cannot be done if we don't at the same time address the issue of political intolerance". He blames incidents of intolerance on "agents provocateurs".

The truth, of course, is more complicated. Obed Bapela, deputy secretary of the ANC's PWV region, has already held two "peace summits" in the

region, aimed at dealing with the issue of intolerance.

In his work, he hears the oft-repeated complaint that parties who reaped the benefits of apartheid are now trying to mobilise black voters. "One comrade in the Vaal put it clearly. He asked, 'Where were they when we were being detained and imprisoned and tortured? Now that things have opened up because of our suffering, they're coming in.' So of course there is resentment."

Bapela adds: "We grew up in an era of extreme intolerance. And so many responded with intolerance. People have fought hard to maintain strongholds against the apartheid regime, and sometimes they'll stop at nothing to protect these. Our job is to break this cycle." He admits, however, that in

areas like the Vaal, where a war is still raging, "we can't yet demand tolerance. All we can do is prepare people for political intolerance once the war is over".

The two major issues, comment Paul Graham, programme director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa), are "that we need to make sure that there is a climate of sufficient tolerance, and we need to make sure that we have sufficient capacity to administer the electoral process".

Administering elections is perhaps the easier of the two: there seems to be consensus among all parties, international observers and non-governmental organisations that there should be an independent electoral commission and that, rather than asking the tarnished Home Affairs Department to run things, a brigade of new electoral officers should be trained. Already, with funds from the Labour Party in Britain and the Social Democratic Party in Sweden, the ANC has launched a programme to train its own officials, and the Matla Trust has started training out of seven resource centres countrywide.

Matla's training and media programme is designed, according to communications officer Barry Gilder, "to train potential officers and party agents, but also introduce South Africans to the notions of tolerance that are part and parcel of democracy. In this respect, as part of the Education for Democracy Network, we are using print media, theatre and radio".

There is also consensus on the need to "level the playing field" before elections: all commentators speak of the need for equal access to the media, and equal access of all parties to prospective voters.

But here's where things get difficult: the latter is predicated on precisely that climate of tolerance South Africa has been struggling to attain since the unbanning of the liberation movements three years ago. And tolerance in turn is predicated on peace: "Unless we resolve the role of the security forces, and until we have a peacekeeping force that truly keeps the peace," comments Graham, "we'll be hard-pushed to achieve the prerequisites for free and fair elections in 1993."

"But we have to ask the question: is it worth having elections that are not entirely free and fair if it means getting out of the current stagnation? The cost of postponing the process any longer is greater than the cost of risking an election that isn't entirely fair and free."

And so, he feels, "we have to take a deep breath and do what we can as well as we can in the accepted time-frame. This is an intolerant society, and we will not be able to stop intolerance before an election. All we can do is set up mechanisms to contain it."

Kane-Berman takes the opposite opinion, pointing to the examples of Angola and Mozambique in the 1970s: "If we hold elections before we are ready for them," he says, "we might well be laying the foundations for further conflict down the line. We really have to challenge the assumption that a so-called democratic election will be the quick-fix solution to all our problems. It could create more conflict than it solves."

AN ACTIVIST ARGUES THE CASE FOR INTOLERANCE

PEACE or power: many political activists see this as the stark choice they have to make when opposition parties move in on their territory.

Fatima September (not her real name) is an African National Congress supporter who researches political trends. She is not a township militant and describes herself as a democrat. She does not believe her support for the ANC, Pan Africanist Congress and Azanian People's Organisation members who disrupted Democratic Party meetings in Cape Town last week brings her commitment to democracy into question.

Said September: "For years the Democratic Party represented exploitative interests. Despite their statements to the contrary, both the DP and the National Party represent white interests. The perception on the ground is: 'They are white, what do they want in our areas?'"

She was reluctant to accept that condoning the disruption of meetings justified political intolerance.

"I would not like to say I'm justifying political intolerance. I would ask: What is available to people on the ground opposing these forces?"

For September, the dice which will be rolled in South Africa's first election is loaded against the ANC.

She said that parties such as the NP and DP had traditionally had easy access to the newspapers and

the SABC, while organisations in the democratic movement had struggled to make themselves heard.

Most of the statistics about potential voters which the ANC would need to run an effective election campaign were in the exclusive possession of government departments, she said. "Civil servants who are racist and bureaucrats are not going to release that information voluntarily," she said. And, she added, the same people controlled access to meeting halls, sound systems and other resources essential to an election campaign.

"These small things will hinder our ability to get to people. We can even win the campaign and lose the election because we do not own buses which will transport people to the polling station," she said. "It is in these conditions that political intolerance must be looked at in relation to an election."

September accepts that using disruptive tactics to deny other political parties access to black communities may not be necessary even the odds, but believes the stakes justify it.

"We are talking about opposition and the stakes are power. The DP can go into Mitchell's Plain, but they must expect opposition and that can take various forms. Disruptive tactics do not mean breaking up meetings in a violent way, but we know how posters get torn off. A little elbowing is not going to hurt anybody."

Interview by PAUL STOBER

Does she believe such tactics can be used in Natal, where close to 1 500 people have died in factional violence in the past year?

"The notion of free and fair elections in Natal is a myth in the present circumstances," she answers. "Monitoring groups have not been able to get to a situation where at least the ANC and Inkatha can operate in one area. There the debate is different."

September believes the campaign for free political activity in the homelands is a campaign all political parties should identify with, not only the ANC.

"The campaign is seen as the ANC wanting to march on Ulundi, but everyone knows how difficult it is to organise in kwaZulu," she said.

She acknowledges the dangers this subtle acceptance of political intolerance holds for the future of democracy in South Africa. But, she insists: "We must separate the election process from the processes of reconstruction. There is no way this election is not going to be dirty."

If the election is going to be dirty, will the outcome be accepted? "That's a loaded question — but it depends on the manner in which it is run. There is a lot of concern in the ANC that the elections should be seen as legitimate. You should be asking the IFP, because what is happening in Angola is telling them they can legitimately not blind themselves to the outcome."

Sanctions: Nehawu sets demands

CAPE TOWN. — Economic sanctions against South Africa could be lifted only if the government met union demands on public sector employees, National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu) Western Cape chairman Mr Wilfred Alcock said yesterday.

He said the union's Western Cape executive had met on Wednesday to

respond to ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's recent call for economic sanctions to be lifted.

Nehawu (Western Cape) would support the repeal of sanctions and the lifting of the academic boycott if the government met certain conditions, Mr Alcock said in a statement.

These included an end to "unilateral restructuring"

in the public service, a moratorium on retrenchments and other job-cutting measures, and the scrapping of "apartheid employment practices" in all government departments.

Other conditions were that the restructuring of state departments be referred to regional and national economic forums; all state departments concede full em-

ployee and union rights, and that Nehawu be recognised in all state departments where it had members.

If these conditions were met, the Western Cape region of Nehawu would propose that its national executive committee support Mr Mandela's call.

"Only once all these conditions have been met by the De Klerk government, the Commission for Administration and the Provincial Administrations, will we, as a union, support the call for the lifting of economic sanctions and the academic boycott. — Sapa.

Clinton urged to intervene in Angolan war

By Ross Dunn in Benguela

Mr Clinton, the American President, to show full diplomatic relations with Luanda to help end the country's civil war was yesterday urged by a senior government official. The appeal was made by Paulo Teixeira Jorge, the mayor of Benguela, where 4,000 people have been killed in recent weeks fighting between the MPLA government and Unita rebels. Jorge, a former foreign minister and a MPLA committee member, said US recognition of the government would help force the former American ally, President Dr Jonas Savimbi, back to the negotiating table. He was confident that one day the pressure on Unita from international communities, particularly the United States, will convince Unita

that it is time to talk and stop waging war," he said.

"It was the Republican Party which recognised and helped Unita. Now let us see what will be the position of the Democratic Party. I hope it will be quite different from the position of the Republican Party."

The appeal came as Unita rebels claimed to be holding 17 foreign oil workers, including a Briton, Mr Ray Stephenson, maintenance manager at the Fina plant in Soyo, northwest Angola.

Soyo, which produces at least 20 per cent of the country's oil, is now believed to be controlled by Unita. The rebels are also said to be preparing to attack Cabinda province, where the US petroleum company Chevron runs major drilling operations.

At the same time, the Angolan government has summoned the Zairean ambassador in Luanda to express its concern "over the involvement of Zairean troops" in the fighting.

The Angolan government also claims Unita is receiving military and other supplies on flights from South Africa.

● The foreigners held by Unita in Soyo "will be taken to a safer place" and handed over to their respective governments, the Unita representative in France said yesterday. He could not say how long this would take. — AFP



Dr Carey and President de Klerk answer questions at a Cape Town press conference after their meeting yesterday

Picture 2

De Klerk finds an ally as Carey speaks on sanction

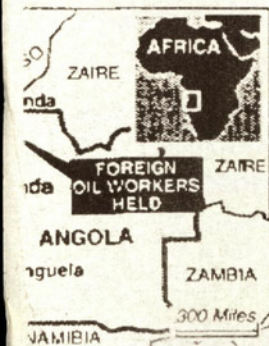
THE Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr George Carey, described President de Klerk, the South African leader, yesterday as "a man of world importance who has to take credit for a change in the country's political mood", writes Christopher Munnion in Johannesburg. Dr Carey,

in Cape Town for a joint meeting of the Primates of the Anglican Communion and the Anglican Consultative Council, spent "a wonderful morning" with Mr de Klerk, discussing South Africa's problems. He appeared to give his support for the immediate ending of all

sanctions against South Africa, saying: "At the heart of things must be generosity and goodwill, also on the part of the international community on sanctions, to encourage the process of moving to a non-racial state in South Africa." Mr de Klerk, clearly delighted with the

reaction of his unlikely ally, said change had to come about in South Africa "because we cannot build long-term stability and peace on injustice."

He said the need for change had been accepted — and had begun — before he became president.



The
Times
22/1/93
London



Eyes on the future: the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr George Carey, and President de Klerk answering reporters' questions outside the presidential offices in Cape Town yesterday after holding talks. Dr Carey said it was time for the world to reward Mr de Klerk's reforms. He praised Archbishop Des-

mond Tutu of Cape Town for what he had done to fight apartheid, and said the church should keep up pressure on political leaders. But in answer to a question about sanctions against South Africa, he said that it was a time for "generosity and good will". Dr Carey said: "I believe that we... have seen

the good will and the commitment of the South African government and there ought to be good will on the part of the international community in supporting and encouraging the welcome developments." Dr Carey is in South Africa for an international meeting of Anglican clergy and laity. (Reuters)

Pressure to cancel Africa debt grows

FROM MICHAEL HAMILYN
IN CAPE TOWN

A CALL for the cancellation of Africa's foreign debt was made yesterday by former heads of government and political and business leaders at a meeting in Cape Town.

The gathering's objective was to draw up a strategy to pull the continent out of its economic slough and was chaired by Lord Callaghan of Cardiff, the former Labour prime minister. The so-called InterAction Council is spending three days drawing up a series of proposals aimed at bringing Africa back into the international mainstream. Participants include former leaders of Nigeria, Zambia, Portugal, Egypt and Angola and Robert McNamara, former World Bank president.

Adrian Hewitt, deputy director of the Overseas Development Institute, a London-based think tank, underlined the plight of African nations. External debts of the sub-Saharan African countries represented more than their gross national product.

Carey praises FW's efforts at bringing democracy

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — State President De Klerk said yesterday he was confident of a successful outcome to the negotiation process, and the establishment of transitional government in South Africa.

"I am confident that 1993 will be a good year," Mr De Klerk said in meeting the Press after hour-long talks at Tuynhuys with the visiting Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr George Carey, and other senior Anglican clerics.

Dr Carey and the Anglican delegation, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu, of Cape Town, expressed appreciation to Mr De Klerk for steps to bring about democracy.

They also supported a call for an end to international sanctions in order to improve the country's economic prospects.

Mr De Klerk said they had discussed the negotiation process and the country's economic problems, and in particular the plight of South Africans as a result of the economic situation.

However, the focus of the talks had been on solutions and the hopes for 1993.

He had also used the opportunity to dispel a perception that the government took effective

action when violence was committed against Whites, but not when Black on Black violence occurred.

"That is simply not true. The government is doing whatever is possible to fight violence, wherever it occurs," said Mr De Klerk.

Attention had been focused on the need for reconciliation between the leadership of those organisations whose supporters were killing one another.

The Church had definitely made a contribution to reform in South Africa, by emphasising the need for reconciliation and peaceful solutions, and bringing Christians and the country's leaders together.

At least 90 percent of all South Africans were moderates, and the Church could be a powerful motivating force in bringing moderates together.

Mr De Klerk said that in the final analysis, South Africa could only build long-term security and stability on the basis of trust. It was significant that those who did not previously trust one another were now beginning to take hands in the quest for peaceful solutions.

Dr Carey said his delegation wished to place

on record its appreciation of Mr De Klerk's remarkable achievement in bringing about change in South Africa.

The Anglican Communion's support for the process towards a non-racial and democratic state was based on Christian principles. Violence was wrong, and peaceful solutions had to be sought.

Anglicans therefore wished Mr De Klerk and his government well in the process towards transitional government.

Asked about continuing sanctions, Archbishop Tutu said: "We would want to be among the first to call for the lifting of sanctions."

"It is crucial that the economy must take off. We would want to look again at what we can do to assist the movement to normalisation."

Dr Carey said the future should be built on generosity and goodwill, and there ought to be goodwill on the part of the international community in supporting economic development in South Africa.

Sir Paul Reeves, Anglican observer at the United Nations and former Governor General of New Zealand, said the international community was developing a positive

attitude to events in SA and to its economic development.

Also in the delegation which met Mr De Klerk at Tuynhuys yesterday was Archbishop Edmond Browning, head of the Episcopal Church of the United States of America.

Sanctions lobby split on when to end curbs

CAPE TOWN — The pro-sanctions lobby has split over how long the measures should be retained, with Archbishop Desmond Tutu saying they should remain until violence is dealt with effectively and an interim government is in place.

Just days ago ANC president Nelson Mandela said he was anxious to lift sanctions but business should first promise to freeze retrenchments and create more jobs.

After a meeting yesterday with President F W de Klerk and Archbishop of Canterbury George Carey, Tutu said the Angli-

TIM COHEN

can Church wanted to be among the first to call for the lifting of sanctions. But it could do so only on condition that violence was effectively dealt with and an interim government was established.

Tutu agreed with De Klerk and Carey that it was crucial that the economy "took off", but did not explain what role removing sanctions might play in this process.

Mandela's new conditions also differed with those stated recently by SA Council of Churches (SACC) general secretary the

Rev Frank Chikane, but yesterday Chikane "clarified" his statement.

He said he too would like to be the first to call for the removal of sanctions, but admitted that he had urged US President Bill Clinton to maintain his position that sanctions remain until nonracial, democratic elections were held.

The elections to which he was referring were to set up "transitional structures and the establishment of a democratically elected sovereign (interim/transitional) government.

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Sanctions

Chikane's letter to Clinton was simply to restate the SACC's policy position, not to respond to Mandela's statement, the SACC said.

Chikane had also urged Clinton to tighten up controls on banks not to give loans to "apartheid SA", effectively increasing sanctions.

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo urged business not to reject out of hand Mandela's plea to halt retrenchments. Naidoo said business should instead propose constructive ways of coping with SA's economic crisis while preserving jobs.

LLOYD COUTTS reports that CP leader Andries Treurnicht, responding to Mandela's "offer to dictate" whether sanctions should be lifted, said the coming to power

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of an ANC government was not a foregone conclusion.

"Not only the CP but other important groups refuse to be subjected to an ANC regime. It would appear that this fact is being ignored by foreign governments who have funded the ANC to help put the organisation into power in SA. It should also be remembered that most of SA's strategic minerals are mined in areas controlled by peoples who are against an ANC government," he said.

By giving credibility to what the ANC said, and by acting on its demands, foreign governments were antagonising the very people who could keep SA running as a viable and prosperous entity.

BUSINESS DAY, FRIDAY 22 JANUARY 1993**DP calls for
judge to quit****SUSAN RUSSELL**

NATAL Judge WH Booyesen should resign either his judicial office or his executive position in the Afrikaner Broederbond, if his membership of the organisation was confirmed, DP justice spokesman Tony Leon said yesterday.

Leon was reacting to recent reports that Booyesen was a serving member of the Broederbond.

The Johannesburg Bar Council said in a statement on Wednesday that a serving Supreme Court judge's membership of a secret organisation such as the Broederbond was improper and incompatible with the administration of justice.

The Bar Council statement did not identify the judge referred to, but Booyesen has been named in news reports.

Leon said Booyesen should be allowed to clarify his position. "Should his executive membership of the Broederbond be confirmed, the interests of justice suggest he should resign either his executive position and active membership of the Broederbond, or his judicial office."

● Comment: Page 10

De Klerk loses white support

LLOYD COUTTS

WHILE the ANC was maintaining its popularity among blacks, President F W de Klerk and the NP were steadily losing the support of black and white South Africans, a recent Markinor poll showed.

Markinor deputy MD Christine Woessner said yesterday results of a November poll on sociopolitical and economic trends showed that although the NP remained the most accepted party among whites, there was a drop from 75% to only 58% in those who would definitely, or perhaps, vote for the party. Black support declined from 52% to 28%.

Inkatha remained a popular party with whites. Although only 3% said they would definitely vote for the party, 19% would perhaps do so and a further 29% felt good about the party.

Among blacks, however, 71% of the sample rejected the organisation, 23% more than those who spurned the CP.

The ANC remained a clear favourite with

blacks, with 66% who would definitely vote for it. The SACP was included in the survey, and found strong support. While 8% of blacks would vote for the party, 31% said they would perhaps vote for it, and 14% felt good about it.

The overwhelming majority of whites (85%) rejected the party.

Woessner said there had been a sharp drop in positive attitudes to De Klerk's leadership.

"Results indicate the lowest vote of confidence (by blacks and whites) since he became president."

Overall, 69% of whites and 47% of blacks still believed De Klerk was leading SA very or fairly well, compared with last November's 81% and 60%.

A sample of 800 whites and 1 300 blacks in metropolitan areas was polled.

Homelands raise R1,37bn to cover debt

THREE homeland states borrowed R1,37bn from the money and capital markets yesterday to cover short-term debt, bringing the total they have raised in recent months to R3,6bn.

Transkei, Venda and Ciskei participated in the issue, which was handled by the Public Investment Commissioners (PIC).

Reuter reports that six-, seven-, eight- and nine-month bridging bonds raised R1,2bn at yields of between 12,618% and 12,658%, while the 17-month zero coupon bonds raised R120m at a yield of 13,03%.

TIM MARSLAND

The three-year stock raised R50m at 13,60%.

A dealer said the PIC had hoped to raise R110m in three-year paper. But institutions were reluctant to lend cash to the homelands for that long a period and had made bids unacceptably low to the PIC.

Medium-dated capital market bonds weakened in response to the issue. Government's R147 issue ended at 13,980% from

☐ To Page 2

Homelands

13,920%.

The dealer said there was a growing queue of borrowers in the capital market. "Not only do we have government's debt to contend with, we also have a number of corporates seeking to tap liquidity from the market."

PIC director Badie Badenhorst said the homeland issue, the fourth in recent months, would be the last for some time, and was the last in new money for the

☐ From Page 1

homelands. "Whatever is done now will be rollovers," he said.

Nedbank chief economist Edward Osborn said the R3,6bn should be added to central government's total interest bearing debt, which was R137,2bn in September. Government lists homeland debt as separate from its own.

Osborn said this policy was wrong.

"They do not have the tax base to fund their spending and are therefore Pretoria's responsibility."

ANC slams illegal arms

WILSON ZWANE

THE ANC said yesterday the carrying of illegal arms and ammunition by its members was contrary to its code of conduct which prescribed disciplined behaviour.

The organisation was responding to the conviction this week of its northern Natal administrator Bongani Msomi for the possession of illegal arms and ammunition.

The ANC said in a statement it did not condone such acts by its members.

"Our code of conduct specifies that our members should be disciplined and must not bring the name of the ANC into disrepute," the organisation said, adding that no arms had been issued to members (since the armed struggle was suspended in 1990).

It stressed that before its members were condemned for possessing weapons illegally, their circumstances should be known. Empangeni was "notorious for the killings and harassment of ANC members".

The ANC, however, encouraged its members, who felt their lives were in danger, to apply for licences to carry firearms. "Since discretion in such matters is in the hands of the police, there have been few positive responses."

The proliferation of arms, however, was of concern and needed to be combated, the ANC said.

Chikane's sanctions call irrelevant: NP

CAPE TOWN. — Political meddling in economic matters is damaging and counter-productive, National Party information service head Piet Coetzer said yesterday.

"We have learnt this to our cost," he said in a statement reacting to South African Council of Churches secretary-general Frank Chikane's call for continued trade and financial sanctions against South Africa.

"The Rev Chikane's call is not only ridiculous but extraordinarily irrelevant. The horse may not

yet have bolted, but it is certainly well out of the stable, and his attempt to close the door now would hardly be worth comment if it did not follow so closely on ANC president Nelson Mandela's offer to endorse an end to sanctions on certain conditions."

He said the fact was that sanctions were virtually a thing of the past in Europe, Africa and even in the United States despite the African National Congress' opposition.

"The game is no longer about sanctions but about

economic survival followed by economic recovery and ultimately growth.

"The main obstacles to growth and investment in South Africa are the depressed local and world economy, violence and instability in South Africa and delay over a political settlement.

"Retrenchments will stop and job creation will follow only if we achieve economic growth, no matter what Mr Mandela and the Reverend Chikane have to say about sanctions." — Sapa.

Mandela praised

WASHINGTON. — US Secretary of State Warren Christopher called ANC president Nelson Mandela "a symbol of hope to the world for years," after meeting with him yesterday.

Mr Christopher said he chose the African National Congress leader for his first meeting with a

foreign dignitary because he has been "such a symbol of hope."

The day after winning the November 3 US presidential election, one of Mr Bill Clinton's first phone calls was to Mr Mandela, to invite him to Wednesday's inauguration. — Sapa-AFP.

brothers set agenda for future

termed to retain its substantial influence, writes John Carlin in Johannesburg

nent of Africa! Show me a greater power anywhere, even in your so-called civilised countries!"

The steps Mr de Klerk has taken in the last three years, steps wholly in line with earlier Broederbond proposals ("The greatest risk is not taking any risks," said a document leaked in the late Eighties), mean that the Afrikaner elite will soon have no choice but to relinquish a good deal of their political influence. Multi-racial elections are due within the next 18 months but before then, by the middle of this year, it is expected that the first elements of a transitional government will be in place.

But the latest batch of secret documents, exposed by the liberal Afrikaans weekly *Vrye Weekblad*,

reveal that the Broederbond remains determined to retain substantial clout well into the future, even under an African National Congress (ANC) government.

First, the Broederbond has no intention either of disbanding or removing its cloak of secrecy — this despite continual cries from the government for the ANC to sever its alliance with what they believe to be the sinisterly over-influential South African Communist Party.

Second, only Afrikaner males will be invited to join, although a possible exception might be made for Coloured (mixed-race) males who share "the same language and values".

Third, women will continue to be excluded. Husbands, however,

are enjoined to make more use of their wives' skills. (A proposal some years back for a "Susterbond" to be created were turned down by the Broeders for security reasons — women gossip too much, was the consensus.)

Where the wives' skills will come, presumably, into play is in the new survival strategy put forward by the Broederbond executive. The idea is to go local, to accept that loss of national influence is a fact of life but to deepen the Broederbond tentacles at community level.

In 1978, 800 Broederbond "cells" existed nationwide. At least that many must exist today. "Sections and members," the secret document says, "will increasingly have to expand the interest

of the Afrikaner within their local communities."

The reaction of opposition politicians across the board has been harshly critical. The right-wing Conservative Party, whose supporters tend to come from the less privileged half of the three-million-strong Afrikaner population, said that Broederbond members today were "a power-addicted élite whose only aim is to salvage something for themselves out of the mess they and their government created".

The ANC described the Broederbond's aim as "clearly to secure for Afrikaners, and especially for themselves, disproportionate influence and privilege regardless of the democratic will of the people" — a point, this, on which the ANC is not alone in suspecting that Mr de Klerk's thinking is completely of a piece with that of his fellow Broeders.

South Africa's secret

WOMEN, blacks, Jews, Catholics, divorcees and Afrikaners who do not attend church regularly need not apply. Any male white Protestant Afrikaner entertaining the notion of being accepted into the Broederbond (Brotherhood) should ensure, besides, that he does not marry an English-speaking white woman — much less a woman of colour.

The Broederbond, established in 1918 in response to the humiliating aftermath of the Boer War, is a secret society dedicated initially to the promotion of Afrikaner values, cultural identity and political supremacy. Latterly, as internal documents have shown, the emphasis has shifted to "Afrikaner survival".

The chosen ones — having successfully risen to the challenge of the organisation's motto, "Be Strong" — all belong to an élite caste of privileged, powerful, po-

The Afrikaner élite society, the Broederbond, is de

litically influential Afrikaners. Most of the cabinet are Broederbond members, including President FW de Klerk, who was inducted in 1964 at the unusually young age of 27.

In *The Super Afrikaners*, a book on the Broederbond published in 1978, the authors wrote: "The South African government today is the Broederbond and the Broederbond is the government." Then membership stood at 12,000. Today, according to secret documents unearthed last week, the figure is 20,047 and rising.

The Super Afrikaners contained a full list of members. Among them were 143 officers of the South African Defence Force, one of whom, General André "Kat" Liebenberg, is today the country's

top military chief. Broederbond membership extended then, as now, to those holding the most senior positions in Afrikaner big business, in the civil service, in the universities, in schools, in transport and telecommunications, in the state broadcasting monopoly, and in the legal system. The latest revelations showed, to the outrage of the Johannesburg Bar Council, that a Supreme Court judge sits on the Broederbond's 18-man executive.

Small wonder that a past chairman of the Broederbond was moved to declare in a speech before the inner circle: "Do you realise what a powerful force is gathered here tonight between these four walls? Show me a greater power on the whole conti-

The Independent
22/1/93 - London

Mandela singled out by top US official

WASHINGTON — US Secretary of State Warren Christopher called ANC president Nelson Mandela "a symbol of hope to the world for years" after meeting him yesterday.

He said he chose the ANC leader for his first meeting with a foreign dignitary as he had been "such a symbol of hope", reports Sapa-AFP.

Mandela heads back to SA today having raised at least \$300 000 for the movement during his four-day visit to attend the presidential inauguration, SIMON BARBER reports.

Apple Computer chairman John Sculley, who met Mandela on Wed-

nesday to discuss his firm's return to SA after a six-year absence, contributed \$10 000.

ANC international department deputy director Aziz Pahad said "actual cheques" had been donated, rather than breakable pledges.

Much of the money was contributed at a welcoming lunch for Mandela at Washington's Metropolitan Baptist Church on Tuesday after the Rev Jesse Jackson announced he was soliciting donations for the ANC.

Mandela, who kept a low profile during his stay, met President Bill

Clinton briefly at an inaugural ball on Wednesday night.

Sculley, who played a key role in rallying Republican-leaning corporate chiefs around Clinton, appeared anxious to see Mandela.

Apple has been seeking the ANC's blessing to return to SA without breaking US state and local sanctions. It is anxious to salvage market share from manufacturers of IBM-compatible equipment and software.

Pahad said Mandela was using his stay in the US to drum up future investment in SA and material support for the ANC's election drive.

Broad support for PWV development think-tank

PETER DELMAR

AN ECONOMIC and development forum for the PWV was launched yesterday with the support of business, government, trade unions and all major parties except the CP.

More than 25 organisations were represented at yesterday's launch of the PWV Economic and Development Forum. They included the Regional and Land Affairs Department, the TPA, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI), Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry (JCCI), Fabcos, Nafcoc, regional services councils and local authorities. The governments of Bophuthatswana and KwaNdebele were also represented.

Political parties were the NP, DP, SACP and PAC, while labour was represented by Cosatu, Nactu and Fedral.

ANC delegate Ben Turok told the launch the PWV had possibly one of the most distorted economies in the world in terms of discrepancies between rich and poor and urban and rural populations. While these would have to be addressed, Turok said the ANC did not envisage "any demolition job being done on the economy. We want to take a positive view, so that the good things which exist are extended throughout

the region."

He said the PWV forum had a wider representation than the national economic forum and its launch was a "good omen" for a future SA.

Transvaal MEC Olaus van Zyl said economics and development were often discussed at other forums, but did not always get the necessary attention. The PWV body, which he called a "people's forum", could afford a better opportunity for discussing these issues.

Pieter Haasbroek, representing the AHI and the JCCI, said the business sector realised it could not create an environment conducive to economic growth by itself and that this would have to be the result of discussion and debate.

According to the launch documents, the forum could involve itself in a number of projects. These could include low-cost housing using labour intensive methods, using large-scale purchasing to benefit small and medium-sized enterprises and developing specific policy proposals for issues affecting growth and employment.

Government must be limited and accountable

IF CONVENTIONAL wisdom is to be believed, we can look forward this year to a constitutional quick fix that will kick-start the economy.

We need to be wary of inflated expectations, however, because confidence about the future is damaged when hopes are disappointed. In the first few months of last year hopes about Codesa II were far too optimistic — ignoring, for example, the warning signs at Codesa I when unanimity could not even be achieved on the declaration of intent. Then, when one of the working groups preparing for Codesa II reached deadlock, the whole exercise was labelled a failure — when in fact agreements had been reached on many issues.

Now that various parties are talking again, there is a mood of optimism among many "opinion-formers". If opinion polls are any guide, ordinary people do not share it. Only 10% of whites and 24% of blacks think 1993 will be peaceful, while there has been an increase of 30% or more in the proportions of both blacks and whites feeling pessimistic about the year ahead.

Recent polls also confirm earlier ones showing that many people are

sceptical of an interim government. This is not surprising. Contrary to the view in some circles that an interim government is the key to ending violence and unblocking flows of foreign funds, an interim government as such will solve nothing. Everything will depend on how it is constituted, how representative and accountable it is, what powers it has, and so on.

The right formula might bring stability; the wrong one could have the opposite effect. There are many difficult issues down the road and it is as well to be forewarned about them.

The independent homelands were promoted by the NP as a means of turning black South Africans into foreigners in the land of their birth, a policy which amounted to treason. Four such homelands nevertheless exist. While restoration of SA citizenship to those who want it might be done by the stroke of a pen, the re-incorporation of the TBVC states will require extensive negotiation.

To use coercion against any one of them, to ride roughshod over the interests of so-called minor players, would be precisely the wrong note on which to launch the new SA.

JOHN KANE-BERMAN

The degree to which SA is a federal state will have a critical bearing on the reincorporation question. According to the President, the principle of "strong" regional governments with constitutionally entrenched authority, adequate sources of revenue, and "wide and meaningful powers and functions" will "have to be negotiated in advance and included in a new constitution". There is "no question of a blank cheque being given to a constitution-making body or constituent assembly".

Previously the ANC insisted that a constitution-making body should have sovereign authority on this issue, while the SACP said the body's exclusive authority on this question was a "bottom line" on which retreat by the ANC/SACP would be "impermissible".

Recently the ANC has stated that "the thorny question of the powers, functions and boundaries of regions may be an issue on which we would

enter into bilateral discussion with the NP and other parties, and seek to reach an understanding which the parties would pursue in the constituent assembly". This position is more compatible with government's.

The DP says federalism clearly implies the entrenchment of provincial rights in a rigid constitution and that anything else is not federalism. Inkatha says federal and provincial powers should be clearly delineated and that federal laws should not be able to override provincial powers. This vital question is probably the most important that multilateral talks will have to resolve.

How strong is the NP's commitment to federalism? Government does not use the word any more but talks instead of "regionalism", a term which tells us nothing.

The NP, in earlier days, removed the limited powers of local authorities and provincial administrations when these got in its way, and negotiations in 1993 could well see a steady wilting away of the NP's short-lived flirtation with federalism.

It is sometimes assumed that powerful central governments are required to deal with poverty. If that

were true the Russians would be richer than the Swiss. In any event, the cure for poverty is not government but economic growth.

The term "power-sharing" is on everyone's lips. However, the ultimate question is not how many cabinet posts are shared out between the different parties, but what curbs are placed upon government itself.

A single party or a coalition of parties might command majority support, but that in itself is no guarantee of democracy, for democracy means very much more than voting systems or electoral arithmetic.

All states take rights away from the individual and give them to the collective. The balance is never static and probably never quite "right" — a subjective matter anyway — but democracies tend to take away too few rather than too many.

In the weeks and months ahead, ordinary people should not allow the constitution-makers to forget that in the last resort democracy means not only accountable government but also limited government.

□ Kane-Berman is SA Institute of Race Relations executive director. This is the first of a regular column.

Economic forum for PWV region set up

Staff Reporter

A major first step to formulating an economic development strategy for the PWV region during the political transition was taken on Wednesday with the launch of the region's Economic and Development Forum.

The launch of the forum was attended by representatives from business, civic and political groups in Johannesburg.

According to a statement by organisations taking part, the objective of the forum is to promote and encourage economic growth and development.

Described as possibly the most representative economic forum in the country, the new body includes the ANC, PAC, Cosatu, the National Council of Trade Unions, the SA Chamber of Business, the TPA, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut and the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal.

Reading out the forum's aims in Johannesburg, TPA MEC Dr

Olaus van Zyl said the main objective was the promotion of the growth and development of the PWV in the interests of its inhabitants.

Initially, the forum hopes to concentrate on three socio-economic components to ensure growth and development as well as dealing with tension arising from the lack of development.

The first involves a rapid-review overall analysis with a time-frame of six months.

The emphasis in this review should fall on trends and their consequences, such as the decline in the gold price, industrial change, the impact of the shift of public financing of services and a possible "kickstart" to economic activities.

After linking the studies, it would be possible to move towards a growth and employment strategy with policies for the framework of the PWV region, says the document.

According to the organisers, one area which the forum was likely to attend to was the ini-

tiation of low-cost housing using labour-intensive methods, aimed at developing small and medium enterprises. It would also develop proposals for the more effective use of technical colleges and technikons with a view to improving technical skills in the region.

It would also look into developing policies to influence the allocation of public funds in a way that would encourage economic growth.

It is estimated that the activities of the forum will cost about R1 million a year.

Welcoming the initiative, the ANC's Ben Turok said he hoped the representation on the new forum would strengthen the process of transition in South Africa.

"The representation on this forum is wider than that of the National Economic Forum, and we warmly welcome this," he said.

The PAC also welcomed the new forum, but stressed that more training should be emphasised to break the gap between the rich and the poor.

SABC expected to leave Nat laager soon

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bers, who would have to seek re-election via the selection panel if they wanted to stay on, the positions of top SABC executives such as chief executive Wynand Harmse and news chief Johann Pretorius would be highly sought-after.

Pretorius told The Star yesterday he accepted that because of the key position he occupied, he would possibly have to make way for someone else.

Jockeying for position is already under way, and among the names being mentioned in

political and broadcasting circles are those of Raymond Louw, former Rand Daily Mail editor and Campaign for Open Media chairman, and John Matlison, a South African currently working for the Public Broadcasting Service in the US.

Louw told The Star yesterday: "The new SABC must be perceived by the public as independent." He said neither the CIB nor the Government "want any massive retrenchments ... we are not going to ask for that". But, he added, "people like Johann Pretorius (his depu-

ty) Christo Kritzing and Wynand Harmse must move. They don't necessarily have to be retrenched, but must be moved from their present positions."

Louw said no "deal" had been cut and dried, but as far as the CIB was concerned "we will certainly advise the board about possible new appointments."

On the emotive question of official broadcasting languages, Louw said a commission of inquiry should be appointed to determine future language policy.

Asked why he thought the Government had apparently

gone so far in agreeing with the CIB's proposals, Louw said: "The Government had no other choice. It had already stated its intention to depoliticise the appointment of the board, but had not come up with any other alternative."

In addition the CIB is negotiating with, among others, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Australian Broadcasting Corporation and British Broadcasting Corporation to train possible "pool" of staffers in preparation for new appointments by the board.

THE STAR, FRIDAY 22 JANUARY 1993

Too many lies, Govt tells Inkatha

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

CAPE TOWN — The Government gave the Inkatha Freedom Party an extraordinary dressing down at last week's bilateral meeting, confidential documents in the possession of The Star reveal.

The crucial talks between the two sides — the first since IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi broke off contact with the Government last year — ended with a terse statement saying more discussions were planned.

But the documents show for the first time the depth of acrimony which actually existed.

A memorandum presented at the meeting by the IFP so infuriated the Government delegation — led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer — that a counter-memorandum was presented, describing the IFP submissions as "the last straw".

When the talks started on Monday, the IFP — led by national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose — tabled a memorandum to the Government containing serious allegations about Government-ANC connivance in negotiations.

After its presentation, the two parties adjourned until 12 30 pm on Tuesday. The meeting finished 45 minutes later, after the Government had read out its counter-blast.

The confidential memoranda give a graphic picture of the anger on both sides. In its memorandum the Government accused IFP leaders and the KwaZulu government of making "untrue and distorted allegations" about its behaviour in the negotiation process.

The Government said because of its special responsibilities to the process, it had resisted the temptation to react publicly to the IFP's provocation.

However, "the latest memorandum was the last straw: too many lies and distortions repeated once too often", the

Govt and Inkatha clash

● From Page 1

Government said. It labelled the IFP memorandum as "blatant, untrue, hard propaganda".

The Government added: "Reading the document (and listening to it being read out to the meeting) leaves one with a sense of shocked disbelief that such a piece of banal nonsense could be produced from within the ranks of a respected political party and of the proud Zulu nation."

"The explanation clearly lies in the fact that this document was compiled by a person who is poorly informed, technically unqualified, and with questionable ulterior motives. It would appear senior members of the IFP delegation had no hand in the compilation of the document."

In the original memorandum, which sparked the furious response, the IFP said there had been minimal co-operation between the two parties since Codesa 2 collapsed in May.

It accused the Government of a strategy which aimed at creating a long and open-ended process of transition in which the Government and the ANC would share power.

The IFP added: "One

could speculate how on earth the most secure offices and files in intelligence quarters were rifled to expose financial dealings which were aimed at making Dr Buthelezi look like the stooge the ANC says he was."

"The Official Secrets Act was obviously transgressed by someone in Intelligence, and yet there are no Goldstone inquiries into the leaks."

Absent

Hitting back, the Government delegation said: "... when IFP delegates were absent from important Codesa meetings, or when IFP delegates had to operate without a mandate because they could not get one from their principals, or when IFP delegates entered into agreements that were afterwards not well received at home and then blamed others for their predicament, or when strange foreigners appeared as IFP delegates," it had actively promoted IFP interests.

The IFP should blame itself, and not other parties, for its perceived misfortunes at Codesa, the Government said.

The Government proposed that the two parties discuss their com-

mon ground and said: "The real leaders should talk to each other and play a decisive role throughout."

The next Government-IFP meeting is scheduled for Wednesday.

● The Government-ANC bosberaad enters its third day today with no news of how the deliberations are going at a secret venue.

The Star understands that today is the last day of discussions on violence-related matters, including the implementation of the September 26 Record of Understanding.

The next two or three days of the bush indaba have been devoted to constitutional matters, including the reincorporation of TBVC states and matters pertaining to elections.

A draft electoral law and the setting up of an election commission, including the ANC's Transition to Democracy Act of 1992, will also be discussed, according to reliable sources.

Government negotiators, led by Meyer, will proceed to Cape Town after the bosberaad — the second between the Government and the ANC since last month — for the official opening of Parliament on Friday.

THE STAR, FRIDAY 22 JANUARY 1993

By
Jacques
Pauw



Nearly half a century of National Party control over the SABC is set to come to an end two months from now.

The Star can disclose that plans are far advanced to install a dramatically different, independently appointed SABC board at the beginning of April.

It is expected that the new board's arrival will lead to a wide-ranging overhaul of the national broadcasting service, with well-known and established SABC supremos being ousted in favour of new personalities.

High-ranking SABC sources confirm that rumours about the imminent changes have sent shock waves through the corporation. Top executives say they do not know what to tell their staff.

The incumbent board's tenure ends on March 31.

An intensive series of meetings has been taking place in recent weeks, involving primarily the Government, the ANC, and the Campaign for Independent Broadcasting (CIB), a coalition group including representatives from the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance, the Democratic Party and the Campaign for Open Media.

Home Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar, responsible for broadcasting matters, held discussions about the SABC with an ANC delegation this week in Pretoria.

It is understood the Government and ANC are close to reaching an agreement that could lead to:

- The Codesa co-chairmen, Mr Justices Ismail Mahomed and Piet Schabert, convening a seven-member panel that would recommend a new SABC board of directors. (The CIB has re-



Wynand Harmse ... his post highly sought-after.



Johann Pretorius ... "must be moved".

commended the judges on the basis of their proven independence.)

- The new board — representative of South Africans of all races — reviewing all staff at the SABC and making appointments to "level the playing field" in preparation for coverage of the first nonracial elections.

The outline of the agreement first came from the CIB, which proposed a three-phased transition. If it is agreed to, the following sequence of events is likely:

- In phase one, President de Klerk would appoint one or more top judges (probably the Codesa co-chairmen, but possibly Chief Justice Michael Corbett), who would

then, in turn, be responsible for appointing a panel made up of seven or nine eminent South Africans — not office-bearers of any party — and representative of the country's overall population. The judge or judges would take nominations for this panel.

- In phase two, the panel would take nominations for positions on the new-look SABC board. The Government has reportedly agreed that the nominations it has already received for the board would be referred to the "eminent persons" panel.

The panel would then draw up a shortlist of possible members which could be scrutinised at public hearings.

- In phase three, the panel would present to De Klerk the list of recommended names, which he in turn would approve in accordance with existing legal requirements. These individuals would then replace the current SABC board, and would have sweeping powers over the structuring and staffing of the corporation.

The Star understands that agreement has not yet been reached as to who the judges should be, or on the question of public hearings.

The new board, it is believed, would move swiftly to alter radically the image of the SABC in time for the next phases of South Africa's political transition.

Although no names have been settled upon — and the Government insists that many more wide-ranging consultations will take place — several key SABC positions are clearly at risk because the incumbents are identified with the SABC's "old regime".

Sources close to the Government-CIB discussions say SABC staffers with proven links to the military would be most vulnerable, and would be unlikely to survive the arrival of the new board.

Besides the board mem-

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THE STAR, FRIDAY 22 JANUARY 1993

Man killed in revenge attack

Crime Reporter

One person was killed and four were wounded in renewed violence in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, yesterday morning, police said.

At about 6.15 am gunmen opened fire on a minibus carrying alleged IFP supporters from Ratanda Hostel to work on the Heidelberg-Vaaldam road, wounding four people.

About 15 minutes later, balaclava-clad gunmen shot at residents on their way to work. One man was shot dead with a 9 mm pistol and

another was injured in what police believe was a revenge attack.

The ANC said yesterday that violence erupted in the township after an ANC rally there on Sunday.

A 17-year-old youth was shot dead near the Vuyo settlement on Sunday and three people were seriously wounded when shots were fired at them near the hostel on Monday.

On Tuesday a man and a three-year-old girl were wounded at the "FNB" squatter camp, according to Ratanda ANC chairman Obed Nkosi.

New board soon

EXCLUSIVE

SABC set to quit the NP laager

THE STAR, FRIDAY 22 JANUARY 1993

Shooting: ANC, SAP disagree

Police shot and killed an inmate of a Sebokeng hostel last night and wounded several others.

The police and the ANC issued contradictory reports about the clash. Police said members of the Internal Stability Unit were sent to the hostel following a tip-off about unlawful possession of firearms.

Shots were fired at the police, who returned the fire. One man was killed and four others injured, police added.

However, the ANC said witnesses reported that police went to a room of Hostel 2 where a meeting was being held.

"One of the inmates overheard the police saying ... 'let us shoot them'. Without any provocation or warning shots, police fired indiscriminately at the inmates killing one instantly and wounding six others."

The ANC named the dead man as Bongi Tye-lentombi. Police said he was Tyelembi Mntele-lambie. Police said they confiscated two AK-47 rifles, three guns and ammunition before arresting 19 suspects. — Staff Reporters

The new session can launch a new SA, writes Political Correspondent Peter Fabricius

Is this the last Parliament?

IT'S that time of year again, when MPs and civil servants pack their tin trunks and drift south to Cape Town for the opening of yet another sitting of Parliament.

A week from today President de Klerk will open the new session and set the tone of politics for the year. And the question on everyone's lips is once again: Surely this will be the last Parliament of the old South Africa?

Surely the 1993 session will be the one which stamps its approval on a negotiated settlement for a fully democratic interim government, and Parliament then bows out at last?

Yet superficially at least, it seems as if negotiations are just where they were a year ago — or have gone backwards.

Then, Codesa I had gone off well and multiparty negotiations were "on track". Now — after a year of frustration, immense political bloodshed and further economic decline — multiparty negotiations are officially dormant and the Inkatha Freedom Party and a

few others who were in Codesa a year ago are out in the cold.

Yet there seems, in the world of politics, to be a feeling — distinct from wishful thinking — that this is going to be the year of decision.

The portents are there.

Since their Record of Understanding on September 26 last year, the Government and the ANC have become imbued with a new sense of urgency and a recognition of the dire straits of the economy.

All indications are that the ANC/Government bosheraad of early December was a success.

Then there is the ANC's crucial decision to accept power-sharing with the National Party, even beyond an interim government, which may have persuaded the Government to see the ANC as a partner and not primarily as a competitor.

And De Klerk has conducted a purge of Defence Force officers who resisted reform.

But the most telling fact of all, perhaps, is that the ANC has decided not to mount its usual dem-

onstrations at the opening of Parliament.

But since this hopeful mood is based on hints and whispers emanating from secret talks, it must be taken with a grain of salt.

There is no public evidence that the Government and the ANC have moved closer to agreement on the important details which tripped up Codesa 2 in May — such as the size of the majority needed to ratify a constitution.

And it is understood that even after December's Government/ANC bosheraad, important differences remain over at least two basic questions — how to share power in the transitional executive council that will supervise the run-up to the first elections, and how much power and autonomy regions should have in the new government.

These questions will be tackled next week during the extended second bosheraad between the ANC and Government which got under way this week.

But perhaps more important in

its impact on the progress of negotiations is the question: How long will the Government wait for the IFP to climb aboard the negotiations train?

So far, the Government has effectively defined the operating principle of "sufficient consensus" to mean that at least it, the ANC and the IFP should agree before moving forward.

There are now signs that its attitude might be changing to: "Let's have the IFP aboard when multiparty negotiations resume, if we can, but not at all costs."

De Klerk's unexpectedly hostile reaction to IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's go-it-alone plan for KwaZulu/Natal late last year was the clearest signal of the NP's growing impatience with its informal ally.

But ranged against those in the NP who would like to dump Buthelezi is a perhaps stronger camp led by the Natal NP, which still adores the IFP leader and values him as an ally against the ANC.

This ambivalence in the NP probably explains why the Natal

NP's satisfactory meeting with the IFP early in January was followed by this week's flop between IFP and NP negotiators.

Which NP faction prevails will have a bearing on the progress of wider negotiations, since it will determine how long the NP is prepared to indulge Buthelezi in his blocking tactics.

The NP and IFP meet again on Wednesday, when a clearer picture should emerge.

Meanwhile De Klerk sits patiently, pen in hand, waiting for the outcome of this crucial week of bilateral talks before he can finalise his speech for next Friday.

He must give the country some idea of what will happen during the coming session, and beyond and he would surely love to announce a date for the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

But if he and the country are at the mercy of behind-the-scenes talks, there is one consolation.

The strategy of all major negotiators now is to resolve differences in bilateral talks before going public in multiparty debate.

This means that once multiparty negotiations start, progress should be swift.

So if next Friday De Klerk does announce the resumption of such negotiations around March or April — the dates suggested in his proposed timetable of change last year — then a settlement could come in time for Parliament to approve the enabling legislation before it rises in June.

That means a transitional council could be in place during the second half of the year, and elections for late this year or early in 1994. De Klerk predicted March/April of next year.

But experience gained from the protracted negotiations thus far advises caution. In Parliament, they are already talking of another special session during the second half of the year to ratify the legislation for interim government, which would push the timetable back several months.

A year from today, we might still be asking the plaintive question: Surely this is the last Parliament of the old South Africa? □

Support for FW down – survey

Political Staff

President De Klerk's popularity has plummeted since the post-referendum euphoria of mid-1992. In a November poll he got a lower vote of confidence among whites than any other State President since 1976, when Markinor began its political surveys.

"President de Klerk has lost all the ground he gained in the May 1992 survey and more," Markinor deputy managing director Christine Woessner commented yesterday.

The new poll also found that — in the eyes of black South Africans — the SA Communist Party (SACP) is certainly not an albatross around the ANC's neck.

In November, only 25 percent of whites and a mere 8 percent of blacks thought De Klerk was leading the country "very well" — a 20 percent drop on his mid-year rating. When these figures were augmented by those who considered De Klerk was performing "fairly well", the positive vote stood at 69 per-

cent of whites and 47 percent of blacks.

Woessner said the November survey showed a general disenchantment with politicians, when compared to the May results, which reflected the position just before the breakdown of Codesa.

Among 1 300 black respondents in five metropolitan areas, 70 percent said that they would vote for the ANC and 65 percent saw Mandela as the national leader.

Among 800 whites polled countrywide, De Klerk was seen as national leader by 52 percent and the NP as the party to vote for by 49 percent.

While the ANC and Mandela had experienced a drop of 5 and 3 percent respectively since May, the declining support for De Klerk and the NP was of the order of 20 percent.

Black and white respondents were divided on the SACP. Whereas 59 percent of whites viewed the alliance between the SACP and the ANC as detrimental to the ANC, only 14 percent of blacks thought similarly.

EXCLUSIVE

Govt, IFP in heated slanging match

THE STAR, FRIDAY 22 JANUARY 1992 (EARLY)

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

CAPE TOWN — The Government gave the Inkatha Freedom Party an extraordinary dressing down at last week's bilateral meeting, confidential documents in the possession of The Star reveal.

The crucial talks between the two sides — the first since IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi broke off contact with the Government last year — ended with a

terse statement saying more discussions were planned.

But the documents show for the first time the depth of acrimony which actually existed.

It emerges that a memorandum presented at the meeting by the IFP so infuriated the Government delegation — led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer — that a count-

er-memorandum was presented describing the IFP submissions as "the last straw".

When the talks started on Monday, the IFP — led by national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose — tabled a memorandum to the Government containing a series of serious allegations about Government-ANC connivance in negotiations.

After its presentation the two parties adjourned until 12.30 pm on Tuesday. The meeting finished only 45 minutes later, after the Government had read out its counter-blast.

The confidential memoranda give a graphic picture of the anger that exists on both sides. In its no-punches-pulled memorandum the Government accused IFP

leaders and the KwaZulu government of making "untrue and distorted allegations" about its behaviour in the negotiation process.

The Government said because of its special responsibilities to the process, it had resisted the temptation to react publicly to the IFP's provocation.

However, "the latest memorandum was the last straw:

"too many lies and distortions repeated once too often", the Government said.

It labelled the IFP memorandum as "blatant, untrue, hard propaganda".

The Government added: "Reading the document (and listening to it being read out to the meeting) leaves one with a sense of shocked disbelief that such a piece of banal nonsense could be pro-

duced from within the ranks of a respected political party and of the proud Zulu nation.

"The explanation clearly lies in the fact that this document was compiled by a person who is poorly informed, technically unqualified, and with questionable ulterior motives. It would appear senior members of the IFP delegation had no hand

● To Page 3

Govt blasts IFP at talks

● From Page 1

in the compilation of the document."

In the original memorandum, which sparked the furious response, the IFP said there had been minimal co-operation between the two parties since the collapse of Codesa 2 in May.

It accused the Government of a strategy which aimed at creating a long and open-ended process of transition in which the Government and the ANC would share power.

Leaks

The IFP added: "One could speculate how on earth the most secure offices and files in intelligence quarters were rifled to expose financial dealings which were aimed at making Dr Buthelezi look like the stooge the ANC says he was."

"The Official Secrets Act was obviously transgressed by someone in intelligence, and yet there are no Goldstone inquiries into the leaks."

Hitting back, the Government delegation said: "... when IFP delegates were absent from important Codesa meetings, or when IFP delegates had to operate without a

mandate because they could not get one from their principals, or when IFP delegates entered into agreements that were afterwards not well received at home and then blamed others for their predicament, or when strange foreigners appeared as IFP delegates," it had actively promoted IFP interests.

The IFP should blame itself, and not other parties, for its perceived misfortunes at Codesa, the Government said.

The Government proposed that the two parties discuss their common ground and said: "The real leaders should talk to each other and play a decisive role throughout."

It warned the IFP that there were "forces" wanting to destroy the trust and common purpose between them.

"We cannot prescribe to one another who should be used as advisers, but we do ask that advisers should not be allowed to dictate the terms and mood between us which is so vital for a sound and productive relationship," the Government said.

The next meeting between the two sides is scheduled for Wednesday.

day.

● The Government-ANC bosberaad enters its third day today with no news of how the deliberations are going at a secret venue.

The Star understands that today is the last day of discussions on violence-related matters, including the implementation of the September 26 Record of Understanding.

Commission

The next two or three days of the bush indaba have been devoted to constitutional matters, including the reincorporation of TBVC states and matters pertaining to elections.

A draft electoral law and the setting up of an election commission, including the ANC's Transition to Democracy Act of 1992, will also be discussed, according to reliable sources.

Government negotiators, led by Meyer, will then proceed to Cape Town after the bosberaad — the second between the two main political players since last month — for the official opening of Parliament next Friday.

THE STAR, FRIDAY 22 JANUARY 1992 (EARLY)

MK-Apla plot to kill policemen, probe told

By Peter Davies

A Soweto police officer told a Goldstone Committee probing attacks on policemen yesterday that the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the Transkei Defence Force and the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) had agreed last month to attack three homelands and the security forces under the banner of Apla.

ANC lawyer Azhar Cachalia vehemently denied the claim by Soweto crime information service co-ordinator Captain Petrus Grundling and said if necessary MK chief of staff Siphiwe Nyanda would give di-

rect evidence to repudiate Grundling's claims.

Grundling said his information showed that Nyanda had told delegates at a report-back meeting in Transkei on January 5 that MK, Apla and the Transkei Defence Force had made the decision at a meeting last month in Butterworth, Transkei.

In terms of the decision, the South African security forces, KwaZulu, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana were to be attacked from next month.

However Cachalia said a "simple check" would have shown that Nyanda was office-

bound at ANC headquarters in Shell House on January 5.

He said he had contacted Nyanda, who is attending the bilateral meeting between the Government and the ANC at a secret venue in the Transvaal, and Nyanda said it was the "first time he had heard of these serious allegations".

Although Grundling said he had relayed the information to his superiors, Cachalia said neither the Government nor the SAP had ever raised the matter.

Asked if there was a relationship between MK and Apla, Grundling said his informants

had told him that MK had forged close links with Apla members to eliminate as many South African policemen as possible.

Grundling testified that 31 policemen had been killed in Soweto between July 1991 and December 1992.

The areas with the highest casualties were Meadowlands (17), Dobsonville (14) and Diepkloof (11).

During the same period, SAP members had been attacked 79 times and the houses of five policemen had been damaged.

The hearing has been adjourned until March 9.

Umkhonto chief Nyanda denies attack plans

PRETORIA — The ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief-of-staff Sphiwe Nyanda denied allegations made to the Goldstone committee yesterday that MK, the Transkei Defence Force and the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) intended to attack the security forces and three homelands from February under the banner of Apla.

ANC counsel Azhar Cachalia said this after contacting Nyanda, who was attending a meeting between government and the ANC at a secret venue in the Transvaal.

Nyanda could not have said this to delegates at a meeting in Transkei on January 5 as Capt Petrus Grundling of the Soweto-based Crime Information Service claimed, as Nyanda was at ANC headquarters in Johannesburg, Cachalia said.

□ The International Freedom Foundation has asked President F W de Klerk to expand the Goldstone commission to enable it to investigate human rights abuses committed by the ANC in exile. — Sapa.

THE DAILY NEWS, THURSDAY, OCTO

New effort to win release of Jamile

Treat killer as political prisoner, De Klerk asked

RENEWED efforts for President F.W. de Klerk to extend mercy to convicted former KwaZulu MP Samuel Jamile on the grounds that he is a political prisoner were made this week.

Mr Jamile's attorney, Mr Johan Jooste, said he contacted the State-President-in-Council on Tuesday, asking Mr de Klerk to consider Jamile a political prisoner.

Jamile and his co-accused, Msizi Hlophe, were convicted by Mr Justice Mitchell in the Natal Supreme Court on May 28, 1991.

Jamile was found guilty of the murder of Mr Joseph Khumalo and the attempted

IRVIN SITHOLE
Daily News Reporter

murder of Mr Khumalo's fiancée, Miss Thokozile Shabalala, at Mamba Valley in the greater Durban area on the night of April 5, 1987. The couple were Jamile's tenants at the time.

Hlophe was convicted of the murders of Mr Zazi Khuzwayo, who was shot in his shop in 1987 and Mr Nicholas Mkhize, who was shot in his car.

Jamile was sentenced to life imprisonment and Hlophe to 22 years in jail.

Mr Jooste said a request to extend mercy had been made in June this year on behalf of

Mr Jamile based on his social standing and also on the political nature of the case.

The political aspect of the case was again highlighted this week following the agreement between the Government and the ANC.

The State had said during the trial that the crime was politically motivated.

"The saga of events which unfolded before this court during the past year as portrayed by the parade of witnesses who came from all walks of life, professional or otherwise, must be viewed against a backdrop of political strife and factionalism which beset the townfolk of Clermont from 1985 to 1989," the State said.

Pick n Play

Durban North

Hyper by the sea

BIG NEWS

Hyper