

ANC moderates

Win the da

E African National Congress has endorsed the multi-party conference scheduled later this month - despite a . groundswell of grassroots resistance to its strll-unratiited deal with the government.

At a m conference in Soweto yesterday, after the movements crucial three-day national executive committee meeting, ANC leader Pallo Jordan announced that the NEC had approved the conference, set for February 25, ttwith a view to the speedy resumption of Codesa".

.The Weekly Mail understands that there was strff resistance from some regions, particularly in Natal, to the conference and calls for a national meeting of the ANC to discuss its agreement with the government. Behind the scenes, negotiators were saying that meeting the February E and 26 deadline agtwd by the ANC and the government would be lta complete miracle".

The ANC negotiators and the government were keenly aware of the signals a failure to meet their deadline would send to the world.

At the press conference, Jordan also said the NEC had atTrrrned that a government of national unity wm "not a deal struck between political par-tres, but the outcome of the preferences of the South African electorate as expressed in the first democratic elections".

He declared the ANC's commitment to a gov-ernment composed of all parties elected to a con- ' stituent assembly subject to a minimum threshok of five percent.

Last week, ANC negotiators agrwd to a five-year "government of national unity" (in effect, a cabinet) consisting of all parties winning more than the or 10 percent of the vote in the country's first non-racial national election. Those in the ANC opposed to the deal interpret this as an effective power-sharing deal for the five years after the drawing up of a new constitution.

In return, the government d its imistence that the powets and functions of the regions be decrded before a constituent assembly is elected. It is understood that at the NEC meeting, ANC leaders in favour of the tive-year plan pleaded that a government of national unity would encourage investment and stability. They also stressed that, as one ANC ttmoderate" put it, llthere is no possibility of a better arrangement because the government will refuse to compromise further, and lnkatha would dig its heels in even deeper".

But what the negotiators term the "emotional" arguments of their more hard-line comrades struck an amwering chord with a large percentage of NEC members, and an even greater proportion of members at the grassroots.

The view put forward by the three ANC Natal regions and the ANC Youth League, and report-edly backed by the elements in the ANC's western Cape, PWV and Border regions, was that a nation-al ANC conference should be called to discuss the agreement.

ANC leaders overcame the dee mis ivin s o the rank-and- le over multi- ar talks at the o anisation is k executive meetin this week.

B GAVIN EVANS and

PAUL STOBER

The ANC has not excluded the possibility that a r

national conference be called to facilitate consultation on the proposal while the multi-party conference be allowed to go ahead.

Opponents to the plan are not objecting to the idea of a transitional government of national unity, but reject the notion of guaranteeing the government-or any other party-seats in the new cabinet before they have proved what support they have in a national election.

It is a transitional government of national unity should be the prerogative of the leader of the majority party, not the result of constitutionalised power-sharing? said one opponent.

From the government side, the moderates appear to have won the day over the hard-liners, at least for now. With Magnus Malan's resignation coming into effect on March 1, and several other cabinet conservatives such as Louis Pienaar and perhaps Adriaan Vlok, likely to follow him, those in favour of playing softball with the ANC seem to be in control.

The anti-deal rhetoric of the ANC handliners is being echoed, from different perspectives, by two issue is resolved.

Buthelezi is knee-jerk rejection of the proposals may be tempered by the realisation that the deal presents his best chance yet of getting into a transitional government. Despite opinion polls to the contrary, many observers are convinced the IFP will be able to swing the minimum percentage needed to guarantee a place in the transitional government.

At present, the government and the IFP are engaged in three days of talks which are to end tomorrow. Government and IFP sources are reported to be optimistic that delegates will reach enough agreement for the preparatory conference to go ahead.

Government sources have said all the outstanding issues are not connected with the preparatory conference.

The IFP is said to be holding out until the government gives it assurances about the disbanding of MK, power-sharing and the protection of regional governments.

PAC secretary general Benny Alexander also derided the accord. "We wish to inform the regime and the ANC that they are not fooling anybody and we are convinced that the regime and the ANC are going to get married and give birth to a baby named neo-colonialism."

Both the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Africanist Congress have derided what they term the "power-sharing deal" which has been portrayed as a pact to exclude all others from the reins of government. . . .

While the reality might be quite different - it was in fact an unratified proposal, not binding on other parties to negotiations, for those with sufficient electoral support to get cabinet representation for a limited period - it is being used as a powerful mobilising tactic.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi described the proposed transitional government as a "recipe for disaster", and insisted that the issue of boundaries and the power of regions should be disposed of before a constituent assembly is formed.

It would be absolutely wrong for the independent states and self-governing territories to buckle under ANC and RSA pressure and agree that the future of the region should be determined by a

constituent assembly. That would be putting the cart before the horse." y
Buthelezi added that the current violence in the country meant elections could not be democratic. He has also stressed that he is not prepared to join a multi-party forum until the Umkhonto weSizwe

Nat power-sharing model rejected

ANC support

for five-year

coalition govt

THE ANC yesterday announced its acceptance of a coalition government for up to five years after the first nonracial elections, but one in which minority parties would not have veto powers.

Following the three-day national executive committee meeting in Soweto, general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said the endorsement of the plan for an interim government of national unity was unanimous. The NEC also endorsed the proposal that a multiparty planning conference be held from February 25.

The ANC rejected government's power-sharing proposal for either a fixed or a permanent period. Government wanted the executive of an interim government to take decision: by consensus and thereby dilute majority rule, he said. "Majority, rule must not be diluted or sacrificed in the executive. The president, elected by a simple majority of a constituent assembly, will be able to take decisions and not be hamstrung by minority parties."

He said government and the ANC had an agreement that government's insistence on the power-sharing idea would not be an obstacle to a negotiated settlement. But he indicated that government might raise the proposal at a multiparty forum.

There is still uncertainty whether the plan outlined by the ANC yesterday is the preliminary agreement its negotiators agreed to with government, although the organisation presented it as such.

It said the report from the ANC's negotiators was endorsed and the NEC underscored its rejection of government's ANC";

months to design clear policies for reconstructing government

Ramaphosa said the ANC would meet

members of Contralasa today and later

Azapo and the PAC to discuss the full plan and to "ensure that they are represented at the planning conference".

Sapa reports that Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said last night the NEC statement on constitutional negotiations was "quite confusing. I can't see what is the difference between power-sharing and a government of national unity, and the ANC will have to explain that" Government spokesman Dave Steward

said the differences between government and ANC amounted to "mantles". and

BILLY PADDOCK

power-sharing proposal.

The ANC will meet government on Monday to thrash out the finer details of the agreement

In terms of the plan adopted by the NEC, an interim government of national unity, elected within the next year or so, would govern and negotiate a new constitution.

Once the new constitution was adopted,

this interim government would become a government of national unity and reconstruction. It would continue to rule for not more than five years from the date of elections for an interim government. The executive would be made up proportionally of members of all parties with at least 9% of the seats in the constituent assembly. The president would appoint representatives of minority parties to the cabinet.

The president would exercise executive powers after consultation with cabinet but in the case of certain specified powers, to be determined in negotiations, he would have to consult other parties and their leaders. In the event of a disagreement, the president's decision would have to win the support of two-thirds of the cabinet.

The assembly would have to adopt a new constitution within a nine-month period;

The NEC emphasised that the negotiations package would be linked to the restructuring of government, the judiciary and the public service in the transition period. The ANC planned to convene a "major conference" within the next four

Days To Pay. 2

Days From Pogo 1

added: "It looks like the process is still on track" 1

On Yesterday the NEC also condemned the Budget deficit and government's attempt to shift its "incompetence and corruption to the taxpayers. It recommended that a moratorium be placed on all gratuities except the contractual ones of public servants. Government should establish a fiscal commission to advise on revenue and expenditure; there should be transparent departmental and judicial controls over expenditure including an audit on the 1992/93 Budget; and a planned approach to expenditure and homeland duplication 4 should be adopted to provide an efficient public works programme. 7

1

J W

/

737

1

/

7/1) 4/3

' v

ANC WONIT SHARE

POWER WITH NP

Wonit share power Wi

THE African National

Congress National Ex. !

ecutive Committee,

yesterday endorsed a

government compris-

ing all parties for up to

five years after an elec-

non.

But it rejected a

. pro

sal that It would shzroe-

power with the National

Party for a similar time

penod.

Reading from a state-

ment. after the NEC's

three-day meeting in Jo-

hannesburg, ANC infor-

mation chief. Dr Pallo

Jordan, said the proposed

government of interim i

unity should draw on all

m !

political players and

should have a limited life.

Speaking at the lpele-

geng Community Centre

in Soweto, Dr Jordan

said: "The NEC recog-

nised that in the interests

of peace, stability and re-

construction, there will be

a need for a Government

of National Unity of limi-

ted duration that draws

on the talents of a rep-

resentative tange of

South Afn'mns.

"The NEC affirmed

that the composition and

mandate of a Govern-

ment of National Unity is

not a deal struck between

politieal parties in smoke-

tilled rooms." said Dr

Jordan.

Such a government

should therefore be com-

posed of all parties which

achieved a minimum of

Eve percent of the seats

making up a Constituent

Asembly - the counti-

tutiou-making body.

The constitutional pro-

cess was spelled out by

ANC seuetuy-genetal

Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, at a

Pres conference.

Mr Ramaphosa said the

ANC executive had en-

dotsed the multi-party

Negotiations Planning

Confeteneee to be held on

February 25, and this

should then lead to a re-

sumption of the Conven-

tion of a Democratic

South Afn'ea (Oodesa).
Thereafter. a Tran-
sitional Exewtive Coun-
cil - with sub-councils
for law and order and de-
fence - should be set up
to level the playing fields,
prepare for the country's
first general election and
ensure a climate for free
politiml power, said Mr
Ramaphosa.

Once a general election
had been held, the NEC
believed an Interim Gov-
ernment of National
Unity (IGNU) should run
the country while deliber-
ations continued over the
constitution.

tAfter the adoption of
the new constitution. the
IGNU would continue in
the same form as a Gov-
ernment of National
Unity and Reconstruction
in order to phase in struc-
tures provided for in the
new constitution," a res-
olution amplilied.

The resolution added
that the Government of
National Unity would ex-
ist for a spediiid ttlimited
duration".

Its term would come to
a close by the first elec-
tion - which would be
held no later than Eve
years after the elections
for a Constituent As-
sembly (CA) - under the
new constitution.

But, it added. such an
united executive would be
governed by the oven'id-
ing ptindple that minority
parties did not have the
power to paralyse the ex-
ecutive.

"That is completely dif-
ferent from the National
Party scenario."

The Government of
National Unity might ex-
ist less than five years. it!
must emphasise that the
duration of the Govem-

q _ i
k J13?

ment of National Unity is
still subject to negotia-
tions at a multi-patty fo-
rum." Mr Ramaphosa
said.

Turning to the question
of regionalism _ in the
light of threats by Kwa-
Zulu leader, Chief Mang-
osuthu Buthelezi. to de-
clare a Rhodesiamstyle

UDl - Mt Ramaphosa
said the CA would consist
of people elected on the
basis of national and re-
gional lists.
A special commission
would be established to
deal with regional bound-
aries and powers.
uAny TBVC state re-
fusing to join a united
South Africa will be going
against the will of the
people," said Mr Rama-
phosa in a later interview.
The TBVC states
would be represented on
the Transitional Ex-
ecutive Council (TEC) as
Kit is essential for them to
be part of the new South
Africa, which we all
want".

Turning to sanctions,
Mt Ramaphosa was ca-
gey, saying the NEC had
disused the issue at
length, "but a decision
will be communicated to
you either on Saturday or
Sunday at the Internat-
ional Solidarity Conferen-
cc".

The three-day Internat-
ional Solidarity Confer-
ence takes place at a ve-
nue outside Johannesburg
from today.

l IO

I y

((1

tthI?_

Mr Ramaphosa told the
SABCis Agenda pro-
gramme that while the
African National Con-
gress' government of nat-
ional unity and the Nat-
ional Party's power-shar-
ing proposal were structu-
rally identical. the differ-
ence lay in the process at
operation.

The ANC's govern-
ment of national unity
would be 'ifully cm-
powered in terms of the
mandate (that) the major-
ity party would have re-
ceived from the popula-
tion", and would immedi-
ately move to implement
that mandate.

The NP's concept of
power-sharing, however,
was a uconcept which
seeks to dilute democracy
which would limit the ap-
plication of democracy".

Mr Ramaphosa said the
NP proposal that all par-

ties should have veto powers could "paralyse the effectiveness of government".

He also disagreed with the NP notion of a rotating Cabinet chairmanship. The President should be elected by a constituent assembly. He stressed, however, that minority parties would participate jointly with the majority parties as governets of the country. This would enhance democracy.

The ANC envisaged that a new constitution would be adopted within nine months of the implementation of an interim government. - Sapa.

Talks hopes rise as ANC approves unity govt plan

Back to the future

By Peter Fahricius

and Jo-Anne Collinge

CAPE TOWN - The

ANC's national executive

committee (NEC) last

night gave its crucial ap-

proval to the proposal for

a five-year government

of national unity drafted

by Government and ANC

negotiators last week.

This promising develop-

ment, coupled with ens

couraging signals emanating

from the Government-In-

katha Freedom Party bos-

beraad at Richards Bay, in-

dicates that negotiations are

still on track for the impor-

tant multiparty planning

conference on February 25

and 26.

This would in turn arrange

the resumption of full-scale

Codesa-style multiparty ne-

gotiations.

The NEC last night issued

a confusing resolution which

firmly rejected the National

Party's notion of power-

sharing - but essentially ac-

cepted the crucial agree-

ment by Government and

ANC negotiators for a gov-

ernment of national unity

lasting five years.

Government sources said

it seemed the resolution had

been couched in strong and

dismissive language partial-

ly to placate militant regions

that were strongly suspi-

cious of the provisional

agreement with the Govern-

ment.

But the NEC also made

it clear there would be no

power-sharing in the interim

government in the sense of

minority parties having

power was; "

31'.th 1

overturn the decision. I

This appeared to have !

overcome fears in political l

circles that referring the '

azzt'azawgzszwi Talks hopes rise as ANC

The NEC resolution speci-

fied that all parties winning

more than 6 rcent of the

vote in constl uont assembly

elections would be elected

proportionally in the execu- l

tive of the interim govern- 1

ment.

In the first phase before

the adoption of a new consti-

tution, the government

would be called the interim

government of national
unity.

In the second phase, after
the adoption of a new consti-
tution, it would become
known as the government of
national unity and recon-
struction (GNUR), which
would phase in aspects of the
new commotion.

It would also embark on a
far-reaching programme of
reconstruction including an
affirmative action pro-
gramme to democratise the
organs of State.

Confirming one of the key
elements of the proposal
drafted by negotiators, the
NEC said the GNUR would
exist for a specified and lim-
ited period until the first
elections under the new con-
stitution - no longer than
five years after the elections
for a constituent assembly.

At a press conference in
Soweto yesterday, ANC sec-
retary-general Cyril Rama-
hosa explained why the
EC proposal was an out-
right rejection of the Gov-
ernment's traditional notion
of power-sharing.

He said the National Party
wanted an executive where
decisions were taken by con-
sensus and majority rule
was diluted completely. _

"Our idea of a government
of national unity means ma-
jority rule should not be sa-
.crificed in any way. We see
.the president as being able
v m take decisions without
leer

f;

OToPageal'

O From Page 1

being hamstrung."

The NEC resolution

a spells out that the presi-
dent shall be elected by
simple majority of the
constituent assembly.

Representatives of mi-
nority parties in the Cab-
inet would be appointed
by the president in con-
sultation with the lead-
ers of these parties.

Ramaphosa indicated
that the resolution had
been passed unanimously
and that an intensive ef-
fort would be made to
communicate it to all
approves unity govt plan
Ramaphosa . . . resolu-
tion was unanimous.
ANC structures.

The ANC would also meet Azapo and the PAC soon to try to persuade them attend the conference in February. i
A major ANC conference would be held before the end of June to address the issues of development and reconstruction. ANC information chief Dr Pallo Jordan said.
Ramaphosa stressed that any understandings between the Government and the ANC were not binding on other parties. It was not clear last night exactly how far the NEC resolution tallied with the proposals drafted by negotiators last week.

THE ANC is .
statement on eonstit
uquite confusmg ,
national executive .cqmmittee
utional negotiations .was
Constitutional Minister
Roelf Meyer said in reaction yesterday even-
ing. _

WFhe statement itself
is quite confusing," Mr
Meyer said at a hotel in
central Johannesburg
where he was the guest
speaker, hours after the
NEC statement was IS-
sued.

"I can't see what is
the difference between
power-sharing and a
government of national
unity, and the ANC will
have to explain that."

TO PAGE 2

FROM PAGE 1

The NBC said it
unanimously rejected
the National Party's
proposal of power-shar-
ing, whether penna-
nent or for a fixed
period".

Instead the ANC said
it wanted the majority
party after elections for
a constituent assembly
to invite smaller parties
to join it in an interim
executive to run the
country until the adop-
tion of a new South
African constitution.

After the adoption of
the constitution the
ANC wanted a govern-
ment of national unity
Roelf is confused
and reconstruction". Its
term would last a maxi-
mum of five years until
the first elections after
the ballot for the con-
stituent assembly.

Asked to comment on
the ANC's maximum
five-year period, Mr
Meyer said, "We have
been exploring and con-
sulting on the basis of a
period of a five-year
transitional government
and not anything less
than that".

As for the govern-
ment's next step in the
negotiations process he
said, "We are still busy
with our own process of
consultation with our
own constituency. and
as soon as we have com-
pleted that we will also

be able to make clear what our position is". Pressed on how the ANC statement compared with understandings between the government and ANC at their recent bilateral meetings, Mr Meyer said:

ttWell that is why I am saying, it's not clear from the statement actually what they're saying. It's quite confusing and I suggest that we take it up with them in further discussions to get more clarity on what exactly they have decided."

C rejects NP deal!

he ANC this week rejected, without reservation, the National Party's power-sharing proposal. This decision follows a three-day national executive committee meeting of the organisation in Johannesburg.

However, the organisation said: "In the interest of reconstruction and peace and the need to minimise the potential threat to democratic advance from divisive forces in the period immediately following the adoption of a new constitution, we declare our support for an interim government of national unity (IGNU), which would exist up to the point of the adoption of a new constitution.'

It went on to say that while the IGNU will continue in the same form as a government of national unity to phase in structures provided (or in the new constitution, it will exist only for a specified period.

Its term, the ANC said, would not extend into the period after the country's first election, which will be held not later than five years after the election of a constituent assembly.

The ANC's rejection of the proposed deal coincides with the launch of the ANC's election campaign this week.

Starting this week, senior members of the ANC-NEC will be addressing meetings throughout the country on the ANC's policy positions in the elections, expected late this year or early next year.

It also emerged this week that it is now almost certain that senior Cosatu leaders will form a significant segment of ANC members of parliament in an interim government and a government of national unity. And the most likely candidates to be considered by the ANC when it draws up its list of candidates will be Cosatu's six elected national leaders.

These include Cosatu president, John Gomo, first vice-president Chris Dlamini, second vice president Godfrey Oliphant, national treasurer Ronald Mofokeng, general secretary Jay Naidoo and assistant general secretary Sam Shillowa.

The possibility of labour leaders joining in a future government emerged as the ANC set its election machine in motion amid optimism that a preparatory meeting to clear the way for the resumption of

multi-party negotiations will go ahead on February 25 and 26 next week.

Movement towards a preparatory conference continued at a brisk pace at various levels with a flurry of meetings between various political groupings.

And it is expected that few remaining obstacles would be removed when the ANC and government meet again next Monday and Tuesday in a bilateral before the preparatory meeting.

Reliable sources in Cosatu confirmed this week that a Cosatu Central Executive Committee (CEC) decision taken in October last year did not preclude the possibility of union leaders standing as ANC candidates.

The CEC decisions, which remained under wraps until this week, made it clear that Cosatu will neither participate in the election nor put up candidates.

But sources in the federation says this did not bar the ANC from including elected Cosatu officials among its candidates. Cosatu's biggest affiliate, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) this week adopted a similar position and said if its leaders were approached by the ANC to stand as candidates, they would be released to participate in the elections.

The possibility of Cosatu enjoying direct representation on a government of national unity for the first five year term after the adoption of a democratic constitution, therefore becomes real.

At this stage it is not yet clear just how far the mandate of Cosatu leaders on an ANC election list will extend.

One option open to Cosatu is to restrict the mandate of its leaders to participating in the constitution making process only.

The second option is to extend this brief and allow officials to serve on an Interim government.

The third option is to allow its officials to be appointed to a government of national unity, which could in terms of proposals currently on the ANC/government negotiating table, be in office for at least five years after the adoption of a democratic constitution.

But there is already some degree of opposition from within the ranks of organised labour and political movements to the NUM decision to free officials to be included on an ANC election list.

alks on track
CAPE TOWN.
Constitutional
talks
are firmly on track to a
two-day
preparatory
conference in Johan-
nesburg next
after
week
getting green
lights from both the
African National Con-
Freedom Party yester-
day.

Although Inkatha's of-
ficial position is still to be
finalised today, negotiat-
ing sources say positive
progress has been made
at a current three-day
talks with the
government.

One more two-day bi-
lateral between the gov-
ernment and the ANC re-
mains to be held on Mon-
day and Tuesday to fi-
nalise arrangements for
the preparatory confer-
ence.

The conference will de-
cide on the format, name
progress and the Inkatha

FROM PAGE 1

and date for the resan-
tion of Codesa-style mul-
ti-party constitutional ne-
gotiations.

The preparatory talks
are expected to target
March for the first ple-
nary of resumed constitu-
tional talks, well within
the time frames pursued
by State President De
Klerk and the ANC for a
rapid transition to demo-
cratic elections.

Although the NEC
statement yesterday re-
jected any notion of pow-
er sharing deals, it con-
tinued the MOS agree-
ment to an Interim Gov-
ernment of National
Unity (IGNU) which
could rule for five years
before an election based
on the new constitution is
called.

Some progress" had
been made by govern-
ment and Inkatha Free-
dom Party officials after a
second day of bilateral
talks in Richards Bay,
chief IFP negotiator, Dr
Frank Mdlalose, said last
night.

It was possible to resolve to enain issues" the IFP had raised in time for next Thursday and Friday's proposed multi-party preparatory conference in the Johannesburg area. The IFP had made it clear its objections about, for instance, an alleged power-sharing deal between the government and African National Congress, had to be for this afternoon. The talks had been preparatory conference could be held.

It is now possible to resolve them in time for next Thursday." Dr Mdlalose, also IFP national chairman, said from his hotel in Richards Bay. According to observers, the government/Inkatha ttbosberaad" is crucial in getting multi-party negotiations back on track. Dr Mdlalose refused to be drawn on the details of the government/Inkatha talks of the past two days until they ended. They are expected to complete their discussions by early this afternoon. Dr Mdlalose continued a joint government/Inkatha statement was scheduled. Talks are 011% ducted in a livery friendly and cordial" manner. We have covered quite a lot of ground and will probably be able to make some statement when they end". -Sapa.

HE African National Congress has quietly launched world-wide operations to raise at least \$100-million for its campaign in South Africa, its coming multiracial election.

Officials of the organisation said a network of fund-raising groups was in place in the Americas, Europe, Asia and Australia.

Their targets include sympathetic governments, political parties, trade union movements and church organisations besides people in streets of cities around the globe.

Their plea for support is being planned on two levels:

.Recognising that few governments are likely to pay anything towards the electoral expenses of a political party engaged in campaign-mission trail for R1 00m
ing, the ANC intends pressing for contributions to a voter education fund which, in theory, would benefit the country's blacks. The reasoning is that South Africa's disenfranchised majority needs to be properly briefed, or taught, about the intricacies of democratic politics from which it has been barred for so long.

.On the non-governmental plane, however, the ANC seems convinced that it can count on the backing of a variety of groups and movements for its own particular policies and programmes because of the leadership role it has been playing over the years in the liberation struggle. The intention

The African National Congress is looking to raise \$100-million for its election campaign, reports

ARTHUR GAVSHON

tion is that potential supporters would be made aware of the exact way in which their contributions would be used.

Despite the constraints imposed by the worldwide recession there is little doubt that the ANC can rely upon considerable help from the United States, European Community, Commonwealth countries and from Japan and other leading trading nations.

In most of these lands activist groups have been supporting the struggle against apartheid for many years with money, gifts and political rallies. US state and civic authorities have banned investments in South Africa and business with South African firms.

Most of the 12 European Community member-countries have been doing the same although, as apartheid structures have come down, their boycotts have been easing. The ANC has been the main beneficiary of material help with its pres-

ident, Nelson Mandela, acclaimed almost universally as the symbol of black resistance.

Underlining the esteem in which Mandela is held, the freedom of 10 British cities has been conferred upon the ANC leader. He was to have received the awards at a ceremony in Glasgow on Monday, but the occasion has been postponed because, on medical advice, he has had to call off his planned visit to Europe next week.

The aim of fund-raisers in Britain is to collect at least \$1,5-million for the ANC. In the US and Japan, more is expected. Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand, Malaysia and the Caribbean states are expected to be the main Commonwealth contributors.

t
i
All sing it! Exhausted or not, Nelsonis got the power
'1' LEAST 3 part of Nelson
Mandela's exhaustion, Sauer is
convinced, is attributable to his
showing up at the Wanderers last
Saturday.

There, one well-wisher after another came up to greet him. Each time the ever-courteous leader would stand up. shake hands and exchange a few words.
Even this bit of "relaxation" must have added to the burdens of negotiating with the Nats, selling the package to restive ANC ranks and devising strategies for coping with Inkatha.

When he left, Mandela did something unusual. Instead of exiting through the back of the players' enclosure. he headed down the tunnel in order to do a little walk-and-wave round part of the field. His security men looked a bit surprised but sponsors Total were prepared. As Nelson strode on to the pitch. the sound system blasted out their theme tune - a song by American rap band Snap which goes: "I've Got the Power!"

0 There seemed to be no musical fanfare - but probably more TV exposure - when F W did his own bit of flag-showing at Newlands on Wednesday.

DOD
PERHAPS by playing that tune the cricket sponsors weren't making a subtle political point but simply taking evasive action to keep the PA man off the air. At the start of play on Saturday, his voice came booming out:
"Ladies and gentlemen. for the first time in South Africa . . . Pakistan!" And out came Richie Richardson and his Windies team. What. Sauer wonders. might he have said when Mandela came out? "Ladies and gentlemen Mangosuthu Buthelezi"?

DOD
THERE'S nothing like a bit of frank talk for shooting an obscure junior Minister into the limelight. Sauer refers of course to Fanus Schoeman. appointed deputy to constitutional guru Roelf Meyer late last year and little heard of before or since. That is. until his announcement last week on the five-year power-sharing "deal" with the ANC. Meyer wasn't available last Friday, when the Government started getting queries about an ANC briefing on what was - or wasn't - provisionally decided at their bosberaad.

Schoeman was hastily called in to counter-brief journalists. And instead of the expected smoke screen job, he gave them the tullest account so far of where the country is likely to be going. Sauer hears this didn't go down too well in the Cabinet. hence the strenuous row-back exercise over following days by several people. including a somewhat chastened Schoeman himself.

a D D

THE tragi-comic Koornhoi dalliance with a pregnant young lady inspired this charge on The Star's Parktown graffiti wall: "Piet Koringhof bak bruin brood."

ODD

WILL the new SA operate from Cape Town. Pretoria. Johannesburg . . . or maybe Ulundi, or all of the above? At the present pre-interim juncture, the focus of significant action alternates rapidly between the various venues.

Last week's bilateral dramas were mostly centred on Cape Town. This week the main focus shifted to KwaZulu and the Rand, where the ANC's National Executive Committee spent three days digesting whatever was agreed at the bosberaad with Government. Now, covering meetings of the NEC is almost as difficult as covering a bosberaad. One similarity is that the venue is never announced. And it's never as predictable as Shell House. Jo'burg. the ANC's national HQ.

This week the NEC met somewhere in Soweto. maybe to show closeness to the people and count-

(11A CM

er the Winnie Mandela faction's "silken sheets" accusations.

More specifically, Sauer understands it was in Soweto's White City section, although nobody should read anything into that.

I: n 0

NO DOUBT the NEC foregathered in some hall, no Soweto house - not even Winnie's palace - being big enough to accommodate its 86 members plus attendant staff. Leaks out of the NEC are hard to come by. Even if the media locate the venue, its no good lobbying outside as at parliamentary caucuses or Codesa. Members tend to hare off at speed the minute they spot a reporter. With iactional suspicions rife, it's unwise merely to be seen talking to a hack, even if it's only about soccer or the weather.

ODD

UNHAPPILY prescient was this big ad for an Absa Bank service

which appeared in financial journals shortly before Bob Aldworth did his flit. It was boldly headed:
"How to get a runaway success
I 9 all (i-
'73

with complete financial control."
D D Cl

A REFRESHING dissenting lote
amid all the widespread acc'aim
for Sir David Frost comes tom
the Sowetanls TV writer. Mic
Rahothata.

Wrote he: "The 'Week of
Truth has come and gone. can
someone tell me what the truttis,
'cause I still don't know?
Nothing really new cane
out of these interviews. Only me
person learnt something - :ir
David Frost himself. Thanks br
nothing."
DUE!

A QUOTE from John Major: it
have sat in the Cabinet for si:
years. It just seems like 60."
And one from Billie Jean King
on the late Arthur Ashe: "He al-
ways said it was harder being,
black than having Aids." D
itw Cw

r__

By Sapa and
Kevin Flynn

THE ANC announced last night that its president, Mr Nelson Mandela, will not attend tonight's fund-raising banquet at the Johannesburg City Hall.

Since it had declared on Wednesday that he would attend the banquet, the sudden change caused speculation that Mr Mandela might be suffering from more than "tiredness" and "exhaustion".

There was, however, no continuation of this.

A spokesman earlier yesterday said the banquet could not be cancelled because more than 50 tickets at R450 a head had already been sold.

ANC PWV region spokesman, Mr Ronnie Mamoepa, said in a statement that Mr Mandela's doctors had advised him to take an un-
Not at banquet

FROM PAGE 1 Mr Mbeki.

interrupted rest, there- On Sunday, SAC? fore disqualifying him secretary-general Chns from attending the banquet. Ham would stand in for Mr Mandela at a rally

Instead, ANC Intet- outside Randfontein on national Affairs head the WCSt Rand. The Mr Thabo Mbeki: speech that would have would address the banquet- been delivered by Mr Ham at 7 pm, Mr Ma- Mandela would be read by Mr Ham".

Mr Mbeki would also say Mr Mandela's state of stand in for him at a "exhaustion" was in no breakfast in Johannesburg- way related to the operation tomorrow morning- when he underwent in ing. The speech that May 1990 to remove a would have been delivered- non-mahgnam CYSI from ered by the ANC presi- his bladder. Dr Louis dent would be read by Geoelster the doctor who performed the operation in the Park Lane Clinic, told The Citizen yesterday.

There was no chance at all" of the condition resurfacing.

Confusion mars deal with AN C
SOUTH AFRICA'S negotiating
process is taking on the semblance
of a wandering civil war as political
leaders once again exchange
threats, insults, and accusations in
what have almost become traditional
rites of passage marking any
hint of progress.

The latest hostilities came in response
to reports of the outcome of
last weeks negotiations between the
ANC and the government, at which
agreement was apparently reached
on some form of power-sharing.
Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of
Inkatha said at the weekend that
if there had been any such deal,
the country had better prepare for
real war. Nelson Mandela, the ANC
president, said the deal was not for
power-sharing, but for a sharing of
power and anyone suggesting the
contrary was engaged in "mischievous"
rumour-mongering. The
government in turn suggested the
contrary and declared that if the
ANC said anything different, the
deal was off.

At the centre of the controversy
was a statement by the deputy
minister of constitutional development,
Fanus Schoeman, on Friday
that the government and the ANC
had agreed to five years of power-sharing
by means of a "government of national
unity" after a final conference.
By David Beresford
in Johannesburg
Constitutional settlement had been
reached.

Mr Mandela, however, insisted
that no such deal had been reached,
that the ANC had proposed an
"interim government of national
unity" which, he insisted, is not
power-sharing? On Sunday, Mr
Schoeman reiterated that a government
of national unity is power-sharing
and said that if the ANC
persisted in its denials, "we are
back to square one".

Sources say the ANC, which faces
opposition in its own ranks to
entrenched power-sharing with the
white minority until the end of the
century, is anxious to present the
five years of unity government as a
voluntary initiative. The government
wants the phase constitutionally
entrenched.

Members of the AN C negotiating
team are believed to have offered a
compromise by which they would
give written undertakings to
President F. W. de Klerk's National
Party that they would form a multi-
party coalition government after
elections.

The Guardian has learned that
other significant advances include

an agreement in principle that there should be a mechanism to break deadlocks in the constituent , assembly on the adoption of a final constitution. There are differences as to the period in which the mechanism - probably a referendum -- would be invoked, however, the government wanting a period of about three years, the AN C nine months.

(Le Monde, page 20)

Mandela's doctors put their foot down

By Peter Wellman

Everyone knows what makes Nelson Mandela run, but he finally stopped and sat down on Tuesday because people won't leave him alone.

He is under doctors' orders to rest, but his idea of rest is not exactly what his doctor had in mind.

Since Tuesday he has spent time at ANC headquarters. He agreed to go ahead with his address to a gathering of more than 300 top businessmen and opinion-makers at a fancy banquet at the Johannesburg City Hall tonight. i '

But this flagrant disregard of doctors' orders - from the ANC and its 74-year-old leader - was not to be accepted. Last night, the doctors put their foot down, ordered him to cancel his appearance, and ruled that Mandela must have an interrupted rest from exhaustion", according to an ANC statement. ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki will, instead, speak at the banquet.

But the doctors unprecedented intervention does not solve Mandela's dilemma: people, who often come a long way to speak to the ANC leader, demand to see him, and him alone. They want to tell the folks back home that they shook his hand, and it is difficult for aides to prevent his being swamped by acquaintances, friends. and people who have never seen him before. Mandela has been turned into a cult figure - something he has never wanted. The good news is that he is now taking a break of sorts. The bad news is that an awful lot of people want to see him . . . just to make sure he's all right

3/ (2/ / // u/ f 3

lWhois Whoi
to attend
AN C mdaba
By Themba Molefo
Political Re'potter
l Wmidwide representation at ANC
conference in Johannesburg:
THE worldls "who' 5 who" in politics, sports and religion.
communismand Christians alike. will attend the ANC's
international solidarity conference in Johannesburg today.
The conference is organised by the ANC' s international
affairs departmem and will bnng political and financial
backers of the organisayon together for the first time.
ANC international-Itf(nirs mm 'Ml' Thqbo Mpeki
will chair the meeting whilelcey ANC executives willleatlr
discussions on vanous topics.
The ANC's invitation list includes names such as Dr
Alejandro and Mrs Bendana of the Sandinista National V
Liberation Front: Mr Riddick Bowe. world heavyweight
boxing champion; MI Mike Terry, British Anti-Apartheid .
Movement; Mr Bernie Grant. a black British Labour Party ,
MP: and Mr Pedro Julio Machado; centIiIl' C6mmittee
member of the Communist Party of Cuba.
ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela is scheduled to
address the conference e

(Boxing Superstar Bowe
jets in for ANC indaba
By Peter Davies
World heavyweight boxing
champion Riddick Bowe jet-
ted into Jan Smuts Airport
from the United States yes-
terday afternoon as a guest
of the ANC's International
Solidarity Conference, which
begins today.
The massive Bowe, who in
November knocked out
Evander Holyfield to win
sport's most prestigious
crown. will also give boxing
clinics in the townships.
Bowe was welcomed by
sports guru Steve Tshwete in
the absence of ANC presi-
dent Nelson Mandela, who is
under doctor's orders to rest.
Bowels manager Rock
Newman did most of the
talking at a brief press con-
ference at the airport. He
said it was "a humbling ex-
perience" to touch down on
South African soil and
scoffed at suggestions that
Bowe's first title defence re-
cently against Michael
Dokes was a soft match.
But the heavyweight clash
that the whole world wants
to see is Bowe - who holds
the World Boxing Associa-
tion and International Box-
ing Federation belts -
against Briton Lennox Lew-
is. who was awarded Bowels
World Boxing Council title
when the champion refused
to fight him last year.
Bowe, casually dressed,
confided that Muhammad
Ali was in his view the grea-
test fighter of all time.
in/r/ WWW;

THE CITIZEN

COMMENT

Mandela

THE health of Mr Nelson Mandela, the ANC president, is of concern, since he is a key player in the negotiations leading to the new South Africa.

The ANC says Mr Mandela is suffering from exhaustion. If so, it is enough to require the cancellation of a trip overseas as well as various local engagements.

Mr Mandela is 74 - and he carries a heavy load that would tax the strength of any younger man.

Nevertheless, after a spell in hospital in 1990 when a non-malignant cyst on the bladder was removed, Mr Mandela has appeared to be in good health.

We cannot speculate on the state of his health at the moment, since tiredness and exhaustion can be just that, or symptoms of other problems.

What is significant is that the ANC announced that he would speak at a fund-raising banquet tonight, but last night retracted this and said his doctors had advised him to take an uninterrupted rest.

This suggests there is more to his exhaustion" than the ANC cares to admit.

Mr Mandelals health is of great import both to the ANC and the government.

To the ANC, Mr Mandela is a symbol of the struggle for liberation, a father figure, an elder statesman, a man whose 27 years of imprisonment made him a folk hero and, on his release, turned him into a saint; the worlds longest serving ltpolitical" prisoner, as his admirers called him, was now free.

Why he was in jail was of no consequence; his long incarceration gave him martyrdom.

His release from jail, together with the unbanning of organisations, set the scene for the remarkable reforms introduced by State President De Klerk.

And though Mr De Klerk is the creator of change, and has shown tremendous courage in both introducing it and carrying it out against the wishes of a growing number of his own people, there is also no doubt that the imprisoned and the freed Mr Mandela was a catalyst for change as well.

Mr Mandelals years of incarceration did not embitter him.

His suave appearance, his articulateness, his air of reasonableness may hide the fact that he was once a firebrand, a revolutionary, a man who might have faced the death penalty if the charge against him had been formulated as one of high treason.

But that he is a true leader of national and international status is beyond doubt.

Predictably, Mr Mandela, while feted overseas, is no longer the saintlike figure that he was when he emerged from prison.

He heads a liberation organisation that still refuses to become a political party.

He heads an organisation that is engaged in a bitter war with the Inkatha Freedom Party in Natal.

He is, moreover, not a man who can ensure peace by his presence or authority, or a man

who can determine the history of our times, but a leader buffeted like other leaders by the gales of change that are uprooting much of value as well as much that was wrong. He is now an ordinary mortal, who heeds the wishes of his National Executive Committee rather than dominating his organisation and leading it as a strongman.

Nevertheless, he is respected for his humanness, his integrity and his statemanship, though he remains a politician who responds to events like any other politician.

Right-wingers who consider the ANC an abomination and have never forgiven Mr Mandela for the role he has played, and is playing, in the liberation of his people, should know that Mr Mandela is the most important player, from the Black nationalist side, in the drama unfolding in this country.

We ourselves may not always agree with his views - and we would rather see him lead than listen to what his organisation wants him to do - but without him at this point in our history, the negotiation of a new dispensation, the securing of the future of this country, will be all the more difficult.

With that in mind, and because he has our respect, we wish him a speedy recovery from whatever ails him.

Threats to ANC,
Swedes by SARA
Citizen Reporter
THE organisation calling
itself the South African
Republican Army
(SARA) yesterday
threatened that ubad
things" were going to
happen before and after
its second anniversary on
March 24.

It claimed that the aim
of one of its operations
was to ttbring the African
National Congress to its
knees". and it threatened
to target Swedish institu-
tions in South Africa be-
cause of the Swedish
Government's support of
the ANC. .

The Legation of Swe-
den in South Africa was
treating the threats se-
riously, and would notify
the proper authorities, a
spokesman said yester-
day.

It was regrettable and
indeed, deplorable. that
anyone would consider
such terrorist activities
particularly at this time of
great change in the coun-
try he said.

ANC spokesman, Mr
Carl Niehaus, called on
the South African Police
to thoroughly investigate
the threats.

SARA should be
brought to book if there
was found to be any truth
in its previous claims of
responsibility for the as-
sassination of the ANC's
Natal Midlands deputy
chairman, Mr Reggie Ha-
debe. and the killing of
six people at the Chris
Hani Squatter Camp.

ttThe ANC believes
that the vast majority of
people in South Africa
will not allow themselves
to be carried along by this
type of lunatic fringe," he
said.

The police are investi-
gating.

In a telephone call to
"Die Citizen yesterday a
Mr Douglas Ndlovu said
SARA believed President
De Klerk's dealings with
the ANC were "totally
out of order" and tel: that
Mr De Klerk we; "play-
ing with fire".
SARA called on its

ttbrothers" in the South African Defence Force (SADF) to stage a coup d'etat and "take control of the country" with a t'total seizure of power". SARA also called on its ubrothers" described as Right-wingers to take action.

uWe feel that in nine months there is going to be total chaos in the country. It is going to be like Somalia. There are going to be warlords." said Mr Ndlovu.

He told The Citizen that SARA supported the Inkatha Freedom Party's (3% / W73) ideals. but had members who belonged to a variety of organisations. including the ANC.

In a previous telephone call Mr Ndlovu claimed that SARA consisted of returned exiles opposing the ANC.

Capital Radio
ANC move to buy
station - MD
DURBAN. - Capital
Radio is managing di-
rector yesterday dis-
missed reports that the
African National Con-
gress was considering
purchasing the Dur-
ban-based station.
"We have not received
any offer from the ANC
so far . . . none of the of-
fers is from any political
party but merely from
people with a commercial
outlook," said Capital
MD Herbert Jikela.
He was speaking in an
interview with Sapa fol-
lowing media reports that
the ANC was considering
buying the station..
ANC spokesman Carl
Niehaus yesterday also
denied reports to this ef-
fect.
"WF This report is entirely
wrong. All I have said
was that there is interest
from democratic organi-
sations to investigate the
possibility of securing
Capital Radio as an inde-
pendent station," he said.
Mr Jikela, meanwhile,
described the reports as
pure speculation.
He said the station -
owned by the Transkei
Government - was up
for sale for R6 million.
There had been about
six offers but these would
remain confidential until
the homelands Military
Council, who was consid-
ering the offers, had
made a decision.
Questioned on reports
that the station was ex-
periencing financial diffi-
culties, he said: "The cur-
rent economic climate is
not good for anybody and
we are no exception.
The station was still be-
ing funded by the Trans-
kei government and was
not planning to close
down or retrench staff," he
added.
He said the sale of the
station stemmed from the
Transkei's decision to pri-
vatise some parastatal or-
ganisations which could
be run on a commercial
basis.
On the subject of de-

regulation, Mr Jikela said his station was ready to broadcast on an FM frequency and was awaiting the outcome of an application for a temporary FM transmission licence from the Minister of Home Affairs. _Sapu.

;e/YWSIKXNW 8135f Z/G 49x 7

AN C 5 friends and foes

STAN GOODENOUGH

1-5-3 Ahican National Con-

I gran delegation currently

vtstttni the country i: hem

courtesy or t?! e Isracu govcmmnt.

which is obviouslzlzcager to forge a

postuve relations mth the orga-

Mutton widely expe ctcd to hand

South Africa'ly 11:5: p05t-apartheid
government.

Achieving thtt, howevcr. Ml! rev

quire more than tour: of Iarncl':

cultural communities and histoncal

shes. The Foreign Ministry MU

haw: to make a wncen: rated cffort

.t-D combat the misconce ticns

about tn: Arab-Lxrac'goo Ct: at-

most unnhft) hsld by the dclagn-

tion'l mombcru. One or the moat

cndcal issues L! the :claLonshi he-

twcen ma ANC and the PL

Many Israelis who abhorrcd

apanhctd and apolaudcd ANC

loader Nchon Mandela's telcrwc

from pnwn, have been shocked

tmd dismayed by the increasing af-

finity between the Congrass and the

PLO. Aftcr watching with dishchef

Mundclafts warm embraces ,of

Yasscr Arafat and Muammar Gad-

daft)7 men umcpctuntl ' commit-

tad to the complcte anni Hmlnn of

Israel - an aomer to former prime

minister Vitzhak Shnttu'r said flatly

"It is all ovcr bctwccn Israel and

South Anica' t

It d0es indccd seem incompre-

hensibic that a vtctim of ruthless

racial disclinunan'on thould pledge

aiicgiancc to the pe tratos of

50mm of th: xnost vicmus acts of

racist violence ever. And yet at the

vary lean. the fact that Nianticlu

l views thu PLO as comparable to

the ANC clearly demonstrates the

successful achicvcmcnt of the inlet-

ntiutml Inddju und others, whose

spun'ous analouies between apart-

n':jd South Africa and Zionist Israel

at: today accepted as fact armtnd

the world. It is oft'nesc has that the

ANC visnors must bc disabused.

"?'ne reahty, ofcourscc, is that the

PLO Ema waged one 05 (ha most

l

t

t

inhuman und bnlttnl :unor wan 0.

all ttmc. Before it was oven formed

into an organization. those who

would later constitute its members

attacked and killad hundroda of

Jewish chn'Unns. Since 1964, the

PLO and h: afSUates - generously

bankrolled by Ouddah and his ilk -

hnva murdered, ottcn in the most

sadistic way imaginable,.mn

thousands more civilians of L'rao'

and olhor nattongLit-iu.

By contrast, the ANC can be
 The ANC has
 .. no business
 consorting ' with the'
 PLO or indebtedness
 itself to the- Islamic
 dictators of the
 Middle East
 proud of most of its history. From
 its inception in 1912 until it was
 banned in 1960, it swore any
 .. cause of protest against racial 'dis-
 crimination in what was nothing less of
 cold-blooded terrorism. What
 these incidents were a hindrance, as
 opposed to the hundreds of acts of
 terror carried out by the auto
 against black civilians, the fact that
 any attack: violate the sanctity of
 innocent human life is unaccept-
 able, no matter how "legitimate" a
 cause.
 But that the hand of this organ:
 batten can now embrace such hater
 mongers as Guddati and Aunt in
 apparent brotherly love, is enough
 enough that he is not the kind of
 leader the new South Africa needs.
 And that the ANC can continue to
 accept millions of dollars in blood
 money from Libya and Saudi Au-
 bia is cause for mud... or 'even
 more, because it is certainly "only"
 a matter of time before: thou shalt
 - don't call in debt do you. . V ,3-
 No the ANC has absolute! I
 business consuming with the: L0
 or indebtedness itself to the Islamic
 dictators of the Middle East. Now
 that it has entered the arena of
 open negotiations toward a peace-
 ful transition to democracy. (Lg
 mambexa should distance): them-
 stems from the terror zone. con.
 crimination of her than demonstration: the- damn nongm'ttt all other love of '
 ' tumta of city) duoqutcncc.ltxvas
 only after every avcnuc of maceht).
 pretest had been Violently closed by
 the South African government that
 this organization eventually turned
 to the armed armistice. .
 But even his conflict aimed as
 it: was for years against racialist and
 anvrmmnnrnl thatlat-tnm
 programming to attacks on security
 personnel - could not be compared
 with the PLO's bloody legacy of
 hijackings. hostage takings, and
 bombings of airports, mosques,
 synagogues and restaurants.
 The: ANC's history, that's it's
 until 198-1, was one of utmost unbe-
 lievable restraint in the face of vo-
 ciferous state oppression No other
 so-called liberation movement or.
 the globe kept: swallowing injustice
 the way that's one did. Finally N mad,
 the steps the circumstances. unaccept-
 ably - SOCZC bombs targeted evil-
 be fore '
 Cons. detianc: tsmtugm and thanhnnunmn :1;th the abuse of Arms ":

h's mimons and hls nupportors, and);
z cue to ambrttco the Jewish ?coplo
o
and nation who. for even ngr
than South Africu't blacks, hlvc
been the innocent victims of the
most murdarous flCUm ln NSKOFy."
. Israel and South Afrn'ca havc m
cnormousumounl 10 Offer 0:10 Kn'
othar in mny different flallds._
Freed from the shackles of apart; .
hcid and the dubioumcss ol govi
emmcnlal relationships with a rno-
ist rogtma, nnd unfettered by the
insidious inhucnces ot' the Arab
states. the sky can bo thc ltmit fer
relationships bctwann the two n2:
tttms. lc: the xrx C delegation take
that mt: ssago back to the Son: h a!
man pc)p c and to thc fut urc luci-
urshf p !n South Africa
The wwer it a South flfrlcan'
tourIm/tu current!) bated Ht
humuumi 'rrt t

ANC Midlands plans to
do away with kwaZulu

By FAROUK CHOTHIA

THE African National Congress
Natal Midlands region has announced
plans to launch a mass action cam-
paign to push for the dissolution of the
kwaZulu homeland and the imple-
mentation of transitional government
structures in the province.

ANC Midlands deputy-chairman
Blade Nzimande said the region
believed that the 'transi-
tional structures at national level
would not automatically filter through
to the ground, wherever it matters
most'. Natal was becoming 'a breeding
ground for reactionary forces' and a 'fed-
eral bloc', he said.

Nzimande said this had to be coun-
tered through mass action or else the
ANC would be 'tweaked and forced to
submit to everything in negotiations'.
ANC regional executive committee
member Mpume Sikhosana said the
region would also campaign for the
dissolution of the kwaZulu homeland.
All kwaZulu-controlled departments,
including the police force, health and
education, should fall under the South
African government. These would
come under multiparty control in the
run-up to elections. Sikhosana said.
The ANC was already having suc-
cess on this front, he added. In the face
of immense pressure last year, kwaZu-
lu-controlled schools in Edeudale, near
Pietermaritzburg, had been trans-
ferred to the Department of Education
and Training.

The ANC was also putting pressure
on local councils under kwaZulu gov-
ernment control. 'For example, we are
pushing for Wemhed to fall under the
Estcourt town council'

Nzimande commented that Coda :
agreements did not clearly state that the
'self-governing states' would be a
dissolved before an election - and ;
mass action was therefore needed to a
ensure that it happened.

The dissolution of the homeland
would also break Inkatha leader Man-
gosuthu Buthelezi's 'leverage' over
King Goodwill Zwelithini, and with it -
the Inkatha president's claim to be the
custodian of Zulu culture.

'We believe very strongly that the
king is being held hostage by the
kwaZulu government. If the home-
land government will be free to act
above party political interests, to
attend both Inkatha and ANC rallies.'
The ANC's southern Natal branch '
has not signalled its intention to join
the mass action campaign, but is for-
mulating an election strategy aimed at
weakening Inkatha. Regional secre- ?
tary Sihusiso Ndebele said the move-
ment would present itself as the cham-
pion of the Zulu cause, and Inkatha as

playing the contrary role. 1
The region has declared 1993 ttthe
year of King Dlnizulu", and plans a
cultural festival to commemorate the
80th anniveisary of the kings death.
The emphasis on Dinizulu siguiti- I
cant - and a subtle attempt to dls-if
credit Buthelezi. Some historiausi'
claim that Diuizulu was defeated by:
the British at the Battle of kwaCm in
1888 after ButhelezPs grandfatherJ
Chief Mnyann, deserted the king and
sided with his enemy. Diuizulu was
made honorary president of the ANC
shortly after Its launch.
to 2W / W5

ANC suggests affirmative action in new foreign service

PRETORIA - A democratic SA would need a fundamentally restructured foreign service. an ANC discussion document has recommended.

Compiled by 15 senior ANC diplomats after a training course in Europe last year, the document suggests the institution of a "deliberate, calculated and conscious" affirmative action programme.

The programme should take active measures to harness talent and develop potential "in an effort to redress historical and all other imbalances which currently prevent parts of the population from entering the foreign service", the document said.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said the department had been recruiting among all sectors of the population for many years. While there had been a reluctance to join the service because of political and financial considerations, about half of this year's new recruits were black.

Obviously there is a great deal to be done to recruit among a wider proportion of the population and we recognise that steps should be taken to redress the imbalances, but it is not necessary to implement a stringent programme of affirmative action," he said.

The document said a parliamentary commission should be responsible for the restructuring of the foreign service but added that unconstitutional and unilateral changes should not be employed.

The ANC diplomats argued that the foreign service should adopt a code of conduct with disciplinary procedures to tackle violations by service officers.

The Foreign Affairs spokesman said its diplomats' actions, guided by the Public Service Code, were invariably seldom found wanting".

The document, which is not yet official ANC policy, also argued that current foreign service members and political appointees should be required to undergo a reorientation course.

"I don't think any course of this nature is necessary during the transitional phase or under a democratic government." the Foreign Affairs spokesman said. "All diplomats undergo continuous training mostly conducted by private institutions outside of the department.

"The courses are of the highest quality and I don't think the ANC or anyone else would be dissatisfied with what is currently available."

The ANC document said as SA took its place in the international community, the Foreign Affairs Department would need to be expanded.

M

JUL

SOUTH AFRICA

The hopes and fears of MK

An army waits in the wings for the call to join a new defence force

the most serious remaining

difference on the road to

interim government in South

Africa is over the integration

of the security forces. The

ANC wants its armed wing, Umkhonto we

Sizwe - called MK - to be merged with

the South African Defence Force under a

new, integrated command structure. The

government has insisted that Umkhonto

must first be disbanded and its members

apply individually to join the SADF

And while talks continue, so does

destabilisation. MK commander Joe

Modise talked in January to SADF gener-

als and to top SA Police Officers. while the

subject of military integration was very

much on the agenda at the bosberaad -

the "bush councils" between government

and ANC. Meanwhile the Eastern Cape

killings attributed to the PAC armed force

Apla were seized on by some white gener-

als, politicians and media. making Apla a

kind of stalking horse to link MK with

black terrorism. ASE talked to Calvin

Khan, an Umkhonto spokesman, about

MK's present problems and future role.

The key element in the whole debate is

how the defence force is going to con-

tribute to the establishment of democracy

in this country. In a sense the greatest dan-

ger comes from the security forces. 50 as

MK we are extremely committed to ensur-

ing that all armed formations are under

proper control during the transition period.

and that the integration is conducted in

such a way that you end up with a truly

national defence force.

It's not easy for two former enemies

who have fought each other physically.

the SADF on one side and MK on the

other. to realise it's in their interest. as sol-

diers, to discuss constructively what the

country is going to look like.

A major obstacle is the intransigence

of the government. and elements within

the SADF. who refuse to consider even

the possibility of discussing either the

integration process or the control of secu-

rity forces. Of course they're afraid of los-

ing their hegemony. And they are not con-

vinced that they won't use force against us

at some point in the future.

There is a very strong feeling among

senior SADF officers. and sections within

the government. that in a future defence

force the core will be the SADF, with all

other armed forces -- if they are ready -

being absorbed into it. I think they will

rely more and more on winning over cer-

tain elements of the bantustan armies. and

that is where their power is.

Of course it's a notion we reject total-

ly. This is not to say we haven't had infor-

mal discussions with the SADF - we

have - making proposals on how the

security forces should be controlled. how

Calvin

Khan:

"There 's
a notion
that MK
is nothing
but a
rag-tag
arm y --
nothing
could be
further
from the
truth"

we see the process of integration unfolding. And at some levels there is a lot of consensus as to what a future defence force would look like in terms of levels. accountability. the principles which would govern it...WeNe agreed it will be much smaller. It will be highly professional. it will be non-political - partisan only to a future democratic constitution. It will be accountable to the people _ there will be transparency. there will be oversight mechanisms. an enforceable code of conduct. so the armed forces do not breach their mandate to defend the constitution. We have politically conscious human beings who value the ideals of democracy and freedom. and I think there is broad consensus on the role and nature of a future defence force. The problem is. how do you reach that common end goal. given that we come from different political positions. have different historical backgrounds and military doctrines. Something they must begin to realise is that if you don't create the conditions where your defence force, even during transition, enjoys the confidence of the majority of the people, negotiations and the election process. will be meaningless. MK can still provide that political and moral legitimacy

The notion of absorption into the SADF must once and for all be dismissed. Its the future government which will determine the nature of the defence force, not the present SADF generals. And it's not necessary, if we're trying to reconstruct the future, to wait until there is agreement in place to begin to address some of the real ideological and political differences. We need confidence building. constructive debate to remove obstacles from both sides to integration. We are hopeful that some of the recent purges. restructuring of higher echelons. may be an indication that the more progressive-minded officers (and I use that term very loosely) who see the future of this country as something we all have to build together, are beginning to take over the reins of the SADF. But at the same time I want to believe that the problem is more at the top layers of the SADF. I think the rank and file soldiers - irrespective of the kind of racism that they displayed historically - have accepted the harsh reality that if they want to

remain employed as soldiers. they
become part of that new defence force.

Q. What about the many MK cadres
who could not be accommodated -
some have become renegades because
they haven't been looked after, because
of a shortage of resources?

The ANC did not come back from exile
as a government, it didn't have state
resources at its disposal. Being a libera-
tion movement we have real limitations in
our ability to provide for all our people.
There are very serious problems. in MK
particularly the only skills are military
ones.

A large part of our work is to ensure

that these individuals are given , access to skills training and 40" basic education. We have had an ex-combatants' association catering for example for small business development. for the past year.

Because its a transition period. funding and related issues have been extremely difficult to resolve. But we have made incredible strides. When the media. and often the state talk about renegade MK/ANC elements I mean of cases?

Until MK does become engaged in the integration process we have to accept that we have those problems. That is why we want a speedy resolution.

Theoretically you don't have any demobilised soldiers at the moment. We have suspended armed activities - not armed struggle. We are going through a very difficult period, in which the government itself is not being open and honest in terms of levelling the political playing field. We know that the government and elements within the security forces have identified MK as a very serious threat. and they have gone out on active campaigns, not only of disinformation, but they have killed our people. they continue attesting. torturing. detaining. abducting our people, assassinating MK comrades.

Q. What is the progress in upgrading training for Umkhonto in Uganda, Tanzania and India?

MK as an armed formation can play a very effective role in a future defence force in terms of its size and capability. Of course there is the notion developed amongst the state and our adversaries that MK is nothing but a ragtag army - nothing could be further from the truth. Those people don't know what MK's strength and potential are. the calibre of its training and the vast experience and human resources we have been able to develop.

We recognise that we are going to be part of the conventional armed forces in the future. We recognise that our training was limited to guerrilla warfare. We have started the process to convert our guerrilla forces into conventional forces for thousands of MK cadres in some countries.

Q. Is some of this conventional training going on in Western countries?

SOUTH AFRICA

No. as usual they have kowtowed to the pressures of the SA state. They say they've recognised that the ANC is going to be a critical player. and that MK is committed to democracy. Yet they say they will not move on these issues until there is an agreement at the political level. We say fine. if you can secure the agreement of the SADF to training 50 officers at Sandhurst. we will provide you with the 50 officers no problem. well do it now. They say to us. we recognise the con-

structive role you want to play. but unfortunately we still have to deal with the SA government. 80 those who historically provided support for apartheid are still being dictated to by it. Likewise the US says. we are very keen to train your people. but at the present point we don't want to antagonise the de Klerk government. However. at the end of the day I think those things will fall into place. you will have a transitional authority which is going to be responsible for the security forces. We're saying. if it's inevitable. let's start the process now.

Q. What's the thinking behind the Apla activities. and what the media makes of it? Is it .7 __. linked to attempts to .. discredit MK? j

Obviously we have .E absolutely nothing to do with the activities of Apla. It is not constructive. at least for us. to engage in acts which will be detrimental to the democratisation process. I'm not speaking ' for or criticising or condemning Apla. this is MK's position.

We are not even ruling out the possibility that elements of the state may be involved in this kind of activity. It will continue as long as the regime fails to understand i that you have to speedin move : to a negotiated settlement. That violence, whether from the ultra right or ultra left. will always be there unless you create conditions which are conducive for the democratisation process to succeed.

__ The only way the violence can end is through total commitment of all parties to recognise that whatever democracy they want to see will be meaningless unless the problem of violence is addressed effectively. Of course some of the more hawkish elements in SADF continue to say we are infiltrating and distributing weapons. Where is the evidence? It's in their interests. every time there is Apla activity. also to allege MK bases within Transkei. It will be absolutely essential that violence from whatever quarter is stemmed. The only way is to come together and discuss. openly and honestly and frankly. how you control all these forces. whether MK. SADF, Inkatha. Koevoet. to ensure that the transitional period is free and fair. For the SADF it's an extremely difficult psychological problem to overcome - the realisation that even though you may think that you are physically stronger. at the end of the day you have lost the war. We are saying to them. we are not interested in confrontation. We

have fought long and hard. we have
brought this country to the point where
freedom and democracy is a very real
prospect. Let s not throw this opportunity
away.

NE ON ONE invitations should be issued to all the political parties who were initially invited to Codesa to assess the current political situation and plan the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

These are the first steps towards the resumption of multiparty talks - part of a seven-page agreement between the Government and the ANC which was made in Cape Town last week.

The PAC and Anpo, the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party will be given another chance to return to the preparatory meeting which is tentatively scheduled for late next week.

The Afrilumer Volksunie will be the only new party that will be included in the talks. It has been accepted in principle that the ANC's secretary general, Mr Cyril Rumpheys, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roel Meyer, Democratic Party leader Mr de Beer, Mr Sam Titus, and Dr Frank Muthale, the chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party, will be on a "chairing panel".

"The main purpose (of the meeting) was considered as being the resuscitation of the management committee for Codesa with a tax-getdate scheduled for mid-February and Codesa itself at the end of February 0: beginning of March," the document says.

The document confirms once and for all that there is consensus between the two that the Constituent Assembly should be a single chambered body elected by proportional representation and "accomming to a system which will incorporate national as well as regional representation".

A deadlock - breaking mechanism will be agreed on as reported on Tuesday in Sowetan if no constitution is adopted after a set period. A tentative time frame is given as nine months.

The first issue to be addressed by the Assembly is regional government and decisions on the issue will require a two-thirds majority (of the Assembly) and two-thirds of the majority of the regional representatives in the Assembly.

A Senate and structure for regional government "will be phased in after the adoption of the (new) constitution.

"The establishment (if a government of national unity for a term of office of five years during which the institutions of the constitution, adopted by the Assembly, including a Senate and structures of regional government will be phased in.

"A special role will be given to regional representatives, possibly through the Senates (sic) alter the constitution making, for overseeing the implementation of regional government," the document states.

The Government and the ANC have agreed on a blueprint for a democratic South Africa. Political Correspondent Ismail Lagardien presents details of the plan:

The crucial part of the agreement is ambiguous and says: "It was originally envisaged that the constitution-making body would sit, adopt a constitution (during interim government) and once a constitution is adopted, there election is

Proposed-

"I'd understand the above pamphlet one should understand what it implies. Instead of mere leeuomthatis. nine months later. there would not be another election. other than what the constitution-making body decided. During that period there would be established a government of national unity." the document says. The government of national unity will be made up as follows:

0 A State President who will appoint a Cabinet;

0 The Cabinet will be made up of nominees of political parties whose representation in the Assembly exceeds 15 percent;

0 The Cabinet appointments will be in proportion to the representation of such parties in the Assembly;

0 A political party entitled to do so may decline to participate in the Cabinet;

0 All appointments will be made by the State President in consultation with the leader of the particular political party:

0 There will be appropriate mechanisms" for the allocation of Cabinet portfolios - this. the document says, has not been agreed on yet: and

0 Executive power will be exercised by the State President after consultation with the Cabinet. subject to certain specified executive powers.-including statutory and prerogative powers which will be exercised by the State President only with the consent of the leaders of the political parties represented in the Cabinet. The document explains here that a list "will be addressed in future".

The last point is: "The arrangements regarding the government of national unity contained in the transitional council shall remain in effect for five years after the elections of the Assembly. unless the government of national unity decides by full consensus that such period should Among the principles agreed on a future Among the principles agreed to are:

0 South Africa will be an independent sovereign state in which all will enjoy a common South African citizenship:

0 South Africa will be a democratic. non-racial and non-sexist state;

1 The constitution will be the supreme law;

0 There will be a separation of powers between the legislature. the executive and the judiciary "with appropriate checks and balances";

0 The judiciary will be independent. non-partisan and impartial;

0 There will be a legal system that guarantees equality before the law:

0 The diversity of languages. cultures and religions will be acknowledged;

0 There will be representative and accountable government embracing multi-party democracy. regular elections. universal adult suffrage. common voters roll and a general proportional representation: i

0 All will enjoy universally accepted human rights, freedoms and civil liberties. including freedom of religion, speech and assembly which will be guaranteed in an enforceable and justifiable charter of fundamental rights:

Any envisaged changes to the powers of the

regions would need the consent of the regions and a mechanism would be devised. possibly a Senate. elected on a regional basis. through which this could be affected.

The role of the Zulu king remained a problem. but at this stage a way is being sought to address this issue - a. likely passage to multiparty talks for the king has been mooted and Contralesa seemed a possibility.

The TBVC states will be administered by the four provinces. while their own administrations would be used to dispense services in their respective areas.

These options are not final and would depend largely on the outcome of the elections as all the people in the TBVC states will participate therein alter their South African citizenship has been restored.

f the Conservative Party's vision of where the political process is heading is an accurate projection of how events will unfold, then it is more than likely that the entire Concerned South Africans' Group (Cosag) made up of Inkatha, the CP, the Bophuthatswana government, the Ciskei government as well as a number of opposition homeland parties, will not participate in Codesa-styled talks. CP spokesperson Clive Derby-Lewis told Nzw NATION that the CP, as part of the Cosag alliance, was committed to live bottom line demands, which must be met before it enters a multiparty forum. These are:

- I That Codesa be considered a dead forum;
- I That the right of nations to determine their own affairs in their own territories be guaranteed;
- I That maximum autonomy be accorded to the regions;
- I That Umkhonto we Sizwe be banned and that all arms caches be surrendered; and
- I That the concept of a unitary state be abandoned.

Derby-Lewis agrees that these bottom line demands must ultimately be subjected to the test of multiparty negotiations. But they will not be put to a multiparty forum such as Codesa. Rather, they will have to be resolved at a multiparty preparatory conference, he says. Unless the CP demands are accepted as the basis on which any fixture multiparty talks will be conducted, the CP will not attend a negotiating forum that the preparatory meeting agrees upon. In addition, the preparatory meeting will also have to decide on who would be allowed to attend multiparty talks, says Derby-Lewis.

his, he explains, will be necessary to ensure that the forum is not once again loaded in favour of the ANC. This, according to Derby-Lewis, was the major flaw with Codesa. Another central criterion, says Derby-Lewis, is that only those who have electoral representation should be allowed to attend.

Although Derby-Lewis says this will effectively rule out the ANC, SACP and PAC, this is not necessarily the case if one considers the fact that the ANC does in fact have electoral representation who joined the movement last year. Derby-Lewis, however, says the exclusion of these organisations should not be seen as a problem in any case. The ANC, for example, "is already represented in the forum by the Transkei government and therefore has no need to be there in its own right.

"in any case, if the ANC and SACP do

through former Democratic Pony MPs v
'm) K&Lab/Zt

attend. we will not recognise their right
to decide on our future.' he says.

He explains that. even though a large
number of parties will be represented at
a Codesa-lilie forum. the C? will only be
negotiating with the government.

This is how the CP envisages a multi-
party forum conducting its business. It
effectively means that talks at a multi-
party forum will be nothing more than a
series of bilateral negotiations between
government on the one side and all other
parties on the other.

"At the end of the day, it is only the
government that can surrender constitu-
tional power and only the government
can decide who it will surrender that
power to." says Derby-Lewis.

Implicit in this reasoning is that the C?
does not find it necessary to negotiate
with anyone other than the government.

For the CP, multiparty negotiations have
no parallel to multilateral talks.

Derby-Lewis goes on to explain that it
will be up to the government then to talk
to other participants at multiparty nego-
tiations to gauge their responses.

What is obvious from Derby-

Lewis's comments is that the CP
vision of a multiparty forum dif-
fers vastly from Codesa.

This also implies that Codesa will have
to be scrapped altogether. not with a
view to increasing representation and
facilitating decision-making. but to clear
the way for a one-to-one engagement
between the CP and government in a
multiparty forum.

But Derby-Lewis says that whatever
position the CP advances will be a Cosag
position, stressing that his party is com-
mitted to the Cosag alliance and will
table proposals that have the support of
all its partners.

He remains convinced that. when the
government does in fact present the
Cosag proposals to others at a multiparty
forum. it will find support among the
majority.

But what of the likely scenario of the
CP, and the Cosag proposals, being
rejected by a majority? "Then all those
nations that want self-determination
should be allowed to go ahead." says
Derby-Lewis.

This, however. would make nonsense
of the very basic tenets of democracy -
majority decision making.

There is an alternative, says Derby-
Lewis. If National Pony (NP) leader FW
de Klerk fails to achieve consensus
between those advocating a unitary state
and those demanding self-determina-
tion, he should, as promised, put the different
proposals to a white electorate in a refer-
endum.

'And we in the C? are convinced that
we will win such a referendum." he says.

Derby-Lewis says his party will be

forced into an armed struggle if De Klerk.
in the face of opposition from the CP.
forged ahead with a unitary state option
without consulting the electorate.
At this stage. it seems highly unlikely
that the CP's participation in negotia-
tions will go further than the preparatory
meeting envisaged in the build up to the
FOR MULTIPARTY TALKS

Multiparty negotiations to lead South Africa into a transitional phase could be just
weeks away. But there is little clarity on just who will attend such a forum. Rather than
broadening it to include more than the original players who participated in Codesa,
the reconstituted forum could end up being smaller and representing a much
narrower political base.

WM

WWW

M'Wethmtndeautbe

mqmyma

tbeonlyuxgrwbmkaway

Mum

W'

reconvening of a Codesa-type lomm.
Derby-Lewis also believes that it is
highly unlikely that the unitary-state
proponents and the advocates of self-
determination will reach consensus on
the shape and scope of a multiparty
lomm.

But this does not spell the end of the
CP's efforts to seek a negotiated solution.
The inevitable scenario will be two-
pronged multiparty negotiations says
Derby-Lewis.

"We see the government having to
negotiate with parties in Codesa at one
level and with the Cosag parties at
another level." he explains. And it will
be up to the government to seek a con-
vergence of views.

This. however, presupposes that Cosag
would hold equal or greater sway in any
political equation to parties propagating
the unitary state option through a forum
such as Codesa.

But just how important Cosag will be
in influencing the shape of a new order
will ultimately depend on its political
clout. This in turn will be determined by
its cohesiveness as the political process
unfolds at both the bilateral and multi-
lateral levels.

Cosag grew out of a common apposi-
tion to the Record of Understanding. a
product of bilateral discussions between
the ANC and the NP. But already there
are cracks in these foundations on which
the group was built.

Inkatha. which broke off contact with
the government in protest against the
agreement. has since resumed bilateral
discussions with the NP.

Derby-Lewis says his party has also
been having discussions with gov-
ernment.

At the same time. the limited common
ground that might have existed between
the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) and other
Cosag partners, especially the CF.
appears to have been completely eroded.
Derby-Lewis goes as far as to say that
he did not know what the AVU. which

seemed poised to enter Codesa-styled multiparty talks, was doing in Cosag.

"They have more in common with the NP." he says.

Beyond the AW. there is no source of tension. he adds. and remains convinced that the group will strengthen itself.

According to Derby-Lewis, there is

7M 45

BOTTOM LINES

every likelihood that Cosag will expand.

He points to the recently formed Free

Western Cape Movement. some elements

in the House of Delegates and Republi-

can Unity Movement, an alliance of com-

servative English-speaking organisations.

as among possible new partners in

Cosag.

Derby-Lewis himself is chairperson

of an alliance of 15 English-speak-

ing groups, which he believes will

reinforce Cosag.

While there could be an expansion of

Cosag. there is not necessarily a total

convergence of views on at least one cen-

tral issue - whether to opt for a confeder-

al or federal state.

Derby-Lewis does not believe this is an

insurmountable obstacle. He explains

that. while different terms are used to

describe options preferred by each of the

parties. the positions are not vastly differ-

ent in essence.

"When one studies their (Inkatha's)

proposal, it becomes clear that it is more

accurately a confederal option that

Inkatha is proposing," he explains

"KwaZulu wants maximum autonomy

- they want to rule themselves." More

accurately. they want almost complete

independence. more than just federalism.

"Federalism." Derby-Lewis says. "has

in it some elements of a unitary state.

"I'm not sure that a federal structure

would be able to accommodate the

degree of autonomy that the Zulus are

demanding." he adds.

Derby-Lewis is convinced that all par-

ties in Cosag, with the exception of the

AW. are at one on the question of self-

determination and maximum autono-

my. This common objective will continue

to hold the group together, he believes.

But what if Inkatha. in the absence of

agreement at multiparty talks, opts for

secession to realise its goal at self-deter-

mination? "If this option is dismissed and

agreed upon in Cosag. we will support

it." says Derby-Lewis.

"Even from our own position, we don't

rule out the possibility of secession if that

is the only way to break away from an

undemocratic government."

WHY THE m WANTS tt-

- NEWEDHQMHPAGE 1f. .

HE tiny Karoo town of Willowmore, which was about to make history by staging the country's first non-racial municipal elections, will no longer be polling its residents on March 10.

The reason? When nominations were called for, only 11 candidates' names were put forward for the new council's 12 seats - and the need for an election thus fell away.

White municipal officials in the town believe this shows that the nominees - almost all of them former members of the white town council, the coloured management committee and a liaison committee appointed to represent black residents - enjoy the wholehearted support of Willowmore's 7 000 inhabitants, of whom 800 are white, 800 black and 5 400 coloured.

For Fritz Marx, assistant director of constitutional affairs in the Cape Provincial Administration, the fact that none of the seats has been contested confirms the apathy towards local government: "That's the history of local government in the Cape. People just aren't interested. It's appalling"

For the African National Congress in the western Cape, it confirms the opinion that most of Willowmore's residents are deeply suspicious about a new system being imposed on them from above, without sufficient consultation -- and that far from being apathetic, they're avoiding involvement like the plague. Said a spokesman: "Democracy isn't about giving people local government and then saying, be interested. It's a process of empowerment. People are highly suspicious of the government's motives - and they don't want to be contaminated."

The ANC has yet to launch a branch in the town which exists largely to serve the local

MM

One person,
one vote -
but no

Willowmore in the Kama
farming community. There is, however, an
active civic association. '

Chairman Joey de Vos claims it has 65 per-
cent support among those living in the
coloured township of Hill View and the black
township, Down. Town clerk "Fallie'l Taljaard
concedes the civic has support, but insists it's
not much. Short of a vote, it's difficult to
assess.

But next Thursday the civic will be staging a
march through Willowmore's streets to hand
over to the mayor a petition protesting against
the new non-racial council to be sworn in on
March 10. "Our protest is to publicise the fact
that Willowmore's people don't recognise the
single municipality and don't accept it," said
De Vos. "There cannot be a single municipali-
ty until a new dispensation (for local govern-
ment) is negotiated at national level."

It was this stance which kept empty the chair
reserved for a civic representative during meet-

fi/ W3

candidates

South Africa 's first non-racial election has been cancelled. Was it due to a lack of interest, or because the sitting councillors are all ideal? GAY! DAVIS reports from ings in Willowmore of the negotiations forum set up in terms of the Interim Measures Act, the controversial legal instrument enabling the government to change the face of local government ahead of any nationally negotiated framework.

De Vos derides those who made up the negotiations forum as ltso-called leaders who werenlt representative". Apatt from the white council, the management committee and the black liaison committee, organisations represented included the Rapportryers, Lions lntemational and the Child and Family Welfare Society. Perhaps tellingly, none of the black school principals who took part in the forum are among those nominated as councillors. Willowmore has been split into six wards, each with two councillors. Wands 1, 2and 3 encompass Hill View and Down township, while wards 4, 5, andb take in what town treasurer Kobus Kritzing l' calls llthe old white town" because ltmany people of other race groups now also live there". But the new council will still have six white councillors to guard the interests of 800 white inhabitants. De Vos cites this as an example of the boereverneukery he believes taints the whole process. While it doesn't mean a white veto as such, neither does it allay his fears that white councillors _ better-educated and more experienced - will be able to swing things their way.

So far, 25 cities and towns in the Cape have proclaimed single municipalities in terms of the Interim Measures Act - more by far than in any other province, where similar moves have met vociferous opposition from black communities, often led by strong civic associations. None of the Capels new single local' authorities, however, is a significant metropolitan area, with multiple local authorities.

_"All theylve really done is invite coloured management committees into the white council chamber," says Basil Davidson of the Cape-based Development Action Group.

Should any of the Willowmore council's seats have been contested and an election held, people's right to vote would have depended - in terms of the Interim Measures Act - on their owning or renting property. De Vos maintains this is unfair: black and coloured homes are more crowded than those of whites, and white people, being wealthier. often own more than one property - further weighting the vote.

Kritzinger says it is the civicl's own fault if it is unhappy. tlThey fought for an open municipality in the first place. They could have nominated someone."

Whatever happens. he says. on March 10 the new councillors will have been elected ttand therels nothing anyone can do about it".

tSA must not
repeat human
rights abuses
Political Staff
CAPE TOWN - South Africa
must never repeat the infringe-
ments of human rights that
characterised its past history,
Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee
said yesterday.
However, he stopped short of
apologising for the abuse of
human rights by the National
Party Government that was a
hallmark of the apartheid era.
Coetsee addressed a press
conference yesterday on the
Government's published Char-
ter of Fundamental Rights, say-
ing the Government wanted to
create a culture of human
rights in South Africa.
The Government would give
financial help to other political
parties and organisations that
wanted to present their own
Bill of Rights. It was open to
suggestions on how this could be
done.
Coetsee said the Government
would release an analysis of the
comparable provisions as put
forward by the Law Commis-
sion, the Government, the ANC
and the IFP.
'You will be surprised how
close we are 'on fundamental
issues," he said.
Asked whether the Govern-
ment would apologise for its
earlier record of human rights
abuse. Coetsee said: "Past in-
fringements of human rights
have brought us to the situation
where we have to ensure this is
not be repeated in the future."
(4/2/
an;
t J

THE INDEPENDENT PAPER FOR
A CHANGING SOUTH AFRICA
WEEKLYMAIL y

Volume 9. Number 7. February 19 to 25 1993

A government
of horse-traders

GOVERNMENT of national unity is inevitable and desirable. it is the only alternative to an ongoing struggle that would deplete the country, strengthen the hands of those who have developed a taste for violence and ensure that the rest of the world loses interest in us. But that does not mean we have to jump up and down with joy. Very few South Africans can be happy at the prospect of being stuck for another live years with the same scoundrels and crooks in government, even as junior partners. This newspaper has long argued that the priority of national negotiations must not be point-scoring or electioneering, but finding the shortest route to democratic elections that will sort out the real power-players from the rhetoric-driven trouble-makers. At last, that seems to be the case - whether you call it power-sharing or a government of unity.

However, we must not hide the difficulties that lie ahead. Power-sharing is a necessary evil; we must recognise that it's necessary, but we must also prepare for the evil inherent in it.

It means rule by horse-trading. Representatives of different parties will be in government to look after their constituencies and each one of them will have to be given a slice of the cake. Resources will be dished out not on the rational basis of investing where the need is greatest, but by ensuring that each element of the government has some food in its belly.

/ f/ 2/ 7.5

Take, for example, the money that will have to be spent on education. Instead of the ability of a strong government to take an overall perspective and spend money according to need and demand, a government of national unity will have to spend according to the strength of each interest group. And since the National Party is likely -- by virtue of history, skill and cunning -- to continue to wield disproportionate power, we can expect its supporters to continue to get a substantial part of education funds.

if a government starts slaughtering the civil service in the way that is so badly needed in order to divert funds from, as another example, homeland bureaucracies to education, it could destroy a cabinet of national unity. Neither NP nor Inkatha ministers are going to sit around while their voters lose jobs. There goes the peace dividend.

But the biggest single problem will lie in the lack of a substantial overall opposition. If any party with at least five to 10 percent of the vote is a government, then the only opposition will be the tiny, fractious, fringe voices that are easily ignored. This removes the most powerful watchdog of a democracy: a strong opposition that can use parliament to ask hard questions and speak out against any wrongdoing. The other major watchdog is usually the courts - but judges will also be chosen by horse-trading.

Add to this the culture of silence that is likely under any government of national unity and you have a major problem. Criticism of politicians will be an attack on a government with a strong claim

to represent national interest, whatever it does.
There will be a strong temptation to silence dissidence for the sake of unity.
The only likely watchdogs are going to be non-government organizations and independent media.

' "Navv huvs Russian
ship for 840,9-m
By Fred de Lange I
THE South Afn'can Navy has bought for R4032 1
million a Russian Arctic supply vessel to replace
the SAS Tafelberg replenishment ship, which was
i secretly decommissioned a few weeks ago.
i The Minister of De- Cape Town some time
next week.

fence. Mr Gene Louw,
The ship, the Juvent,
announced in Cape Town .
yesterday that the ship which was completed in
was on its way to South
Africa and would be in
FROM PAGE1

March last year at the
Kherson Shipyard in the
Ukraine, will be paid for
out of the current operat-
ing budget of the Navy.
A spokesman for Anna
scor. Mr Bertrand Retief,
said in Pretoria yesterday
Annscor officials inspec-
ted at least 12 vessels over
several months before de-
ciding on the Juvent.
Once it arrived in
South Africa and all the
administrative arrange-
ments had been made,
work would immediately
start to convert it from a
commercial supply vessel
to a naval vessel.

Mr Louw said a de-
tailed and searching
evaluation was made be-
fore the decision was
taken to purchase a ship.
Various aspects had to be
taken into account, in-
cluding the following:
0 The cost of pur-
chase, as compared to the
cost of further repairs up-
grading the SAS Tafel-
berg. for which R20 mil-
lion had already been
budgeted. SAS Tafel-
bergTs advanced age of al-
most 35 years was a major
factor in this decision.

0 Whether a new ship
could be built in South
Africa, as was the case
with the highly successful
naval ship. the SAS Dra-
kensberg, to provide job
opportunities inside the
country. However. the

' Navym
bargain price of the ship
influenced the decision to
purchase it.

The price of R4032
million was about one-
third of the cost of build-
ing a new ship in South
Africa.

The cost of purchase had been raised from the Navy's own budget. a major portion being the funds earmarked for the renovation and upgrading of the SAS Tafelberg. No additional funding from defence of state coffers had been necessary. Dr Das Herbst, a spokesman for the Ministry of Defence said the purchase had shown that the economic punitive actions against South Africa were crumbling faster than foreseen. This, he said, was the second breakthrough in recent times. the purchase of the Pilatus training aircraft being the first. Dr Herbst said the purchase of the ship was not in contravention of the arms embargo because it was a commercial and not a naval vessel in its current form. "Those propagating sanctions against South Africa are fast losing their jobs," he said. The new ship, for which a name still has to be found, will be manned by the officers and crew of the SAS Tafelberg and will be commanded by ; Captain .1 A .1 B Vorster. Compared to the SAS Tafelberg, the new ship has a greater tonnage, is longer and wider, and cruises faster and further. It has an ice-breaking capability which will allow the navy to assist the Department of Transport in polar regions with research. It has a helicopter landing deck. hanger and control room which would make the conversion to a Naval ship even cheaper. The SAS Tafelberg was also a commercial ship which was converted to a Navy supply vessel in 1965. Since then. the ship had been refitted twice. "

3
u/
9,75% WW5

iState funding for ' all Human Rights Charters: Min

By Brian Stuart
CAPE TOWN.

State funds may be used to publish the Human Rights Charters drawn up by all the major negotiation parties in South Africa, Mr Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Justice. announced yesterday. Other parties and organisations were invited to submit their proposals, or suggestions to improve the Charter already published by the government, to the Director-General of Justice.

The government was recently criticised for spending R1.5 million of tax-payers' money to publicise its own Charter for debate.

Mr Coetsee told a media conference yesterday that the Cabinet was sympathetic to the view that all charters should be similarly published. in order to encourage a "culture of human rights" and to prompt the debate on the issue.

He believed there should be no objection to the use of public monies being spent in this way.

The government had spent almost R10,5 million to fund the Codesa negotiations. which also had the objective of reaching consensus on constitutional issues.

Although a number of different Charters had been published by different parties and groups, they contained similar elements and guaranteed the same rights. Differences were mainly in the wording or in emphasis.

"There are parties which are trying to create differences where there are none. You would be surprised how close we are on fundamental issues."

It was intended to publish soon an analysis of the proposals for a Charter of Human Rights made by the Law Commission. as well as those

of the government, the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party.

He had invited Parliament's Joint Committee on Justice to examine the proposed Charters. Its report would be tabled in Parliament and debated.

Asked whether the government would apologise for trampling on human rights in the past. Mr Coetsee said it was the infringement of past human rights that had brought the realisation that a Bill of Rights was necessary to ensure that this did not happen again.

The government view was that a Bill of Rights should be in place either before or at the same time as transitional government came into being.

He said: "The better. Because we have to learn to live by such a Charter."

It was not impossible that some future government could approve legislation that infringed rights. These rights should be laid down in the constitution, so that all legislation could be tested in the courts.

Mr Coetsee said a Bill of Rights was the ultimate protection for the individual against discrimination.

'T
the empty
museums W
at night...
rot." says the fvesh-faced
young constable at the door.
"Murdels Ire dowerstaiis, his.
tory and cultme W to your teh.
drug and bombs in tin calm."
Lurking in a handsome old stone
building in downtown Pretoria is
South Africrs vety own ghouls
o IT'SqutI: nioeifyouliketn-
hey prow
w
L thethrillsotwhitetearz and
____'____.____-_-
MARK anlssen w
W
what he sees the Panga Man
U! leamsthattheANC
isc .! l't' .
The te is no evident: mm tint
the African NationII Congress had
anything whatsoevet to do with this
-m-----.
-- 0.---.
n-n - ._-
.._-_-oun--
to! __. _-
ing a pair ofscisotst looming larger
than life eye! 3 living room in
thehMuti Mmdef'sectitxuwhue
sunding between the threat 0!
this Mnu-Mau destruction and white
civilisation are you guessed it.
Am of uniforms glinting siIver
against blue in the"hism andculttr
II" Section upstairs. Paeans tooounm-
iws polioeoommissionets. filled with
y fascimting information.
Look. for example, atthedisplayon
y General de Witt. and the commemo-
t native plaque he received from the
'y Republic of China: "We feel very
glory that you lead your team to
R come toourcountry in the friendly
t contest of the softballf De Witt is
eulogised for "advums in the tech-
i nique of softball".
How poIite of the Taiwanese to
y refrain from mentioning other
sdvmcm in tethnique of hatdball
for which the SAP is perhaps I lit-
l tie mote famous-like riot con-
i tin! and mute. How strategic of
i tit museum to ignore this element
y of police work in South Africa
y altogether.
t Far mote impotunLofmse, is
thewotk of our Boys in combat:
ing Sodom and Gomorrah.
which lurks in speakeasis and
drwkmmsttmteningiy as
savagery does in witchdoctotst
huts and terrorist hideouts. In a
Whitemtochht(andteer)..lboPmllmhbloodylcdon
gallery,thePolthmewn.lhete's takesanacidtri j. . -.
melhiHS'Whim'luut' SPfinzbOk -----L_ mmmmm' -Mnmmmmumwmmb
Radiocimlmdnuth'uembgw , k In. 5i . . mmmmm' "
mmmmwcm PF mgbmrgmmunism which is mum hm ym-epuentedwithimaysofded reconstruction of I qu

aei-coloniI1

! And. , mmtmxmm. wbm'nhmmm wmoioiose-oooitmu Eniegrlsmnsmgbodymmof mmym'usouopm
; 9m" 'tsi . Momma m'uw ANCsentIgiuurtostir thepalevmmofthtstsune. nhumantist.ie";_u'enls
twetedhutmn hmualsmo-post. dsaeetbutoom-
EIEIPWW PMWW smols memw And in theexquistte Pang: Mun mmmmmumum petting; directing you to
wards

, - . .9"? tmt'tms lerbth'yotI . .dtomm you see - white equgle 7W .iefthgthmbbudmd "madob
bmmuum

, mum'm'l't . mmmmwda mot imao i ' in tiling)". o-

#a be ' 3lm?! . :3 looking up in term! as m ominous the manufacturing of ieine ...' t And
therein lies the point of no

(cisetSIlsumitukmmi WW Indulifyoudu . i' black man inewortt-vestwietdsa opnetisednday by
wtliowitdidoc- ietum. FirstyotieiiuIW

Peyihaps unsumisingly "explicit it smight-fneed pm the emit," Of pang: 0v" Mt coitus "Wm"

mn' t den Of mmuny' the ".n'g'mmely

itiapla Istnnlltole iiithisptb- ng'm 195(3de Pang: Matt has his fists tightly And that ss
boutasdeepas the mMKatfmmmenttcwdls

Emmi: . -itis Megan! wmmmfemmMu- .gnthropology gets.,You actually tuemunlscbpnmgSoopem
ntwo nwmsinti ron'het- tyaidsumiettheheading'lsrm entefawmhdomshutzthestan- shmofwomenbts
ungomof

i . l"mlt"'l.s.lll in m'." ' ML bediende 'nmanof 'n wau? - 0t dud huts-and-bones of the
African mntoegligeesandgahibletsleanam

ml 1 'Total qui Pm wasnnmlnwhodiesedsawonnn mmmmlumpedw huhgrymthettwotshipofMamnm

WWW . Onslaught: 595ml!" to yumfsjobnhenmbbd h'u iridisctitmmtely with gory immof uidout
before youuegmnngtables

6!: dammed: bonus of mm employers . _ if you do wonder destiLurlthewhole experienceisset a
nd displays explaining the vuriom

msmqsabmetof goods temcved mwmdmm mmmmmmma iuicitgameeAsoiedummymysisuo

?WUUMFWIWM stairs " ' youthy thtoughtdo- A&ianchanting.Afrielonee mote endsmwithlsignsyi
ng "MOE-

the oon'tmntsto hid 89le ftont mlm wuthlmlledolisdnmg mandm NIEMNRAAK (Delft much)" hung
WMMW'MDW mmmhbndudmng . Andhmmofu-hlbeliek's uoutldhisneekYotdeetumL

mmwgmm mmhtnessmeled wnh teal blond: If oonttatedwithmesuvugetyofttelib- Proceed under I
door that says

girasemdrevamon hgd-onmaof pudomtminaewm mummomoencomewitom "Dwelms/Dtugs"lndthefunmly

mmmmmmmmmmmm". ' glow . noel? umkim wshommumdm". begins. Herfswhetetheanistuxps

cabinets. of the honihc death of Dr son. you'll reslise that this whole :vul whyM ofm'i
v: g; 33.2.)! :lm wms that

MuyQuinhmwahnwukiliedin 1952 museum. the "Murder" section y M ts"fothI i S I ll Hint t gn
risk" Over. yd:

wm-A.mommmwm., iriclMishielledbywhitefw. :ll mug"\$,"f::p9 0'" '9 mama : .3.

mp m mm", murdered he, by It's no feet of the dark Ind smga mm ,W wow W Y B'f - \$W wm'wmm
'ulmm u:

stoning. stabbing and hacking her - Other that comes through loud Ind . hmashtlcplotog of
pe otthe d? 3:0; 1'3th Ind %

with shatpimpiments.lhey set he: mnhmmmm'v'm'w elenchethe' E -" '3 b m "a m mt ya a n I
0

ont'ne. thebod mwml mdiantheScisson Murderdiomna inexplicably. in ted light. Yes, red tha
t the museum has not yet got Anton herwallz .

'in t d'md'wd gens ,'_ deangIlW4mmdet.fofexample. lighLan yourowneondustons. Mum t . , ..

Atheldofyounmunyofwce'

P505 d" "" "" "W35 m-wwimblackhandduteh- Youmovefiomthergantmo Sllmullnts ,fmexunpiqinwhieh
n

depiction of a punk rock concert

looms lurid ovend'spilyofwtite

suppressants, Ricoffy cans and '

cigarette boxes; and 'Tsydtedelics",

in which you are stbjected to a night-

mate vision drawn by a teal-Iife LSD-

addict and the wisdom that ttNugm'eg

(sic) hm some psychedelic properties

which may musedattgemts eupho-

ria which leads to attempts to fly,

epileptic fits and traffic accidents".

In the hDagga" cabinet is depicted

various ways of pacttaging the drug,

including a rathet stale "doggy

Imelda" amt. with a memorable nour-

ish of Freudian slippery, I pair of

"Malawi Com'. Pills ate everywhere.

it veritzble apotheeary strewn across

the bottom of displays like pebbles on a driveway.
Research with illegal-life drug addicts led to the piece of resistance of any tour to the Police Museum: the LSD trip, the museum's very own attempt at flight simulation. You enter a little room. All around you are swirling ultra-violet paintings of demons, dragons and zombies. Lying in an internal disc of flashing lights to a continuous loop of the same six bars of a Black Sabbath number. Beneath you is a springy floor. You bounce about a bit. "5 quite pleasant, actually, but thanks. I'll stick to nutmeg.

Impose death penalty for murder of policemen - MP
CAPE TOWN - The death sentence should be imposed on murderers of policemen, Douglas Gibson (DP Yeville) said yesterday. Speaking in debate on a private members motion, he said: "Society has to demonstrate that it is on the side of law and order and will not tolerate the systematic killing of those who protect it." The abolition of the death penalty was appropriate in stable democracies, but not in South Africa.

"The death penalty," said Tony Leon (DP Houghton). "is not going to help. No one has been able to prove that the death penalty works as a deterrent."

While it could be seen as a short-term fix, the death penalty was no substitute for action the Government had to take to combat crime.

Raymond Radue (NP King William's Town) said the death penalty could be revived in extreme cases as it was the only effective deterrent to cold-blooded murderers.

The licence to kill for political objectives should be removed sooner rather than later. His experience of the Azanian People's Liberation Army attack on the King William's Town golf club had given him insight into the suffering of many fellow South Africans: "I empathise with their outrage."

Gibson said leaders should commit themselves to the peace process if they were to address violence responsibly. Their followers should be seen to be disciplined. The security forces had to accept their reform into friends of the people, and not oppressors or exploiters. The public had to start supporting members of the SAP and SADF.

"Society cannot tolerate a situation where more policemen were killed last year than the total number of people murdered in the UK."

Earlier, Willem Botha (CP Uitenhage) said the crime wave had been caused by the Government's unbanning of the ANC and SAC? and the release murderers.

The death penalty had been suspended and was no longer a

deterrent. Criticism of the security forces by outsiders, terrorists and the Goldstone Commission had also tarnished their image. Botha said. - Sapa.

SADF wants!

rethink on

budget cuts

Pretoria Correspondent

The South African Defence Force is appealing to the Cabinet to reconsider its proposed 5 percent cut to next years defence budget.

A senior military source said the SADF was not able to accommodate a further 350 million saving proposed in the Budget guidelines for 1993/94.

The heads of the air force and the navy have both spoken out strongly against the cuts.

At a parade at Hoedspruit,

Lleutenant-General James

Kriel asked the Government to leave the SA Air Force alone if it expected air operational capability.

Chief of the SA Navy Vice-

Admiral Robert Simpson-Anderson has added his voice to Krielis. He said at a ceremony in the Cape that the navy could not handle any further cuts.

An SADF spokesman said the SA Army could also not afford any further cuts, especially considering its expanding role in internal stability and crime prevention.

Sowetanls expertise will help NP Political Staff

CAPE TOWN - A Soweto businessman is among several extra-political figures to join a new National Party's Information and Management Committee to beef up the party's election strategy.

D L Chuenyane's appointment to the National Information and Management Committee was Interim rule for 9 months - Hani Political Staff

CAPE TOWN - The ANC had rejected sharing power with the National Party for five years and instead wanted an interim government, led by Nelson Mandela. to be in power for nine months. SA Communist Party eneral-secretary Chris Haul Ia d yesterday.

However, at a press conference in Johannesburg later in announced yesterday by the head of the NPls election campaign, Minister of Public Enterprises and Cape leader Dr Dawie de Villiers.

Another businessman, N J

Frangos. and uwell-known political adviser" Dr Jan du Plessis are also to serve on the committee.

"Professional advice" will be given by consultant Eldad the day the ANC leadership made clear it would negotiate for a government of national unity, lasting five years. Haul. a member of the ANC's national executive committee, was speaking at the University of Cape Town.

He said a constituent assembly should have a nine-month life-span in which to draw up a new constitution.

He said the ANC would like Louw.

De Villiers said the main aim of the committee would be to "broaden the support base of the NP and establish the basis for a well-structured and successful election campaign".

The committee will begin operating next month.

The NP has also formed a new strategy committee in the Cape.

the process completed within nine months. uThen we must have elections. This is the position of the ANC."

Haul said the ANC and SACP were in favour of elections for a constituent assembly.

The leader of the majority party would elect a Cabinet of national unity in consultation -with leaders of other parties who had scored 5percent or more in the elections.

CAPE TOWN - Government would spend millions publicising a variety of proposed Bills of rights to foster a human rights culture, Justice Minister Koble Coetsee said yesterday. In the face of criticism that government intended using public funds to propagate its own proposals exclusively, Coetsee said additional funds would be provided for the propagation of other proposals.

He also called for proposals for allocation of the funds, saying government regarded the development of a human rights culture as extremely important, in line with the recommendations of the SA Law Commission.

Additional funds outside the estimated R1,5m allocated would be provided, Coetsee said. Suggestions should reach the department within two weeks, he said.

It was important that government foster the debate on the topic and if spending R10, 5m on Codesa was justified, then spending public money on fostering a human rights culture was also acceptable.

Asked at a media briefing whether government would suspend the propagation of its own proposal pending the inclusion of other suggestions, Coetsee said momentum would be lost if it did.

In any event, he said, other parties had been propagating their points of view on the subject for some time, so government would simply be "leveling the playing field".

In reply to questions about whether government intended to outlaw racism, Coetsee said legislation already did so and government's proposed Bill would prevent a future parliament enacting racist legislation. Government's proposed Bill did not criminalise racial discrimination, but the equality clause would enable courts to invalidate racist practices. Coetsee said the argument that, by not criminalising racial discrimination government was fostering it, was defective.

He said there was a surprising convergence of opinion between the law commission, government, ANC and Inkatha proposals and an analysis of the similarities would be released 'soon'.

A SOUTH African- born academic who survived an assassination attempt by Ulster Protestant extremists believes he was set up by South African intelligence operatives.

Professor Adrian Guelke recently returned to South Africa to work in Wits University's department of international relations. In an interview, he described how he had been shot in his bed by a death squad of the Protestant Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF) on September 5 1991.

Guelke said there were strong indications that he had been set up by a South African intelligence operative- he later received a note from the extremist Ulster Defence Association (UDA) apologising for the mistake. At the time. he was researching links between the security forces and political violence in South Africa.

A letter written by British Prime Minister John Major on the Guelke hit. of which The Weekly Mail has a copy, says: "The police are continuing their investigation into this appalling incident. and they are taking full account of any possible South African connections".

Guelke was shot once in the stomach. as he was asleep beside his wife, by men who kicked down the front door of his terraced house near the university in Belfast. The gun jammed. and the gunmen fled.

Guelke said the link between the bungled hit and South Africa was provided by an investigative reporter called Alan Murray with good contacts in the security forces and the UDA. Murray did some digging and discovered that the UFF had got the wrong man. People in the UDA told Murray that I had in fact been set up by a third party," Guelke said.

His third party had an intelligence report relating to a foreigner who was playing an active role in the international operations of the provisional Irish Republican Army. The UDA men . said this IRA agent's file had my name A South African academic who was shot in his bed by

Protestant extremists believes the hit was tied to the South African militancy.

By EDDIE KOCH

directed them to my house in Belfast. When the UDA then sent messages to me saying that it was all a mistake. that they had been used. and that I would be safe from further attack I have since heard from a variety of sources that the third party was in fact a South African."

This is by no means the first time ' ' Armscor has been linked to Protestant extremists in Ulster. In January 1988 outside Portadown in Ulster. a police patrol stopped two vehicles and found

them laden laden with 30 9mm Brown-
ing pistols. 61 Czech-made AK47
assault rifles, 150 fragmentation
grenades, 124 magazines and about
11 000 rounds of ammunition.

. Three men from the UDA. which
has close links with the UFF, were
arrested. The arms turned out to be part
of a much larger consignment smug-
gled into Ireland for use by three
rightwing loyalist groups.

In March 1988 British undercover
agents shot dead three IRA activists in
Gibraltar. Their bodies were returned to
Ireland where the republicans turned
the funeral into a political rally.
A man called Michael "Flint" Stone,
an assassin who had been armed and
used by UDA warlord John

McMichael. tossed splinter grenades
into the crowd and fired on the mourn-
ers with a 9mm Browning. leaving
three Catholics dead and 68 injured.
The weapons turned out to be from
the Portadown cache - and investiga-
tions by a number of Irish and British
journalists revealed that the lethal
weapons consignment was sold to the
loyalists by 'Armscor. The cache was
unusually

large.

It was

lucky. Adrian Guelke survived an assassination attempt
when the the gunmen's 3 weapons jammed
and from Palestinian guerrillas by the
Israeli security forces and shipped on to
Ireland via Lebanon in crates marked
"ceramic tiles".

The UDA, along with two other
paramilitary groups, paid for the
weapons with £50 000 they had stolen
in a bank raid in Portadown the previ-
ous year.

Armscor had reasons other than the
pecuniary ones for doing the deal:
access to state-of-the-art missile tech-
nology being developed at the Shorts
weapons company. which has two
plants in east Belfast staffed mainly by
Protestants.

In October 1988. a few months after
the loyalists weapons were seized. two
men walked into a paint shop at Shorts
and stole a model of the Javelin missile
aiming system.

They failed to obtain a fully opera-
tional version of the aiming unit for a
new missile called the Starstreak. in the
hope of avoiding the charges that tighter
aircraft throw out to throw guided mis-
siles off track.

A few months later parts of 3 Shorts
blowpipe rocket went missing from the
plant. In April 1989 three members of
the Ulster Resistance Movement. a loyal-
ist splinter group which received
some of Armscor's 1988 consignment,
were arrested by French police in a
Paris hotel room which they were try-
ing to do a deal with a South African

Photo: GUY ADAMS

diplomat.

Details of these covert deals were subsequently confirmed by known mover British agent Brian Nelson. He admitted that he had personally travelled to South Africa on instructions from Michael, where he met Armscor agents and set up the early stages of the Ponadown weapons deal. Guelke said he had written about the 1988 arms shipment from South Africa to Ulster, but doubted this was the motive for the attack on him. "Many others had written about these links and, anyway, that was in the past," says Guelke.

But there was one sensitive area that I had been probing when I visited my parents in South Africa in 1991: extreme rightwing violence. What struck me most was the amount of evidence on links between violent rightwing organisations and elements in the security forces, and between Inkatha and the security forces?

s A up to its 'dirty tricks?

RESH evidence is emerging to suggest that South Africa's "dirty tricks" operators have been involved in the civil war in Ireland. It has been established that at least two secret agents involved in arms smuggling to paramilitary organisations in Northern Ireland were linked to South African intelligence. Other bizarre evidence of such links was beamed to millions of Britons last night in a BBC television documentary.

In a recent parliamentary briefing, the head of the South African Army, General Georg Meiring, flatly denied any dealings between the South African Defence Force and Ulster Protestant extremists.

The BBC documentary examines the role of two men, believed to be British intelligence agents, who were pivotal in organising an arms shipment; destined for the Protestant extremist group the Ulster Defence Association, from South Africa to Northern Ireland in 1985. The shipment was partially intercepted by British police, but the programme insists it boosted the armed might of the Protestant paramilitaries, which last year were responsible for the deaths of more people than the Irish Republican Army (IRA).

It suggests that one of the extremists, Charlie Simpson, who has strong links with South Africa, is also a British agent.

Simpson, formerly in the Rhodesian Army, was, by his own admission, the middle man in Project Echoes, the South African Military Intelligence (MI) plan to discredit the African National Congress by exposing its purported links with the IRA. It was Simpson, according to the South African government, who notified the British.

A BBC document has revealed

strong evidence of the involvement of

South African Military Intelligence

in the conflict in Northern Ireland.

B PHILIPPA GARSON

government in April last year that MI agent Leon Flores was plotting to get Ulster extremists to assassinate renegade South African policeman Dirk Coetzee.

Suggesting that the British authorities may be backing Protestant extremists in the Ulster conflict, the documentary asks why they failed to confiscate the entire shipment.

Another man who linked up with Simpson in South Africa, Brian Nelson, was a known undercover British agent sent to 'infiltrate Protestant extremists. He met Simpson in Durban in 1985 to clinch the arms deal.'

In the programme, Flores denies recruiting Ulster extremists to assassinate Coetzee and claims that the only reason he went to London with colleague Pamela du Randt was to set up a meeting between her and Simpson, whom he knew.

The South African government has insisted Flores and Du Randt were acting on orders and were sent to London merely to investigate links between the ANC and IRA. At a meeting at a pub in London, Protestant paramilitaries allegedly offered to assassinate Coetzee.

During his debriefing by the South African government, parts of which were obtained by the Leon Flores Denies recruiting extremists

. BBC, Flores said: 'They did mention to me that

any time we ever needed a job to be done, whether it's in London, in Ireland, in South Africa and , I'll say it came down to assassinations of any' sort
H

Flores continues to deny offering to carry out assassinations or that he knowingly met with Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) members, and maintains that instead he met Andrew Hunter, chairman of the Tory hackbench committee on Northern Ireland, who needed information on links between the ANC and IRA.

But he adds: "My interrogators in Britain, in London, said I was meeting UVF people. It could have been, I can't argue that."

According to Coetzee: "Flores was here to finalise the contract on my life. Operation Echoes was just a cover story."

Flores and Du Randt went to Ireland after meeting Simpson in London. There Flores met a man called Dyrian 'i' Anciw J' Egshawn a video of missile W ' Mad/ i 4/1/73

In
Ireland

technology. Flores claims the UVF men he met wanted explosives as "payment" for information on IRA/ANC links. Flores and Du Randt were arrested on April 19 in London while attempting to fly back to South Africa.

Simpson, interviewed off-camera by a BBC reporter, claimed his involvement with Flores was solely to get Project Echoes off the ground. It was Flores' idea to go to Ireland, he claimed. When asked how he knew Flores, Simpson replied: "I'm just not allowed to answer that."

Simpson, convicted of illegal possession of arms, was closely associated with Ulster extremist William McGrath, founder of a paramilitary loyalist organisation called Tara, and believed to be a British intelligence agent.

He also had links with another British army agent, Brian Nelson, who was sent to infiltrate the (legal) Ulster Defence Association (UDA), which denies it has links with extremist paramilitaries. Nelson committed a string of offences while working undercover for the British, including conspiracy to murder.

In his diary he recounts how he came here in 1985 to buy arms for the UDA, a deal set up by Simpson, then living in Durban.

Nelson realised Simpson had connections with the South African government when he offered a huge consignment of weapons, including pistols, rifles and RPG rocket launchers, at a reduced price.

Simpson was clearly working for the British government in blowing Flores' real agenda. Whether he was an agent for the British at the time of the 1985 arms deal is a question that demands to be answered", the documentary concludes. ...
a. La 3;

Future role of our armed forces is anything but clear, writes Keith Campbell

Who Will the SADF defend?

sions on the future of the

SADF are well under way.

However, the available evi-

dence suggests that the focus of

these talks is in merging the vari-

ous armed forces and groups

found in South Africa today (in-

cluding the homelands). and on en-

suring their effective control by

an interim government.

That is all very well. and im-

portant. but these are questions

for 1993-94. The future of the

SADF beyond this period depends

on the answer to a very different

and. as yet, largely unasked ques-

tion: What is the SADF for?.

The answer is not as obvious as

it first appears. A digression is re-

quired to illustrate the point.

Defence of the homeland (ex-

cept against air attack) has not

been a serious problem for Cana-

da for more than a century. From

World War! to the end of the

Cold War, the defence of Canada

was defined as requiring the de-

fence of Western Europe. and

from 1945 Canadian soldiers were

permanently based in Germany.

With the end of the Cold War,

IT IS now clear that discus-

all Canadian troops are being

withdrawn from Germany, but

home garrison duty is not an op-

tion because the Canadian army is

now being employed, in its en-

tirety, as an instrument of foreign

policy. Canadian soldiers are now

scattered over a wide arc of the

Earth's surface. engaged in peace-

keeping or peace-making or

peace-observing duties.

Every soldier in Canada is ei-

ther just returned from overseas,

just about to go overseas, or in

training. or on leave, or providing

essential command and logistic

support to those actually over-

seas. In the whole army, there is

not a single uncommitted unit.

So our original question, "What

is the SADF for?" expands into a

series of more precise questions:

Is the SADF to wholly or par-

tially an instrument of foreign

policy? Is it for national defence.

defined broadly? Or national de-

fence. defined narrowly?

The answers to these questions

will have profound effects upon

the recruitment, organisation,

equipment and training of the fu-

ture SADF.

On patrol . . . but finding the enemy may be difficult.

Unlike Britain, or Australia, or

New Zealand, South Africa has

never been able to send conscripts

far from home to fight in obscure

wars. Thus, if a future South African government decides that there is no threat to the country, and the SADF and especially the army can be used primarily as an instrument of foreign policy, the new SADF would have to be an all-volunteer service.

Furthermore, like the Canadian army, a South African army assigned such a function would have to be composed largely of light infantry, light armour, light artillery - all easy to transport abroad - with relatively few tanks and other heavy arms.

An SADF intended to be partially an instrument of foreign policy could have conscription, but would have to have units and branches (paratroops, navy, air force) specifically designated for overseas operations and composed solely of volunteers.

An example of a broadly defined defence concept can be provided by New Zealand. That country conceives of its defence as requiring the maintenance of the defence, stability and development of the whole of the South Pacific region and (in co-operation with Australia) the equally extensive South West Pacific and South East Asian regions as well.

Consequently, New Zealand's armed forces are structured, trained and equipped to operate thousands of kilometres from home if need be. None of the services are intended for the immediate defence of New Zealand itself.

For South Africa, such an approach would require the country to regard any threat to any country in southern Africa as a threat to itself. As with the case of New Zealand (and Australia) heavy stress would have to be laid on airpower and seapower.

While the Royal New Zealand Air Force is decidedly smaller than the SAAF, the RNZAF is used to operating at vastly greater distances from its home bases than the SAAF is. And while the Royal New Zealand Navy and the South African Navy are both

i

l 4

small fleets of excellent quality, the BNZN is a "blueswater" or ocean-going force whereas the SAN is a "brown-water" or coastal defence force.

And, of course, under such a defence concept, it would be essential that South African soldiers could be deployed anywhere in the region at short notice with minimal opposition at home -

which would again su eat at
least a partly volunteer ice.
Narrowly defined efence
means the direct defence (South
Africa itself. in effect, thil is the
role the SADF currentlyifilfs,
and retention of this rolelwould
necessitate no changes it the
SADF, except that. it cotscrip-
tion was retained, it would for
allraces.

These then. are the qu ions
and options facing the counryts
leaders with regard to the flture
of the SADF. Hopefully, they will
make their decisions with are
and deliberation. and not in haty
political horse trading. t

0 The writer is a pro-
ducer/journalist with SABC's
Radio Today. a

NIS agent ;
confesses,
says IFP

By Chrla Steyn

A FULL confession
has been made by the
National Intelligence
Services agent at the
centre of an alleged
plot by N15 to discredit
the Inkatha Freedom
Party by implicating it
in illegal gun-running,
Inkatha spokesman.

Mr Ed Tillet, told The
Citizen yesterday.

Once the agent realised
uthe game was up", his
confession was tttotally
voluntary".

uWe made it clear to
him that we had concrete
evidence against him and
others. He just had to ex-
plain what had happened.

"It was then that the
realisation dawned on
him . . . and it was under
these circumstances that
he made the confession,"
Mr Tillet said.

The agent confessed
that his actions had been
fully authorised by the
head of MS in Natal, Ma-
jor Hentie Botha, who
had links with the former
Security Branch, now
called Crime intelligence
TO PAGE 2

_ ' Agent tconfeshses,
FROM PAGE1
Services.

A spokesman for Mi-
nister of Justice Kobie
Coetsee said yesterday
evening that an investiga-
tion had been launched
into the alleged plot.

"The National Intelli-
gence Service is not in-
volved in stratagem and
activities of the nature de-
scribed in the report, and
views the matter raised by
Chief Minister Buthelezi
in a serious light. Investi-
gations were immediately
launched."

The alleged N1S agent
also confessed that the
purpose of the exercise
was to smear the IFP. and
not to complete a normal
security services investi-
gation.

The (F? said yesterday
that it was extremely con-
cerned about threats to
the agents life and his
family by a very senior in-

telligence officer.
This had caused the
IFP to reveal his identity
to a director of MS who
had travelled to Durban
from Cape Town.

"The IFP formally asked that the government take urgent steps to guarantee the safety of the agent and his family," the statement said.

Yesterday's dramatic developments followed claims by IFP president. Chief Mangosuthu Buthe-lezi. that two Star reporters. Mr Jacques Pauw and Ms Peta Thornycroft. had worked with N15 to prove that Inkatha had smuggled weapons into South Africa from Mozambique and that it had links with the rebel Renamo movement.

"Following weeks of investigations, the IFP was able to establish that a report published in the November 1 edition of , The Star under the heading 'How Inkatha Gets Its Guns', was the result of contacts over many weeks between Patiw and intelligence sources in Natal, and followed directly on the heels of a visit to Mozambique by fellow Star reporter, Peta Thornycroft. with this agent." the IFP statement said.

u(Joining idemally. the Weekly Mail. apparently unaware of the operation. published a report stating that a group of N18 agents had visited Mambasa late in October - at the time when the Natal agent arrived in Mambasa.

Mr Pauw has disclosed to The Citizen that the agent was a former Special Forces operative who had resigned from the Army three years ago and had been in contact with him since. Mr Pauw said the man might be a MS agent.

However, he pointed out that the story published in The Star was wholly based on an affidavit made to the newspaper by former senior Inkatha official, Mr Bruce Andersson, following his depot.

tation from South Atria
for his involvement in il-
legal gun-running.

The IFP also disclosed
in its statement yesterday
afternoon that the agent
had requested an urgent
meeting with the organi-
sation "because a key in-
dividual from the ANC's
intelligence department
(DIS) wanted to speak to
the IFP to do a deal."

"The offer was re-
jeaed." the IFP said.

"The IFP is aware of as-
ties of projects in which
the ANC and government
intelligence servnees' have
co-operated as part of a
plan to undermine' the
IFP."

At a PICS conference
in Durban yesterday, IFP
Regional Natal Organs
er, Mr Senzo Mfayela,
said if the seum'ty ser-
vices were genuinely at-
tempting to establish
whether there were links
between the IFP and Re-
namo. then the very last
thing they would have
done was to operate i
this would have defeated
the ends of the police en-
quiry.

"In fact, the investiga-
tion has revealed that it
was not the Pres that was
being of me to the sear-
ity serviws. but rather
that the security services
were smoothing the way
for the Pres. This reveals
a delinitive politieal mo-
tive or agenda," Mr
Mfayela said.

'I

CP ready to talk,
but no govt-ANC
deal: Dr T

By Brian Stuart
CAPE TOWN. - The
Conservative Party is
prepared to take part
in constitutional nego-
tiations, but not on the
basis of prior govern-
ment-ANC deals or
agreements, Dr An-
dries Treurnicht, CP
leader, said yesterday.
The CP and parties
which participated in Co-
desa had agreed to be
part of the proposed Plan-
ning Conference, to help
design the future multila-
teral negotiation process.
But if the government
and ANC come to the
conference with some sort
of 'understanding'. then
they should have their
answer, not only from the
CP, but also from others
in COSAG.

"We are part of the de-
bate in South Africa to-
day. We are active in
talks," Dr Treurnicht said
in an interview on the eve
of his 72nd birthday to-
day.

Having led the CP since
its formation in 1982, he
was convinced the party
represented an important
and fundamental point of
view, based on the human
realities of the country,
with its diversity of
people and ethnicities.
"Our basic point of de-
parture is not just a fa-
shion of the day, but is
more deep-rooted," said
Dr Treurnicht.

It had proved to be
well-grounded within so-
ciety. While other groups
might lay less stress on
ethnicity. it was neverthe-
less a reality, and would
be one of the determining
factors in the country's fu-
ture.

Secondly, events else-
where in the world con-
firmed the CP in its point
of view that self-determi-
nation was an essential
component of a peaceful
society.

Even those who did not
sympathise with the CP
agreed that South Africa
should not become "an-
other Yugoslavia," where

ethnicity resulted in violence.

In otherwise stable countries, such as Belgium and Canada, satisfactory solutions had to be found for the reality of diversity.

In the European Community, in spite of a spirit of interaction and co-operation, different countries were retaining their independence.

"We do not, as some critics maintain, represent an outmoded view. Our point of departure is very modern."

Dr Treumicht said the CP had gained ground since being the losing party in last years referendum. Its policies were being better understood and appreciated.

For example, certain basic principles had been adopted within the Concerned South Africans , lateral agreements. Group (COSAG). These included a rejection of Communism. and the unacceptability of an interim government based on the imposition of a central, unitary government over the whole of South Africa.

COSAG would not accept a centralised government, in which power was delegated downwards. In such a system the delegated powers could be withdrawn by the central government.

Instead COSAG saw the existence of various states within South Africa as the point of departure, with authority delegated upwards on certain issues. It was on this point that Codesa had been off-track - its initial Statement of Intent had set out a unitary state.

"It is also important that COSAG will not consent to the government and ANC coming with bi-and viewing the negotiations merely as a rubber stamp."

Dr Treumicht said of his own leadership of the CP: "I see myself not in terms of leadership, but

I as part of a team. If the
. team is happy, then I am
happy."

The CP had experi-
enced increasing support,
especially since the gov-
I emment-ANC Record of
Understanding last Sep-
tember and the CPS in-
volvement with others in
COSAG.

"The CPI: image is bet-
ter. It is seen as a
that stands by its prin-
dPM-T'.....

'Rude' AWE offends UK right

Eugene Terre 'Blanche's erratic behaviour on a jimd-faising trip to Britain and Belgium has prompted the National Front to suggest the AWB takes a course in public relations. By JAN TALJAARD

TIFF upper lip elements in the British far-right are having difficulty coming to terms with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's lack of the elementary courtesies".

This has led to tensions between John Tyndall, leader of Britain's National Front and an AWB delegation that visited Britain in May last year in an attempt to solicit funds. The AWB's Eugene Terre'Blanche, his second-in-command, Ernie van der Westhuizen, generals Willem Etsebeth, Piet Hamman and a Commandant Roodt were all part of what turned out to be a rather disastrous and at times farcical visit to Britain and Belgium.

Following the visit, Tyndall and one of his executives, Barry Clark, fired off short missives alternately describing the AWB visit as a fiasco and the AWB officials as in need of a little tuition in public relations and the elementary courtesies".

Tyndall also accused Terre'Blanche of bewildering changes of plan which made it quite impossible for me to keep up with them (the AWB)" and causing him to wait in vain for telephone calls.

Scum said the visit was farcical in more ways than one. Problems with visas, rumours of an illicit cross-channel trip on a fishing boat, and problems with the management of a hotel on London's Leicester Square all conspired to make it an exercise in how not to conduct public relations.

M V neg t

Needs to

In the end, sources say, most of the funds collected from the European donors had to be paid out to pour oil on troubled waters. The visit formed part of a AWE campaign to solicit funds from rightwing organisations in Europe. Since early last year the AWB has corresponded with more than 220 overseas bodies in an attempt to raise money.

Apart from the trip to London and Belgium, "generals" Alec Cruywagen and Johan "Hagar" Thompson also visited Greece last year to attend a congress of the white supremacist Members of the Golden Dawn movement. An appeal for financial assistance for the AWB from White Nationalist Comrades in Europe has also appeared in the far-right British publication, League Sentinel titled ... Eugene Terre'Blanche 'lacks the elementary courtesies'

. Photo: KEVIN CARTER

It states: "Although the AWB need FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE NOW! to fight their case, they have also written to say, that they may later have to appeal for PHYSICAL and MILITARY ASSISTANCE to help prevent their country from takeover by Black-Marxist forces, and their Zionist financiers that are intent on destroying the White Race in

Africa."

It seems that despite the visits and letters, funds from Europe are almost nonexistent and TerrelBlanche will have to cast his cupped hanck in the direction of his local supporters rather than his comrades in Europe.

With the AWB at the moment growing at a faster rate than ever since 1988, the coffers may well be filling again.

W WM "59/2 523

Armies to have one medical service
The South African Defence Force (SADF) is opening its medical service training to all, including liberation armies, as part of its demoaatisotion process. This was announced by the SADF Surgeon General, Niel Knobel, during a media brieting in Pretoria this week.

Knobel said the South African Medical Service (SAMS) had - for the post number of years - concentrated on repositioning itself in order to function efficiently and cost effectively in a new South Africa.

The service has attracted a substantial number of blacks and women, some of which will be qualifying in the near future, said Knobel.

"The SAMS is a fully-fledged member of the health service community of South Africa and makes a substantial contribution to health legislation, policy and service rendering. Recggnition

"There are a number of defence force projects at present, conducted by the SAMS that have already gained national and international recognition in terms of their nation-building value in the health environment," said Knobel.

He said among them there was "project curamus". which concentrates on the physical, psychological, social and spiritual needs of serving and ex-serving members of the security forces, who have become injured, wounded or handicapped in the execution of their duties. According to Knobel, members of MK, APLA and other liberation armies, who were handicapped in the execution of their duties before the integration of the military forces, will also qualify for the benefits of this project. The benelits will include material compensation through insurance and specially designed pension

schemes, retraining and
employment where possi-
ble. in close conjunction
with the department of
health and manpower.

LU King Goodwill Zwelithini is reported to be hacking i4 indunas in their bid to stop waZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi from removing their area from royal jurisdiction _ and imposing uforeign" chiefs there. 'lhis is the first time Zwelithini and Buthelezi have locked horns in public in over a decade, although some observers say it does not signal a major rift between the two.

In papers before the Durban Supreme Court, I4 indunas from Babanango in the Nquthu district in Zululand claimed that Buthelezi wanted to demarcate the areas and impose three "foreign'i chiefs on them. Induna Simon Mnguni said in an affidavit that his people were opposed to the constitution of new tribal authorities as Buthelezi locks horns with the king ities and boundaries in the Babanango area. Buthelezi's illegal actions', were designed to reduce Zwelithini's authority. This would be contrary to the custom where the area was directly under the control of the Zulu king". In a replying affidavit, the deputy secretary in Buthelezi's office, Carel Vos, denied this. He claimed Zwelithini had given his approval to the constitution of new tribal authorities. Minutes of a community meeting

LU ' A clash over new tribal authorities has created a rift between Inkatha's leader and the Zulu king .

B FAROUK CHOTHIA held in 1990, however, paint a different picture. Presented to the court, these quote the king as saying: "The scripture is correct that Jesus Christ's clothes latati/ W 2/513

v were divided amongst the people, but with me my area is subdivided and given to foreigners while I am still alive. Those who subdivide the area must stop," Zwelithini added. Mnguni said Zwelithini had told them at a subsequent meeting that he had resolved the problems with the kwaZulu government and chiefs would not be imposed. The case was adjourned to next month.

it x int V cl--_u . -Qih 2 King Goodwill ... Those who subdivide must stop'

Arms charges

:? Minister accused of delaying announcement of arrest
in Inkatha Central
Committee member,
Isaac Ntsele, his son
and two others, are due to
appear in the KwaNgwanase
Magistrates' Court
on Monday on charges of
gun running.

Ntsele, who is also the chairperson
of the Magozi branch, was
arrested on February 6 for smuggling
13 AK-47 rifles, more than 50
kilograms of AK-47 ammunition
and other arms from Mozambique.
Also arrested were his son Mgadi
Ntsele, his employee Harry Zikhali,
Inkatha supporters Peter Labulani
Ntuli and Mozambicans Mandla
(Eumedes and Vasco Parafinho).
Despite being arrested on February
6, law and order minister Hemus
Kriel only announced the arrest five
days later.

The announcement was triggered
by pressure from ANC Northern
Natal branch, who had information
from a source about Ntsele's arrest
on February 9.

WE

Speaking to New NATION, the
source rejected Kriel's allegation that
the delay in reporting the arrest was
due to an attempt at apprehending
suspects that had escaped.

The ANC alleged that Kriel withheld
information about the arrests
to protect Inkatha, in light of the
recent arrests of Umkhonto we Sizwe
(MK) members for alleged smuggling
of weapons.

The source said that the two
Mozambicans who had escaped
were police informers.

According to northern Natal
sources and Inkatha spokesperson
Errol Goetsch, Ntsele had been a
member of the Central Committee
for several years.

Ntsele is reportedly one of the richest
businessmen in the northern
Natal region of KwaNgwanase. He
owns two general dealer stores, a
gum tree forest and a tractor-hiring
business. He drives an expensive
German motor vehicle and has a 4
x 4 truck.

Mao /i/J/,4,;3771/ ///2/ '12

New Manon: What attracted you to the KZP and made you give up retirement to take up the post at Pollce Commie-slomer?

Rov Dunmc: I felt it would be a challenge. and i also felt that l was missing out. Retirement was boring. l'm personally a very active person, in tact l'm a bit overactive.

This is an extremely interesting period in our history and this is what also attracted me to get back and stuck in and see if i couldn't do something good.

What was your Impresalon ot the KZP before you took the lob?

I grew up in Zululand and matriculated ln Empangenii My (other was a police officer his whole life. i know the Zulu as a proud and strong nationt They are people you can work with. l'm sure that they are impressionable enough and intelligent enough to accept change and the motivations that l'm trying to develop here.

How do you see the future at the KZP, given that kwaZulu and other homelands might eventually be re-incorporated into South Africa?

There's no politician, not even the state president, who can give us a definite answer as to what the future holds for the kwaZulu police or any of the other homeland police forces We may see a situation in the future where we have re-incorporatmn.

We are definitely looking to the future - adhering to the standards of the SAP and standardising as far as recruitment and promotions are concerned.

But the future excludes planning as far as integration goes. because that is a political issue. Dr Buthelezi will have to decide if he will allow something like that. At this point l'm trying to develop a greater consciousness amongst my men - starting from the top - that out mission is to reach back to the public.

The general public are our clients and ' our friends. Over a period of time a lot of hostility has developed because of a lot of propaganda - but I don't discount that there are also possibly valid reasons for this hostility .

Do your tuture plana tor the force include expansion?

At this point we are not expanding. We are recmiting, but it's actually only to makeup deficits of deaths and people who go on pensions This is not because we don't want to expand, but because of Financial constraints. We are trying to consolidate, evaluate and strengthen our force at the moment. We are ttrying to increase the professionalism oi the force.

Are there any senior members at the . KZP who need to be retired because they are beyond the point of retormlng or retraining
l cannot identify anyone specifically at this stage, although We only been here

for a very short time. But it may be a possibility. We often find that when there are extreme changes, people are inclined to revert to a subculture - and the police definitely has its own subculture - because they feel a lot safer there. They feel that the outside world is against them, and with all this propaganda and the hostile media, you find that there is that kind of reaction. What I'm trying to do is ne-educate tiist. stan- ing right at the top. And it that doesn't work. I'm afraid we'll definitely have to resort to drastic action, if necessary. Does thls trainan Include any element of ellmlnetlng political blast

My whole policy mission, on which all our strategic planning is concentrated, is aimed at improving our public relations. That is being done right now, right throughout the KZP.

In the past there have been tensions between the SAP and KZP. especially on the ground. How do you see the relationship between the two torces developing in tuture?

We've already started to develop a lot closet liaison between the SAP and the KZPi We are strongly interrelated because the kwaZulu region - or the "I've already given all my district commissioners and station commanders instructions to develop community forums. These will be forums where we will be able to ve close liaison with the community itself - any person within the community, irrespective of which political party he or she belongs to. This is essential so that we can get a broad picture of what they actually want from us, what they expect of us. They are our customers. If we dont know what our customers want we can't serve them properly"

KZP Commissioner Maj-Gen Roy During lulu!

Aiming to win hearts and minds

face Hu-Nation speaks with Major-Generel Roy During, the new Commissioner ot the kwaZulu Police (KZP). After 36 years in the torce. the 57-year-old career policeman decid ed he had had enough of retirement and jumped at the chance to head the KZP. The son of a policeman. During joined the force atter matriculatlng and rose quickly through the ranks . He served in the special unit responsible tor the security of the state president and other local i . and foreign dignitaries from 1967 to 1988 and was subsequently appointed police commissioner of the Western Cape. He also served for a time as head of a special counter-insurgency and unrest unit. He has been head of the KZP since December last year Natal region - is so fragmented that the

different forces' territories flow into each other. We have started liaising at a very high level with the SAP. through a monthly meeting with the local regional commissioner. We've already discussed numerous problem areas where we can give each other assistance. Proper communication between us is an absolute necessity.

Will the KZP be Included in a number at recently unveiled proposals by the SAP to Improve community-police relations?

Yes. in preparation. I've already given all my district commissioners and station commanders instructions to develop community forums. These will be forums where we will be able to have close liaison with the community itself - any person within the community. irrespective of which political party he or she belongs to. This is essential so that we can get a broad picture of what they actually want from us, what they expect of us. They are our customers. if we don't know what our customers want we can't serve them properly. We've also sent some men on a course called the community-liaison course so that they can go back to their areas and establish these forums. These forums will take place at the district level, at the station level, as well as at the regional level. And I'd like to go and speak to all of them. once they're set up.

Will the KZP be part at recently termed Peace Accord structures, such as the Police Board. and will you allow complaints against KZP members to be Investigated by the SAP?

Well, obviously the KwaZulu Police is a statutory body. so in other words. we are autonomous, The SAP has no right of interference in our affairs and we have no right of interference in theirs. So when something is reported to the Police Board, it will be referred back to us But i can give you my assurance that. as commissioner. I will not tolerate any irregularities. We are looking at all sorts of things that are possible problem areas, which I will eradicate.

Will the SAP still be barred from KwaZulu unless they have the authority of a KIP district commissioner?

We are an autonomous statutory body, so we cannot have other organisations interfering with our internal affairs. it is not allowed. But there is absolute cooperation between us. However, there will be incidents. i can assure you, where we will ask the SAP for assistance. But a district commissioner still has, in principle of course. the authority to say we don't want your assistance here, or your interventions here.

What about more on-the-ground cooperation. such as joint policing. between the KZP and SAP in future?

Yes, but it depends on what you mean by joint policing. if it's just a temporary exercise, then yes. but if you are refer-

ting to a more permanent situation,
then no.

.Tl'

In the light at increased attacks on the
KZP, do you feel your force has ade-
quate protection and equipment?

Financial constraints do hamper us. As
long as you haven't got the money to
buy the facilities to afford protection,
then you're in a difficult position. For
example, an armoured vehicle costs
R350 000, a bullet proof vest costs more
than R2 000 if we had the money,
those two things would be one of the
first priorities. It's something that wor-
ries me and my top men considerably.
Because we know that we're sending
men into the field who are not ade-
quately protected.

The KZP has a record at being unwill-
ing to investigate itself or its members
who have broken the law. The most
obvious example is the case of Umlazi
sergeant Siphiwe Mvuyene, who is now
facing charges only because of an SAP
investigation. What is your response?
These are perceptions that have been
blown completely out of proportion. I
can't think of one single case where
there's been evidence against a man,
and he wasn't prosecuted.

We've often told that the police are
persecuted. If there is any case reopened
against a police officer, it is usually
investigated extremely thoroughly.

That's one of the courses that has been
followed throughout my police career.
Even if I heard of a loss which took
place a year or two ago, and there's evi-
dence, I would certainly pursue the mat-
ter. I'm absolutely sincere about that. I
could never allow something like that
on my conscience.

But as I say, so many of these cases
are just propaganda. We get reports like
that, and when you investigate it you
can't find anything. You get reports
being made to the Goldstone Commis-
sion, but as soon as you start investigat-
ing, you find that there's no truth in it.
Very often the witnesses who are so Will-
ing to talk to the media or the Gold-
stone Commission don't come and give
us the same information.

How many times has the SAP com-
missioner asked on TV for those people
to come forward and give affidavits? So
we must come to certain conclusions -
that a lot of it is just propaganda, just
lies.

What is your message to the people at
KwaZulu?

We appreciate the terrible situation they
are living in, of political violence and
escalating crime. We aspire to help rem-
edy this situation as far as it is humanly
possible. But we ask them to consider us
also as their friends. With their cooper-
ation, I'm quite confident we can make
tremendous progress. We must just
accept each other, accept that we need

each others But, as long as there is pro.
paganda being put out by certain ele-
ments. I'm afraid we're going to find it
extremely difficult.

I'd like the community to accept us as
their friends and to know that we are
here to serve them. And I can assure
you, I'll see that my men do serve.

l;i...:.....

7 gm Wt i5

Courtnm

AN alert medical assessor at a Johannesburg Inquest Court inquiry into the death of a detainee, yesterday noticed that part of a report by independent pathologist, Dr Jonathan Gluckman, was based on the wrong tissue samples.

Dr Patricia Klepp observed that the reference number on the post-mortem report prepared by state pathologist, Dr Michele Voster, was: body number DK 3205/90 with the histology (tissue sample) reference number as ZDS 91 while the reference on Dr Gluckman's report was 11.14 90. Dr Gluckman said he had relied on the tissue samples taken during the original post-mortem and had not taken his own 1 samples.

These samples were in respect of the brain, the lungs, the heart muscle. and the kidneys.

He stated that he had therefore been sent the wrong slides after requesting the laboratory to provide these.

The discovery was made shortly before the mid-day adjournment, and during the adjournment Dr Gluckman received the correct tissue sample slides. He then prepared another report in respect of the brain, lungs, heart muscle and the kidneys of Mr Bethuel Maphumulo, who died in custody on December 13, 1990.

Evidence earlier this week presented before inquest magistrate. Mr C de Lange. and assessors, Dr H Bukofzer and Dr P Klepp, was that Mr Maphumulo handed himself over to the police on December 11, 1990 and died

W/Z/gzg
Gluckman report based on wrong samples after a life-and-death struggle, which ended up in the Protea Police swimming pool. He had allegedly tried to escape. Counsel for the police, Mr E du Toit SC, during

cross-examination of Dr Voster, submitted that the death could have been caused by "neurogenic cardiac failure", which is known as "dry drowning".

Counsel for the family, Mr D Kuney SC, submitted that the cause of death was consistent with "neurogenic shock consistent with throttling".

Dr Voster had given the cause of death as "multiple injuries".

Called to testify yesterday by Mr F Roos, who is leading the evidence, Dr Gluckman stated that in his opinion the cause of death was consistent with "manual strangulation".

He said he had found the left horn of the hyoid bone (in the throat) to be fractured.

Dr Voster had also noticed a fracture of the hyoid bone.

The histology report from the tissue samples was not directly related to this finding.

During cross-examination by counsel for the police Dr Gluckman appeared to have difficulty hearing Mr Du Toit's questions, and he also appeared to have some difficulty finding cross-references in Dr Vorster's post-mortem report.

When cross-examined at one stage by Mr Du Toit regarding the fracture of the hyoid bone, Dr Gluckman claimed that it was "a typing error" and not a lack of description on his part that had resulted in his report reading "the left hyoid" instead of the "left horn of the hyoid" bone.

Suspect
strangled

- Gluckman

By Abdul Milnzi

Robbery suspect Bethuel Maphumulo died as a result of "manual strangulation" while in police custody in Soweto. independent pathologist Dr

Jonathan Gluckman yesterday told an inquest at the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court. He said it was unlikely that Maphumulo (31) had drowned as was claimed by police earlier in the inquest.

Maphumulo died on December 13 1990 after handing himself over to the SAPS Soweto murder and robbery unit..

which was investigating a robbery charge against him. ..

Gluckman. who was present when State pathologist Dr Michelle Vorster conducted, the post-mortem on Maphumulo's body, said fractures on his neck and haemorrhages on his skin appeared to have been caused by "extensive. substantial force". '

He said Maphumulo's body had numerous abrasions and injuries. including marks on his neck and eight broken ribs.

On Wednesday. Vorster told the inquest she had concluded Maphumulo had died as a result of multiple injuries.

Earlier Soweto police captain Henry Beukes told the inquest that he was attacked by Maphumulo after the suspect had escaped during interrogation. Beukes said he had found Maphumulo hiding near a swimming pool. During the ensuing struggle. they both fell into the pool.

Beukes said injuries to Maphumulo's body might have been caused by the "uneven paving" around the pool where they had struggled before falling into the water.

The inquest continues.

Investigate
killer gang

ACTIVISTS from Maokeng In the Orange Free State have instructed attorneys to ask the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry to investigate alleged collusion by the "Three Million Gang". prosecutors and the police. ANC leader in Maokeng, Dennis Bloem this week said lawyers were preparing statements made by former gang member. Elias Marumo. to be presented to the commission. This follows another detection by a member of the gang, Mpho Samuel Taka, a close friend of the late gangleader, George "De Wittie" Ramasemong.

In a statement to his lawyers. a copy of which was given to New NATION, Taka made further revelations implicating police, lawyers and members at Inkatha.

He said a lawyer. well-known to him, applied for bail for the gang after they were arrested for attacking Maokeng residents.

In one incident Taka said they were on a revenge mission when a white sergeant Oosthuizen found them in possession of an assortment of weapons but said "when you go to the old township you must not attack young children. You must look out for the iringkoppe' like Dennis Bloem'. Deliverfood

He also alleged that a white Sierra with a Welkom registration number - driven by three Inkatha members. used to deliver food in Troubou where the gang stayed.

These Inkatha members. according to Taka. were Msimbi, Khumalo and Monareng - all from Welkom.

Giving details of arms used in the attacks. Taka said he assumed that the different weapons 'De Wittie' was supplied with were from the local town councillors, because 'they promised to give us firearms."

He added that they regularly went to the house of 'Lingwane' in Gelukwaarts to meet the mayor. Koekoe. to discuss Inkatha and the supply of arms to them.

"The mayor never came back to us about making peace with the comrades. His aim was to incite us and inflame the situation." Taka said in the statement.

He also added that he had seen the local state prosecutor, a Mrs Pienaar talking to "De Wittie" like persons who were on friendly terms during one at their trials.

"We know that "De Wittie' used to sleep at her place. because he used to tell us so. in fact I went to the home of Mrs Pienaar with De Wittie, Cheeky. Thabo. and Ndade." Taka said.

Ciskei cuts links With former MI man_
By PATRICK GOODENOUGH

THE Ciskei government may soon end a lucrative contract with a company run by key far-rightwinger and former military intelligence boss General Tienie Groenewald. It has also warned an associated ex-Bureau of State Security officer to steer clear of the homeland. _

The Weekly Mail reported last week that Groenewald's Pretoria-based consultancy, Multi-Media Services, had been accused of manipulating U

Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo to suit his Volkstaat agenda.

Groenewald also arranged for Major-General "Tai" Minnaar, an intelligence operative for former Ciskei president Lennox Sebe, to run a VIP protection training course for Ciskei soldiers. A R94 000 training course for homeland paratroopers was on the cards for next month. After the Weekly Mail report, the Ciskei government announced that Ciskei Defence Force members were not at all happy about Minnaar's renewed involvement in the homeland because of his background. The course will go ahead, but under trainers not linked to Minnaar.

Gqozo has also ordered a probe into MMS's activities. A spokesman said that if the allegations and revelations proved true, the government would not hesitate to "dissociate itself completely from the company concerned".

lad W 2/ t2

a PAC wants new multiparty forum
little over two weeks ago, the
PAC seemed poised to resume
bilateral discussions with the
National Party (NP) govern-
ment. According to the organisation's
international affairs secretary, Gora
Ebrahim, the PAC was merely waiting to
finalise a date for such talks.

Ebrahim suggested that no major obstacles existed
in the way of talks and there were indications in gov-
ernment that some cabinet ministers were ready to
proceed, despite attacks by the PAC's armed wing, the
Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army (Apia).

But attitudes on both sides hardened after the Gov-
ernment reiterated its demand that the
PAC distance itself from Apia attacks.
And any optimism about the possibility
of talks between the two evaporated.
This week, the PAC warned against the
government and the ANC entering into
secret deals.

Both the ANC and government denied
that the "toenadering" on questions of
regionalism and an interim government
of national unity amounted to a deal.
But this failed to cool tempers in the
PAC.

The organisation's president, Clarence
Makwetu, was forthright in his attack
and warned of armed resistance against
any power sharing deal.

But just when all indications seemed to
suggest that the PAC would opt for con-
tinued resistance, even after a govern-
ment of national unity came into power,
the mood changed. PAC secretary 'gener-
al Benny Alexander said his organisation
could decide to attend preparatory talks
to discuss ways of achieving a con-
' ent assembl .

Stiltlte PAC alsoysuggested that, should
the government agree to the election of a
constituent assembly on the basis of one
person, one vote on a common voters
role in a unitary South Africa, there
would be no need for armed struggle.

But the government has yet to tespon'd
to the PAC's demand, the organisation 5
director of information, Waters Toboti
says. ' '

He adds that the armed struggle will
continue during and even after multipar-
ty talks if the PAC's vision of a con-
stituent assembly is not realised.
This has raised hopes that the PAC
may well remain part of the transitional
process, even if, in the interim, prospects
for the resumption of talks with the gov-
ernment have been placed on the back-
burner.

"Our doors remain open should the
regime decide to continue with the
agreed meeting," the PAC said after its
national executive committee meeting
two weeks ago. -

As for bilateral talks
with the government,
the PAC said that talks
aimed at reaching a
common understanding

on the modalities of establishing a new multilateral forum are both necessary and meaningful.

"Bilateral talks aimed at making secret deals on constitutional matters are both undemocratic and harmful to the democratisation process," it added.

If the ANC's responses to claims that it had entered into secret deals are anything to go by, it should not be difficult to address the PAC's concerns.

According to the ANC, whatever agreements are reached at bilateral talks between itself and the government will ultimately have to be put to a multiparty forum for amendments and approval.

But, before the PAC enters multiparty talks, it wants the negotiating forum to change.

Following its recent NEC meeting, the organisation listed five characteristics which must define a restructured multiparty forum:

0 The forum should have a pointed agenda, dealing with the modalities of establishing an elected constituent assembly and the mode of controlling the transitional process.

- It should have neutral international involvement at the level of the convenorship, chairpersonship etc.

- It should observe the principle of transparency.

0 It should not be a decision-making body but a facilitating structure.

These demands do not represent insurmountable obstacles to the PAC's entry into multiparty talks and, with some compromise on all sides, there is scope for consensus.

But this is not all the PAC wants. Even if all four of its demands are met, the PAC still wants the multiparty forum to

be restricted to tpolitical parties of a national character".

This will effectively exclude homeland parties and is therefore unlikely to generate sufficient support from the major parties. The ANC, for example, has strong allies among some homeland parties, among them Transkei and Venda. And it is unlikely to support any move to exclude them from multiparty talks.

Land plans

)1? The PAC says it would make it easier for the masses to own land z'fz't came to power that, if it came to power, it won The Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) say; abolish the system of private land ownership to "make it easier for the masses to gain access to the land".

In a policy document released this week, the organisation says the whole question of land reform would have to start with the socialisation of the land and a limit to the size of land any individual could hold.

The document - compiled by Dr Peter Mayende, the PAC's secretary for land and agriculture, and Dr Solly Skosana, environmental affairs secretary - sets out various steps that the organisation would have to take on land issues if it came to power.

The first basic task of a PAC government would be to legislate various laws that would make it easier for the "masses" to gain access to land ownership, it says.

"The system of private ownership of land and its transfer through private transactions will, through legislation, be abolished and existing property laws will be repealed."

According to the document, it would be necessary to have a legal framework under which land reform - encompassing the social, economic and political spheres of human activity - could be achieved. On the redistribution of the land, the PAC said the process would entail the "liquidation" of the bantustan system. Such land would revert to the nation and would be administered by local authorities. '

But it said that redistribution would not be fully implemented unless there was "attainment by the African people of political-military power and a democratic mandate."

vla free parliamentary elections.

"The question of political power should be resolved decisively in favour of the Africans and other oppressed groups in our country," the document says.

individuals would be entitled to a general limit of 300 hectares of land.

The document says there will not be "any compensation, because this land was obtained through colonial conquest, and therefore its 'ownership' has no legitimacy".

The only compensation that would be paid by a PAC government, would be for those whose landholdings, or portions, would be expropriated. "Such compensation will, however, be limited to develop-

W43

Dr Peter Maende and Dr Solly Skosana of the PAC . . .

' individuals will be entitled to a general limit of 300 hectares of land. Opinions made on the land".

it said that the final decision with regard to the amount to be paid, would be the responsibility of the state.

The PAC rejected the "willing buyer-willing seller" system which Zimbabwe has attempted in buying land from white farmers.

"Zimbabwe's negative experience shows clearly that there should never be any compromise on this issue."

It said the prime beneficiaries of land redistribution would be "families currently residing in the bantustan: and residents of the new 'squatter areas' most of whom are recently-arrived migrants from the rural areas".

The PAC added that it would be the duty of a post-apartheid state to intervene actively in the economic sphere in order to protect and promote the interest of the masses, who remain

underdeveloped and dis.
criminated against.

Students go on
the ram page

I CAMPUS ANGER Mamelodi, Cape Town
also in uproar over students' financial problems
By Sipho Mthembu and Sapa
mos erupted in Soweto yesterday
when hundreds of pupils went on the
rampage, damaging vehicles after re-
jecting the suspension of the go-slow
strike which started on Monday.

In Mamelodi. Pretoria. Vista University's
campus was closed until next Tuesday after
students hurled stones at private vehicles and the
institution's building after a meeting with the
authorities over registrations ended in a dead-
lock.

A police spokesman estimated the damage at
R13 000.

In Cape Town about 80 chanting students at
the University of the Western Cape entered the
offices of the rector. Professor lakes Gerwel.
amid a new storm over financial exclusions.
The group left after Gerwel agreed to meet a
delegation to discuss the plight of students barred
fr m courses because they owed the university
oney.

50t1f8 (aw

In Soweto yesterday a number of vehicles
were stoned and set alight before and after
meetings which were held at the Prudence and
Pace College in Tladi and Jabulani. i

The meetings rejected a call by the Southern
Transvaal region of the Congress of South
African students to end the boycott.

Pupils went on the rampage, stoning vehicles
after leaving classes at about 11am.

Mr Sam Dubazana. a businessman in Dube.
said his delivery van had its windows shattered
by pupils at about 12 noon.

At the Jabulani Technical College police used
teargas to disperse chanting pupils who had
blocked traffic on their way to a meeting.

At the Selelekela High School in Orlando East
teachers toyi-toyed on the premises, protesting
against "heavy salary deductions".

A police spokesman in Soweto, Colonel
Tienie Halgryn, yesterday said two delivery
vehicles were hijacked and burnt in sporadic
incidents of violence yesterday.

i W 0777

'Suspicious' Sadtu threatens strike

By GAYE DAVIS: Cape Town

TEACHERS mistrust and suspicion has become a major obstacle in defusing the crisis currently besetting the Department of Education and Culture (DEC) in the House of Representatives.

Embattled education minister Abe Williams, obliged to introduce cutbacks to meet an estimated R100-million budget shortfall in the teeth of fierce opposition from his teaching corps, now faces nationwide protest action spearheaded by the 60 000-strong South African Democratic Teachers, Union

which is set to begin on March 1. Sadtu national secretary Randall van der Linde announced the campaign after emerging from talks with Awie Muller, chief executive director of the DEC and other senior department officials in Cape Town on Wednesday.

Van der Linde said Sadtu rejected DEC attempts to pass the talks off as consultation on the pending cutbacks and said the union would campaign around 12 demands it had given the DEC.

These included calls for urgent attention to be given to the issues of substitute teachers, payment for temporary teachers and the provision of school textbooks and stationery as well as a moratorium on closing teacher-training colleges and an independent investigation into alleged maladministration of money in the House of Representatives.

He said he could not rule out the protest action culminating in a countrywide strike by teachers has an act of last resort.

However, the "biggest problem" in resolving the situation was teachers' mistrust of a department which they believed had gone back on its word, he said. "Here is a serious crisis of confidence which makes it very difficult to have negotiations. Neither Sadtu nor Utisa (the Union of Teachers Associations in South Africa) see the DEC as an acceptable negotiations partner.

"Our members are saying, 'Do not negotiate with them, they will lead you into a trap'. Teachers no longer trust the word of the DEC?"

Van der Linde said he could appreciate the DEC was in a hell of a fix - but they have bungled things and now discussions are impossible".

The Democratic Party has meanwhile called on Williams to accept the recent court ruling invalidating the DECS decision not to allow the appointment of substitutes for teachers on study and vacation leave and not to lodge an appeal against it.

Spokesman Clifford Nussan said Williams was playing for time to reduce the deficit in this year's budget. As an appeal would only be heard in August, it could seriously destabilise education?

Dissatisfaction over the situation in schools run by the House of Representatives is mounting. Teachers and parents from Modderdam High School demonstrated outside the DECS Cape Town offices yesterday, the latest in a succession of similar protests - while (each

ers at a Stellenbosch high school, Luckhoff Senior Secondary, signalled their intention to strike from next week if their demand for the appointment of two substitute teachers was not met.

Van den lleevers said Sadtuis national executive committee would discuss the planned mass-action campaign at a meeting on February 26 and 27.

Sadtu would also be consulting with the National Education Co-ordinating Committee, civic and parent organisations and political parties, including the ANC, PAC and Azapo, he said.

W 1 MM r 4M 4227

Fear lurks
at scene of
3 Swanieville

N slaughter
By Peter Davies

A long, neat row of freshly dug graves wait to be filled in Kagiso cemetery, just 2 km across the veld from Swanieville squatter camp. where 28 people were brutally slashed and 1 burnt to death nearly two years ago.

Those graves may not stand empty for long. On Tuesday a 1 Supreme Court judge acquitted five Kagiso hostel dwellers of taking part in the May 12 1991 massacre owing to lack of evidence.

The judge sharply criticised the police for failing to make sure hundreds of the killers were brought to justice.

Swanieville residents fear the result of the case may unleash another vicious bout of bloodletting.

The residents are loath to discuss the events of 21 months ago, when hundreds of heavily armed Kagiso hostel dwellers hacked. slit and shot their way through the West Rand squatter camp, murdering anyone they chanced upon.

The attackers. identified as Inkatha Freedom Party members by their red headbands, also left razed shacks and gutted cars in their wake. Squatter camp allegations that police Casspirs escorted the murderous mob were never proved.

Swanieville residents are angry. me believe attackers will w ak mayhem again.

On that crisp Sundw' morning in May 1991. Inlfred Mfiko awoke at 5.30am. Rumours had spread that Inkatha hostel dwellers were planning an attack some time that weekend. As a precaution, she had left her 10-year-old son with a colleague at the nearby Cremona Cheese Factory.

Later. as she was her washing, she saw a police Casspir moving down her dusty road, heard a car heater and then the crackle of gunfire. She woke her husband David,
OT0 Page 3 1'

MM"? -

Fear lurks in camp

0 From Page 1

then joined terrified squatters running blindly towards Azaadville.

On returning to the

smouldering camp that Sunday afternoon, a neighbour told her that David had been hacked and bludgeoned to death. Titus Nong married the widow last year. He said the community was angry but not surprised at the judge's ruling. "Police just went to that hostel and arrested people at random. "Inkatha will return here before the end of a May. Swanieville has no Zulus - the people here don't want them. So we are seen as an ANC stronghold even if we are not active politically. Swanieville's only white resident, Louis Oosthuisen, also thinks another attack is possible. "I don't worry as a person. but I worry for the people around me. I will help defend them if I have to." says the 37-year-old tractor driver. On the surface Swanieville looks peaceful. But the memories of May 1991 lurk just beneath the surface. Residents are too scared to have their photos taken. "To advertise yourself is to sign your death warrant." says Nong. Virtually every grave at Kagiso cemetery is well tended. Behind David Mfiko's resting place is a cluster of seven graves. Just beyond stands a neat row of open red- earth graves waiting to be filled. Swanieville residents are praying that lightning doesn't strike the same place twice.

Unita leaders get
peace deadline

I LAST DAY Rebels must name date
for talks With government:

UANDA - The United
States. Portugal and Rus-
sia have given Unita rebel
leaders until today to name
a date for peace talks with
the Angolan government, extending
an original deadline by two days.
The three countries trying to end
Angola's renewed civil war did not
say what they would do if Unita failed
to respond.

But diplomats in Luanda said they
might allow the MPLA government
of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos
to receive foreign military help
against the rebels. The United States
was one of Unita's backers in the war
that began in 1975.

The three countries said unwilling-
ness by Unita to set a new date for
peace talks with the government was
unsatisfactory and urged the move-
ment to name a time by today.

The three countries - observers to
1991 peace accords designed to end
17 years of civil war - originally said
Unita had until Wednesday night to
set a date for new peace talks in
Ethiopia's capital Addis Ababa.
On Wednesday they issued a state-
ment one minute before their dead-
line for the rebels to announce a date.
Senior Unita officials on Tuesday
told the UN special representative in
Angola, Margaret Anstee, that they
needed three more days to consider
the matter but the observer countries
said this was a disappointing answer.
to W/ i

The 1991 peace accords stipulated
that neither the government nor Unita
could receive outside military aid.
But the three countries, together
with the United Nations, are losing
patience with Unita leader Jonas
Savimbi who has resumed civil war
with an unprecedented intensity.
Senior US, Russian and Portuguese
officials planned to meet in Lisbon
next week, the diplomats in Luanda
said. "One possible topic would be
opening the door to supplying the
MPLA government with military
aid," said one diplomat who requested
anonymity. _ Sapa-Reuter.

It

/i

a U 7

1 .t t 3

Wide praise for

Clinton package

LONDON -- US President

Bill Clinton won international praise yesterday for taking the tough decisions he says are needed to kick-start the US economy and tame the soaring budget deficit.

The US dollar rebounded from record-tying lows against the Japanese yen in Tokyo in response to the economic recovery package unveiled on Wednesday night. It strengthened against other major foreign currencies in early European trading.

"He has bitten the bullet," said economist Chris Caton of Bankers Trust in Sydney, Australia. "This could work. And in the long run it will bring the deficit down."

The Times of London said in an editorial that Clinton's budget proposals "show about an equal measure of political courage and low cunning".

"He deserves credit for facing the reality that his campaign promises to attack the deficit through taxes on the rich were nonsense," the newspaper said.

Clinton on Wednesday unveiled details of a plan to trim US deficit spending through a \$500 billion (about R1 550 billion) package of higher taxes and spending cuts.

0 More reports -

Pages 4, 11 and 16

Japanese Prime Minister

Kiichi Miyazawa said Clinton's economic plan might signal renewed US pressure on Japan to open its markets. "If the US takes this course, Japan will also be expected to take measures. That's what I am concerned about," Miyazawa said.

Josen Takahashi, a senior economist at Mitsubishi Research Institute in Tokyo, said Clinton's measures would be painful for Americans and might promote protectionism - but were the only way the US could cut its budget deficit.

iiEven though the deficit reduction can be successfully achieved, they will have a big negative effect, for instance on employment, and the big issue is how long (Clinton) can maintain public support," he said.

The European Commission

welcomed Clinton's commitment to agreeing on a General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade world trade deal, but coupled this with a warning that any recourse to protectionism to spark economic recovery could lead to disaster. Peter Staisch, chief editor of Germany's N-TV, said Clinton's speech reminded him of John F Kennedy's appeal to Americans not to ask what their country could do for them, but what they could do for their country. - Sapa-AP-Renter.

Will 'Clinton's plan Work?

RESIDENT Bill Clinton is not the first and will not be the last elected politician to abandon what he promised during an election campaign.

The Republicans hope voters will blame him for abandoning his middle-class tax cut. Certainly, Clinton is taking a gamble in the tax increases he proposes. He bought votes with promises he knows he ought not to keep. But what matters most is not whether Clinton's lips were worth reading during the campaign. It is whether they are worth reading now.

Clinton's economic plan represents a decisive shift from the last 12 years of Republican rule. Higher taxes are certain, with the planned increase amounting to well over 1 percent of gross domestic product (GDP). But spending cuts are supposed to be greater than the planned increases in spending. It is not so much a case of tax and spend as of tax and reallocate spending. It is not the fact of higher President Bill Clinton has taken a brave gamble with his proposal to increase taxes.

taxation - \$240 billion more over four years - that marks the change, it is also the nature of those taxes. Some 70 percent of the increase in taxation is to be contributed by people earning more than \$100,000

(\$300,000) a year. But tax increases are not restricted to rich individuals and corporations. Higher taxes on energy, for example, will fall on virtually all Americans.

Meanwhile, spending is to be cut by \$250 billion over four years.

The bottom line will be a reduction in the federal budget deficit from \$332 billion (5 percent of GDP) in the current fiscal year to \$207 billion (2 percent of GDP) by 1997. Total deficit reduction is to be some \$500 billion over four years. This plan is plausible only if the president can both obtain the tax increases and the control over spending that he wants. Plans for higher taxes will confront outraged interest groups, perhaps even an outraged public. As for spending control, the president may propose, but Congress disposes. Politically, the plan is brave. Economically, however, it falls short of what is needed. The US has the lowest national savings

rate of any industrial economy. bar Greece, and a deficit that absorbs 30 percent of private gross savings. A faster rise in the US living standard demands a marked increase in its rate of capital formation. For that the US needs a balanced budget, perhaps even a surplus. Without one, Clinton will fail to deliver on his promise of a transformed US. The need for a smaller deficit is greater still when increased taxes fall so heavily on those who save most.

Political realities mean Clinton can offer less deficit reduction than is required and less additional spending than his supporters desire. He is bound, in short, to make far more people unhappy than happy.

Unhappily, the temptation for a Democratic administration that cannot deliver substantial spending increases through the budget is to deliver them off-budget. Costs can be loaded on businesses via higher minimum wages, for example. Or on consumers via protection against imports. In the long term such changes could have dire effects on US employment and growth.

Clinton faces no easy choices. Though his budget plan may not be enough, it is broadly in the right direction. But many temptations remain. - Financial Times News Service. :1

ashington 3 Mouse gt
Can he take the USAID bull by the horns. 7
ust before he took office as
US President. Bill Clinton
announced the replacement
for Herman Cohen as Assis-
tant Secretary of State for
Africa: George E. Moose.
Moose is a 49 year-old foreign service
bureaucrat whose postings have included
Barbados in the early 1970s. the Southern
Rhodesia desk (as it was called) and
South Africa desk (as deputy director in
the late 1970s. the United Nations in the
early 1980s. the ambassadorships to
Benin and Senegal in the 1980s and
deputy US representative to the United
Nations the past two years.
Born in New York City and educated
at tiny Grinnell College in Iowa and Syra-
cuse University in New York, Moose has
been hailed as the darling of conservatives
Henry Kissinger. Jeanne Kirkpatrick and
Chester Crocker. This patronage led to a
fast-track through the otherwise stuffy
Waspish US foreign policy establishment
(Moose is an African-American).
In 1987 Moose told the Washington
Post that many career opportunities were
denied to African-Americans in the State
Department "not because of any con-
scious racism but by the natural workings
of a system that is instinctively clubby for
people of similar backgrounds and simul-
taneously so competitive that it doesn't
dispose them to be generous or concerned
for people outside their little group."
He commented that in the State
Department "blacks feel like outsiders -
like they are being isolated and looked
down upon. 50 it should come as no sur-
prise when so many blacks finally say.
This is costing me too much in terms of
wear and tear on my psyche.' It was
known. however. that that being an
African-American was a prerequisite for
the Africa Assistant Secretary position.
Moose took brief respites from
"Foggy Bottom" (the corner of Wash-
ington that houses State and the Federal
Reserve). He spent a year as a fellow of
the corporate-funded Council on Foreign
Relations and has also been based at
Howard University in Washington as
"diplomat-in-residence." Moose's work in
Africa was seen as so consistent with Rea-
gan-Bush foreign policy that in 1989 he
gained the Presidential Performance
Award.
Why. then. did Clinton's new Secre-
tary of State. Warren Christopher. choose
Moose out of so many qualified African-
American candidates? Christopher may
not be a particularly liberal diplomat him-
self: he has been embarrassed by revela-
tions that as a Justice Department staffer
in the 1960s he was involved in surveil-
lance of antiwar activists.
Moreover. under Christopher's lead as
czar of the Clinton transition team. other
conservative forces are emerging in State.

These are reflected in Clinton's tough approach to Iraq and the pre-inauguration violation of his promise not to use Coast Guard ships to turn back the Haitian political refugees while they are still in neutral international waters.

In fact, the so-called "National Security Cluster" of Clinton transition officials announced three weeks after the November election included Moose as one of three men responsible for filling State Department positions. The cluster also had responsibility for USIA (which provides information on the US to foreigners and organises study visits) as well as the beleaguered US Agency for International Development (US AID). One hint of the degree to which US propaganda and aid are still considered "security" issues was that Penn Kemble, a conservative demoxll 1111be V71 M

Ready for

takeoff: Clinton

and friends

crat who raised funds for the Nicaraguan contras, was made responsible for the USIA transition. .

There are as yet no real indications of Africa policy changes that might emerge from the Clinton administration. Moose will probably not shake or stir US trade or debt policies which have proven so harsh to the Third World in recent years. But foreign aid appears one policy arena that will be subject to a good deal of debate. Already the well-respected American Council for Voluntary International Action (whose secretary is Vivian Der-ryck, formerly a leading candidate for Moosel's post) has requested the cluster official responsible for US AID transition appointments to curb arms sales and US "security assistance" to the Third World. The Council argues "We do not believe that it is appropriate for US AID or its successor to focus on export promotion activities...we further believe that large capital projects should only play a limited role in any US aid programme, especially in the poorest countries."

Clinton continued in a recent foreign policy speech that he would rely on such voluntary agencies and other NGOs "to help in the development of independent, civic and service sectors in the new democracies." Moose's activities will provide one barometer for whether a new set of interest groups can rein in the old policies.

PATRICK BOND/JOHANNESBURG

Peacekeeping force
endorsed by OAU
ADDIS ABABA. -
Organisation of African
Unity (OAU) Foreign
Ministers endorsed a plan yesterday to set up the first
pan-African peace
keeping force despite a
chronic shortage of
money.

They approved a resolution saying it was "in the continued interest of member states to have the force established as soon as it was possible".

The resolution will be forwarded to an OAU summit in Cairo in June, which will also discuss the organisations parlous financial situation caused by the non-payment or late payment of membership dues totalling about R120 million.

Ethiopia was one of several states which called for the postponement of the plan until member states pay their arrears and restore the OAU to full economic health.

It argued that OAU finances were so poor it would be forced to call on outside countries to help pay for the force. which would undermine African sovereignty.

Despite this, Ministers approved the establishment of a special fund to finance a peace keeping force with contributions from the OAU's 51 member states and the United Nations, which has said it will help.

All but five of the OAU's members are in arrears to the OAU. which has had to slash economic and social programmes.

The OAU has taken a back seat while the United Nations or regional organisations have tried to police wars which have broken out from Sudan to Senegal and Liberia to - Rwanda.

It is trying to get more involved in the peace keeping force and mandated Secretary-General Salim Ahmed Salim to "pursue his efforts at pre-

ventive diplomacy". Mr Salim is studying plans for a "conflict resolution" mechanism within the . QAUW ..____,.- , -

The Ministers, who were preparing a summit agenda, agreed further consultations were needed on who should command the proposed force, which is to be drawn from crack units from all member states and kept on constant alert.

Conference sources said some Ministers wanted the existing panel of OAU leaders to head it while others felt it should be placed under a special committee of elected member states. an OAU Security Council.

The OAU has not mounted a peace force since it sent a mixed force to Chad in the 1980s which was forced to withdraw in confusion because of uncertainty about its role.

The organisation has been powerless to stop civil wars in three member states - Somalia, Rwanda and Angola - in the past year and has been unable to end rebel conflicts in Sudan. Liberia, Senegal, Djibouti. Uganda or Mozambique.

- Sapa-Reuter.

Glue eta;

Established 1887

South Africa's largest daily newspaper

A vote for

peace

GOVERNMENT which enjoys ma-

jority support is in a better posi-

tion to address near endemic vio-

lence than one that does not. From

that uncontested axiom, the Common-

-wealth Observer Mission to South Africa

-. (Comsa) concludes that South Africa's best

-hope is to move speedily towards demo-

cratic elections.

Comsals proposition can be put different-

ly: the violence must not be allowed to

postpone democratic elections, since the

elections are themselves a necessary con-

dition for ending it.

The mission's conclusion, contained in a

; detailed report, contrasts with the view ex-

pressed last year by the International

' Commission of Jurists - that the level of

violence was too high for free and fair

elections to be held.

Yet from that assumption a different .

conclusion can be drawn: that unfree and

unfair elections might increase anger and

- resentment and consequently exacerbate

violence. The example of Angola, where in-

adequate UN monitoring allowed the elec-

tion losers to cry foul and resume civil

war, comes readily to mind.

South Africans, like Greek sailors of old,

may feel that they risk being sucked under

by Charybdis and/or devoured by Scylla.

There is, however, a way forward between

these perils. A multiparty conference must

be convened as soon as possible to chart an

agreed course to the future. Meanwhile, all

parties must work actively to reduce the

' violence.

Such a programme may have to include

joint control of the security forces. It will

certainly require an immediate end to cov-

ert operations by these forces, a cessation

of gun-running by the ANC and the IFP, a

high-profile peace campaign by Nelson

Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi and a

reaffirmation of support for the National

Peace Accord.

International observers, whether from

the Commonwealth, the UN, the European

Community or the OAU, have a role to

play, too. As Comsa observes, their pres-

ence helps contain violence in volatile situ-

ations. They can help facilitate the free

and fair elections so vital to resolution of

the fighting.