

Black against Black violence out of control?

By Barry Renfrew

THE daily police reports list the atrocities: nine Black men knifed by a mob, three Black women burned to death, a 9-year-old girl "necklaced" with a burning tyre.

Nearly always, the victims and their killers are Black.

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

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

The South African Institute of Race Relations estimates 4 000 people will die in Black-against-Black violence this year. About 1 400 Blacks died in factional fighting in 1989, according to the institute.

Victims are often hacked to death with knives or spears, the mutilated bodies burned. Dozens have been killed by "necklacing."

Civil war

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

"The appalling numbers of people who are dying, it is absolutely shocking," anti-apartheid leader Dr Allan Boesak said in an interview "that is the kind of situation that can lead to the Lebanonisation of South Africa."

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



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lude to a struggle for power once White rule ends.

Itumeleng Mosala, president of the Azanian People's Organisation, foresees increasing violence between Blacks if apartheid ends.

"It's going to continue because violence has a way of repeating itself," he says. "So, I would say that we are going to see a situation of near civil war in this country."

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

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

The causes of Black violence in South Africa are many and complex. Reasons include apartheid,

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

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

Part of life

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

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

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

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

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

But often the anti-government "struggle" is little more than mob violence by youth gangs, says Mohammed Valli Moosa, an anti-apartheid leader. In some Black townships there is now virtually no authority and rival groups try to wrest control.

Some Black leaders concede these tactics helped create a "lost generation," young Blacks raised in poverty with virtually no education and a burning hatred for authority — Black and White.

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

workers and schoolchildren. A recent "war" between rival taxi companies left more than 20 dead.

Criminal gangs have exploited the unrest, sparking wars with radical young Blacks. Groups of vigilantes, some linked to police, have warred with rival "comrades" from the ANC and other political groups.

Appeals spurned

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

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

The violence has been exacerbated by increasingly bitter disputes between rival Black political groups. While all are opposed to apartheid, various factions are competing for support with conflicting visions for South Africa's future.

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

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

BUSH, MANDELA CITIZEN 26 JUNE 1990 DIFFER ON ENDING VIOLENCE

At White House

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

WASHINGTON. — President George Bush welcomed Mr Nelson Mandela to the White House yesterday and urged him to renounce violence, but the ANC Deputy President reserved the right to use any tactics necessary to end South Africa's apartheid system.

"We must see on all sides a clear commitment

to change. All parties must seize the opportunity to move ahead in a spirit of compromise, tolerance, flexibility and patience . . . call on all elements in South African society to renounce the use of violence and armed struggle, President Bush said on the White House South Lawn.

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

Congress and other South African Blacks would be determined by the attitude of his country's government.

"When a government decides to ban political organisations of the oppressed, intensifies oppression and does not allow any political activity no matter how peaceful and non-violent, then the

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Bush, Mandela differ

FROM PAGE 1

people have no alternative but to resort to violence," Mr Mandela said.

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

But he said there would be no need to use violence as long as the government of State President F W de Klerk remained committed to dismantling the apartheid system.

The differing viewpoints on armed resistance were illustrated starkly by Mr Mandela's wife, Winnie, who said on Sunday night that Pretoria was ready to deal only because of the Black South African's willingness to take up arms.

"Were it not for the military wing of the ANC, Pretoria would never

have agreed to be talking to us today," she said.

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

"It is because of sanctions that such enormous progress has been made in the attempt to address the problems of our country," he said.

President Bush offered a strong denunciation of apartheid, calling it "repugnant to the conscience of men and women everywhere". But he also "applauded" as "positive developments" Mr De Klerk's pledge to bring Blacks into South Africa's political system.

The President also said he would be ready to consult with Congress about lifting economic sanctions once Pretoria fulfilled the requirements laid out under US law.

"Our sanctions have been designed to support change. And when conditions laid down in our law have been met, then and only then will we consider, in consultation with the Congress, whether a change in course will promote further progress through peaceful negotiations."

Mr Mandela sought to soften the disagreement over tactics by thanking "the people of America, and the president, in particular" for supporting Black aspirations in South Africa.

"To receive the support of any government is, in

our situation, something of enormous importance.

But to receive the support of the government of the United States of America, the leader of the West, is something beyond words," he said.

He would do his best to strengthen Mr De Klerk's political position, which had been threatened by White South Africans who wished to maintain the apartheid system.

"We are also addressing ourselves to means and methods of helping Mr De Klerk to maintain his position with confidence and to go on with the negotiations without looking over his shoulder," Mr Mandela said.

President Bush, who accorded Mr Mandela the deference generally reserved for heads of government, said his guest "embodies the hopes of millions".

"Mr Mandela, you said many years ago, before the first of your 10 000 days in prison, that there is no easy walk to freedom. Your years of suffering, your nation's suffering, have borne that out. But just as this past year so many millions of people in Eastern Europe and elsewhere, so, too, South Africa's time will come. As Martin Luther King said on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial: We cannot walk alone."

"Sir, we here in America walk in solidarity with all the South Africans who seek, through non-violent means, democracy, human rights, and freedom." — Sapa-Reuter.

Uncomfortable realities

THE future hangs uncertainly over us, like a promise of redemption, or like a death sentence. We are excited and unsure, we do not know where we are going. We do not even know where we are, or who we are. One nation or several? Racial oligarchy or hodgepodge of tribes? Is diversity the glory of South Africa, or its cross? Is the main dividing line class or colour? Or language? Or religion? Does our notoriously unequal division of wealth follow racial lines, or is it more complicated than that?

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

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

There is no doubt which option is the more dangerous: to try to obliterate differences in a system that gives unfettered control to "50 percent plus one" (or even 90 percent plus one) risks unleashing into this volatile mixture the destructive fury of an IRA: a psychopathic right-wing underground army that carries violent resistance, against all odds, from generation to generation.

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

son Mandela did last week, the notion of a federal state. The excuse, put forward most recently by the MDM's Faried Esack, is that such mechanisms to limit the power of "50 percent plus one" are mere devices to "perpetuate apartheid".

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

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

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

In fact, an equal division of wealth,

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assuming it were possible, would give the Indians three percent of the whole, which is a little less than their present share; hence equality must make them poorer. But simply to state that fact is to fall into the old obscenity: the truth is that some Indians are very poor, some are very rich, and there is no reason at all to lump them together.

Look at the same question from another angle: almost all home owners in Soweto, and most occupiers of the "little matchboxes", draw large incomes from sub-letting back rooms, Zozo huts, or garages to so-called squatters. As in Sophiatown and old Alexandra in the Fifties, mutterings against the landlords are being heard from the

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

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

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

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

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

In addition, if we are honest we must

26 JUNE 1990

UNCOMFORTABLE REALITIES

FROM PG 1

confess, as the *Sowetan's* Thami Mazwai has recently suggested, that we have all used those statistics as instruments of propaganda, to attack the National Party, or to whip up foreign funding, or to get foreign bursaries and teaching posts and subsidies, or for a thousand purposes which, in the shadow-world of apartheid, might have seemed legitimate — but which now seem increasingly questionable, even shabby.

Nor does it help to claim purity of motive. A man who worked for the notorious Tomlinson Commission in drawing up the blueprint for apartheid, now preaching non-racialism with the zeal of a convert, assures me that at the time they all thought it the right thing to do.

Hoot if you will but listen carefully now to the socialists demanding power in order to do good. Social engineers, whether Joe Slovo or Hendrik Verwoerd, always mean well when they set out to twist human affairs to fit their megalomaniac visions. The constitutional challenge, it is trite to say, is to balance two principles which are not always easy to reconcile: equality before the law, and the right to be different. To strike that balance is never easy, but in a country like this, divided in a hundred ways, riven by fierce factions, it is more difficult and more dangerous than in most places.

In this volatile mixture of tribe and class and race, each nursing ancient myths and clashing visions, the surest way to disaster is to formulate another grand plan to replace Verwoerd's grand plan. If our history has taught us anything, it is to be wary of leaders who demand power in order to do good.

• Ken Owen is the editor of *Business Day*.

26 JUNE 1990

Black against Black violence

The struggle has tribal overtones. Inkatha relies on traditional Zulu followers while the ANC-United Democratic Front combines urbanised Zulus and other tribes.

The ANC, regarded as the largest and most powerful Black group, also faces strong opposition from more militant organizations such as the Pan Africanist Congress and groups linked to the Black Consciousness Movement.

Broke away

The PAC broke away from the ANC because of its multiracial foundation. The PAC is an "Africanist" group that campaigns for Africans to control all aspects of life and rejects Western influences.

"Political tolerance is, sadly, not a strong feature of our country," says Dr Alf Stadler, a political science professor at the University of the Witwatersrand. — Sapa/AP.

Uncomfortable realities

Natalwitness

26 June 1990

THE future hangs uncertainly over us, like a promise of redemption, or like a death sentence. We are excited and unsure, we do not know where we are going. We do not even know where we are, or who we are. One nation or several? Racial oligarchy or hodgepodge of tribes? Is diversity the glory of South Africa, or its cross? Is the main dividing line class or colour? Or language? Or religion? Does our notoriously unequal division of wealth follow racial lines, or is it more complicated than that?

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THE CITIZEN COMMENT

26 June 1990

Winnie

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

He stresses the integrity of the State President, Mr F W de Klerk.

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

He never utters a word of recrimination about the past.

He is, as we have said often enough, the bland face of the ANC — and to that extent he is persuasive overseas about the organisation's intentions, even if he is not always very convincing at home.

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

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

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

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

She added: "We want to warn South Africa if they don't take note today, if they don't take note of what is happening throughout the world . . . that our patience has been run dry."

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

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

What we find most deplorable is her reference to fighting the White man? Isn't that blatant racialism?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Black township leaders at one time distanced themselves from Mrs Mandela over the Stompie Moeketsi affair.

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

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

Making threats like the kind she made in New York is unbecoming and a great disservice to the cause Mr Mandela represents.

A tale of two commissions

STAR 26 June 1990

'Named CCB members should go before Harms commission'

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

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

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

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

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

Deliberate infiltration

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

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

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



FIVE
FREEDOMS
FORUM

At 8 pm tomorrow at the church on the corner of Orchard Road and High Street, Orchards in Johannesburg, a public meeting will be held to voice opposition to the CCB and JCC spy ring. Speakers will include Tony Leon and Gavin Evans. In this article the Five Freedoms Forum puts forward some of the concerns that are likely to be addressed at the meeting.

What is undisputed, however, is that the information gleaned by the security department of the Johannesburg City Council was passed, on a regular basis, to the military.

Indeed, there was such close liaison between the military and ele-

ments of the Johannesburg security department, the members of both the intelligence arm of Wits Command and the Johannesburg City Council would meet on a farm outside Johannesburg and plan activities against anti-apartheid activists.

The major activity of this integrated unit based on the military farm appears to have been the conducting of raids into Soweto, during which suspected activists would be hauled out of their homes, beaten up, and subsequently forced to provide information.

The monitoring operation by the security department of the Johannesburg City Council was supervised by Mr Frik Barnard, who admitted under cross-examination to

being a major in Military Intelligence.

It appears that there was close liaison between Major Barnard and elements of the intelligence community stationed at Wits Command.

Those records of the Johannesburg City Council security department that were made available to members of the commission (and there was extensive evidence about the withholding of documentary evi-

dence from the commission) pointed to the fact that both a card and a file were kept on Dr Webster.

All attempts by those leading evidence at the commission to obtain the contents of this file and the many others that were kept, proved fruitless.

One of the few files that was found was that of Mr Pat Rogers, a DP councillor, who it was admitted was spied upon by those same members of the Johannesburg security department.

At the Harms Commission, evidence has also been revealed that the sinister Civilian Co-operation Bureau (CCB), an element of special forces operating within the military, kept tabs on Dr Webster and others.

The existence of the CCB was not known at the time of the constitution of the Harms Commission but surfaced from evidence at the applications for the release from custody of Mr Ferdie Barnard and Mr Calla Botha, both ex-policemen from Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad, who appear to have been recruited by the CCB.

Mr Botha admitted to a long monitoring session of Mr Roland White, an ex-UDF activist from the Eastern Cape, and Mr Slang van Zyl, also an ex-policeman and member of the CCB, admitted to monitoring the activities of Gavin Evans, one of our executive members. At one point, there was an order out to eliminate Evans.

Both the Harms and Hiemstra commissions are nearing an end. The Hiemstra Commission has been conducted in an aggressive and exemplary manner, particularly because of the tenacious work of Advocates Dennis Fine and Lothar Wepener representing the State Attorney and leading evidence before the commission.

This commission has also not been marred by the constant jurisdictional battles that characterise the Harms Commission.

Scratching surface

The Hiemstra Commission has come to the end of its mandate, and has limited terms of reference.

Yet the Harms Commission has only just begun scratching the surface of its vast mandate which is to investigate all politically motivated

violent acts and murders committed within South Africa.

We in the Five Freedoms Forum are particularly upset that it would appear that evidence before the Harms Commission will come to an end within the next few days.

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

Moreover, we believe that each named member of the CCB should be subpoenaed and interrogated by this commission.

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

Negotiations going well, Mandela tells Bush

ANC likely to 'end hostilities' soon

STAR 26 JUNE 1990

By David Braun, Sapa
and Reuter

Washington

Nelson Mandela expects to announce a cessation of hostilities soon after his return to South Africa next month.

That is what the ANC leader told President Bush at their White House meeting yesterday, according to the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen.

Mr Cohen, who was present at the discussions, told reporters Mr Bush reaffirmed to Mr Mandela the full support of the US administration for his lifelong objective to dismantle the apartheid system and replace it with a nonracial, democratic government.

Mr Mandela, he said, had told Mr Bush the process of negotiation was "doing well" and he was optimistic about the next step, which would be to reach agreement with President de Klerk on removing the last obstacles.

Mr Cohen said: "Mr Mandela said that when the basic obstacles to negotiation are overcome, the ANC will announce a cessation of hostilities. He said that when he returns to South Africa on July 18, he expects that such an agreement will be reached rather quickly."

President Bush urged Mr Mandela to go beyond the cessation of hostilities to renounce the armed struggle and to renounce all violence.

"Mr Mandela said he would consider Mr Bush's request."

Consult Congress

Mr Cohen said Mr Mandela repeated his belief that the maintenance of sanctions were important to continue encouraging the process of negotiations. The President said he would take no action on sanctions until the requirements of the US legislation were fulfilled, at which time he would begin a consultative process with the Congress.

President Bush requested advice from Mr Mandela as to the best way the US could use money recently appropriated by Congress, but indicated the US was unlikely to provide assistance to any specific political organisation directly.

At a media conference at his Washington hotel, Mr Mandela said the ANC's mission to the White House had succeeded beyond its wildest expectations. He had the distinct impression that he and Mr Bush had narrowed the gaps that existed between them at the start of the meeting and he came away "very much encouraged".

He listed the remaining obstacles to negotiation as:

- The return of almost 20 000 political exiles.
- The release of almost 1 000 political prisoners.
- The repeal of repressive legislation which has been identified.
- An end to political trials.
- Complete lifting of the state of emergency.

Today, Mr Mandela addresses a joint meeting of the US Congress, the first South African invited to do so.

When things don't go better

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Coca-Cola products have been banned on all flights of "Air Mandela", the private charter service which is transporting Nelson and Winnie Mandela and their huge entourage around the United States.

The tour organisation has chartered a Trump Shuttle Boeing 727.

Trump Shuttle is owned by New York millionaire Mr Donald Trump. In front of each seat is a public telephone which can be used to make calls anywhere in the world. The

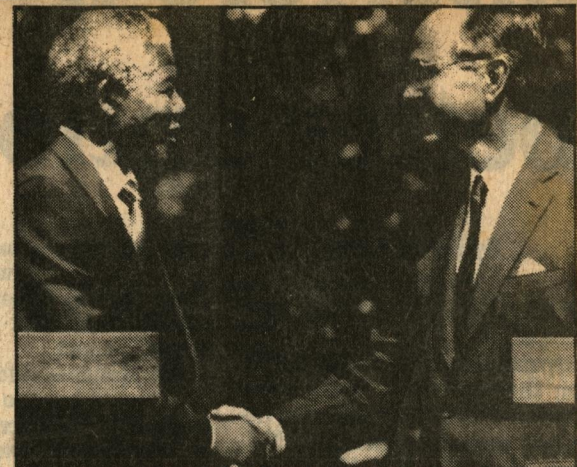
washrooms have been fitted with gold-plated taps.

The aircraft is not, however, fitted with ovens, because the Trump Shuttle only operates on very short hauls and there is no time to serve hot meals.

Also not on the menu are any Coca-Cola products. A flight crew member said this had been ordered by the tour organisers in protest against Coca-Cola's continued operations in South Africa.

The crew member was, however, at a loss to explain why a Boeing 727 was being used, as Boeing continues to be a direct supplier of aircraft to South African Airways.

● See Pages 2 and 8.



Shake ... President Bush greets ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela in the garden of the White House yesterday. ● Picture by Associated Press.

Tension in Natal over stayaway

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Tension is mounting in Natal's black townships over the proposed national stayaway called by Cosatu for Monday July 2.

Smear pamphlets are being distributed in some townships and there have allegedly been threats of intimidation.

The stayaway has been called as part of the national Action Week to put pressure on the Government to end the Natal violence.

Many local businesses have indicated they will approach the stayaway with the no work, no pay principle, which means many workers will lose wages.

Residents in local townships have complained of "veiled threats" to those who defy the stayaway call.

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

Inkatha, ANC 'should talk about violence'

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The violence in Natal will not be stopped without Inkatha president Mangosutho Buthelezi being part of the solution, African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela told President Bush at the White House yesterday.

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

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

- The major responsibility for stopping the violence belonged to the Government and not the ANC.

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

"The gravamen of my briefing with him was mainly that the Government is responsible for the violence.

"This violence has been going on for more than four years and close to 4 000 people have been killed.

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

Document was no secret — Leon

By Guy Jepson

Democratic Party MP for Houghton Tony Leon last night rejected claims that a "secret" document, calling on the party to adopt a more radical, hard-hitting approach to national politics, had the support of leading party members.

Details of the document, compiled by Houghton-based legal academic David Unterhalter, Mr Leon's former municipal election campaign manager, were published in a Johannesburg newspaper this morning.

Arguing that an ANC government was a fait accompli, the

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

Hard-hitting

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

order" upon the ANC.

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

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

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

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

STAR 26/6/90

SACP to be ruled from Zambia?

The South African Communist Party has announced it is to re-enter the mainstream of South African politics after being banned for 40 years. But whether it will do so openly or in disguise remains an unanswered question, writes **KEN VERNON** of The Star's Africa News Service.

The South African Communist Party (SACP) has opted to come in from the cold — but its leadership has chosen to remain in the shadows in Zambia.

Announcing that the SACP would henceforth operate openly as a political party, SACP general secretary Joe Slovo was forced to admit that the party's anonymous ruling central committee would continue to pull the political strings from outside the country.

Mr Slovo said that when the SACP had its coming out party in Soweto on July 29, a group of "internal leaders" would be presented to the people.

Questioned on just what power the internal leaders would have, he explained that while they would have a degree of autonomy, they would nevertheless remain responsible to the party's central committee — which would remain in exile.

Mr Slovo categorically refused to reveal the identities of the faceless men and/or women on the central committee who will hold the real power and remain the real leaders of the SACP.

While expounding at length on the idea that the SACP had at no time aimed to become a "broederbond" within the ranks of the ANC or any other political organisation, Mr Slovo at the same time dismissed questions on the identity of SACP leaders said to dominate the ruling national executive committee of the ANC.

He said that reports saying most of the members of the committee were also members of the SACP were "exaggerated".

Similarly, he refused to say just how many members the SACP had at present.

By way of not answering that question, Mr Slovo said that the new "open" SACP would not issue membership cards "to just anyone" who wanted to become a member or any people who merely sympathised or considered themselves "bystanders".

Vanguard

Instead, the party would aim to recruit people of "calibre" who were prepared to be activists in an attempt to operate in the area somewhere between being a populist party and a vanguard party.

While endorsing multiparty democracy, Mr Slovo refused to say if the SACP would be prepared to fight a general election and attempt to win political power in its own right.

It was too early, he said, to say if the SACP would field candidates against the ANC or would stand in the elections as part of the alliance with the ANC.

This scenario would seem set to continue until at least July 1991, when, Mr Slovo said, the party would be holding a congress in South Africa at which a new central committee would be "democratically" elected.

This raised the point that the identities of the present central committee — and other leading members — may never become known. If this is so, then it will be possible for present SACP central committee members, who are also present members of the ANC executive, not to ever have to reveal their dual membership.

In those conditions it would be possible for them to continue to act in a "broederbond" — to use Slovo's words — mode on behalf of the SACP within the ANC after the "democratic" election of a new slate of SACP leaders next year.

It would seem that, contrary to Mr Slovo's words, the SACP may be aiming to remain what it has been for some time — an elite "vanguard" party in the Leninist mould, led by the faceless central committee manipulating issues and events under cover of the mass-appeal ANC.

Mercury

26 June 1990

Mandela's 'tour of vilification'

SIR — Are Mandela (and his spouse) travelling on South African passports on his 'tour of vilification,' defamed everything South African, including Chief Buthelezi, as well as everything Zulu?

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

Either the South African Government has lost its grip or it is in the process of 'giving enough rope!'

As a non-Nat but law-abiding English-speaking South African I should like very much to know why this man is given this sort of 'freedom', the meaning of which he hasn't a clue!

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

FED UP SOUTH AFRICAN

Telling it like it is

AS WE HAVE pointed out before, the future of the world lies not in the hands of politicians, but in the pitter-patter of tiny feet as the world's population soars.

By the turn of the century there will be another billion people on earth, a total of 6.3 billion. In the next 20 years Africa's population will double to more than a billion. As far as South Africa is concerned, our present 32 million will have grown to 80 million by 2020 — and 80 million has been fixed by demographers as the maximum number of people our resources will be able to support.

Thankfully, the realis-

ation appears to be beginning to dawn on black Africa that people just cannot go on breeding as they are ... not if they are to have any kind of future at all.

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

That is telling it like it is.

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

Just which is the real Mandela?

Natal Mercury - 26 June 1990

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

They have begun to approximate the obscene titles accorded the great totalitarians, Stalin, Mao and Ceaucescu, by their acolytes.

In this instance, happily, the phenomenon is a reflection not on the idol, but on his idolators. Behind the nauseating fog of adulation, lies, without question, an extraordinary man.

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

Does he mean to transcend and redirect the intolerant instincts of an organisation whose members murder dissent?

Or is he merely exploiting the uncritical reverence of his foreign worshippers to strengthen the organisation's hand in pursuit of sole power?

After a week of hanging on his words, I join President FW De Klerk in wanting to believe the former yet cannot shake suspicion of the latter.

Intentions

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

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

They supported the

Washington Newsletter From SIMON BARBER

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

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

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

I want to believe that he permits his wife to shout 'Viva Umkhonto We Sizwe' to adoring New Yorkers and to say she will 'return' to the bush to 'fight the white man' should negotiations collapse, not because he remains committed to the armed struggle, but to reassure those who do; and that, by avoiding such rhetoric in his own speeches, he is trying to delineate himself as a man of peace who must be heeded if South Africa is to be saved from the young lions.

I want to believe that his call for the maintenance of sanctions is similarly expedient; that behind closed doors he has intimidated to foreign businessmen that he doesn't really want them to leave South Africa in spite of his best efforts to energise the sanctions lobby against them; that he really believes, as he told one interviewer, that sanctions put pressure on both the Government and the ANC to come to terms as fast as possible, be-

cause neither wants to see the economy wrecked.

This conjures the interesting image of his telling his colleagues at some point when negotiations begin to stall: 'Look, gentlemen, we must concede on Point X or Y because if we don't, the sanctions I have succeeded in getting the world to retain will undermine us as much as the Government by making it impossible to fulfil the expectations of the people.'

I want to believe, too, that his summons 'keep the pressure on' and the all but inevitable obedience of most Western governments is intended not merely to strengthen the ANC's hand at the negotiating table, but to give Mandela himself and his likeminded adjutants the space to compromise, build bridges with the white community and say, as no one in the anti-apartheid movement has said before, that the NP's leaders are men of 'integrity' and 'honesty' who 'will abide by agreements that are arrived at in the course of our negotiations and discussions'.

Violence

I want to believe him when he tells the UN General Assembly that 'The only victory we should seek is the victory of the people as a whole, and not the victory of one party over another'; when he says that 'No solution is possible ... without the involvement of Dr Buthe' and slyly shifts the blame for the violence in Natal on to the Government for not having deployed its 'strong, efficient and well-equipped army and police force' to 'suppress' the conflict.

When he speaks of the

Government acting 'together with us and all other representative political forces to bring about a new reality', I want to believe that he sincerely acknowledges that there are such things as 'other representative political forces' beyond the aegis of the ANC and that, henceforth, he will fight any attempt to eliminate them or otherwise dissuade their supporters from expressing themselves.

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

'I'm not concerned with terminology at the moment. What concerns me is substance. How the people who are entrusted with the task of considering a new non-racial constitution should be identified, that's what concerns me.'

When he invokes the vision of a constitution and justiciable Bill of Rights which ensure 'the genuine liberty of every individual' and under which 'law ... should rule supreme', I want to believe he is genuinely speaking the language of Jefferson and that I have not missed any hidden codewords that might suggest otherwise.

Options

On economic models, I want to believe him when he says that labels must be discarded and that 'we do not care whether the cat is black or white as long as it can catch mice'; that the only criteria must be the correction of long imbalances and delivery on freedom's promises;

that 'if anybody can indicate to us that there are other options which will enable us to rectify the imbalance, we will certainly look at that option, and the questions of nationalisation will not for us be an option at all'.

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

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

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

'Assuming that your aspiration for a one man, one vote South Africa, which would clearly mean a government in which the ANC had a preponderance of power, what are your ideas about the means and mechanisms for ensuring individual personal liberty to those, black and white, who are opposed, and will be opposed, to your policies?'

He answered by disputing the history lesson. 'We expect no difficulties' in achieving the transition from liberation movement to government.

The meat of the question he ignored.

THE NATAL

MERCURY

26 June 1990

COSATU'S HYBRID

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

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

What may be less evident is the degree of confusion that exists in the ranks of the organisations on which the expectations and aspirations of the 'have-nots' are largely pinned, namely the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance.

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

Their disarray as they attempt to adapt yesterday's failed Marxist doctrines to today's pressing reality was apparent in the contribution of Ms Jane Barrett, of Cosatu's 'living wage committee', to the conference.

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

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

We would say that at this stage confusion is better than dogma because it offers hope of change and compromise. We are all going to be on a steep learning curve in the bid to find consensus in the new South Africa.

Yesterday Swapo was in practically the same ideological camp as the ANC on the 'redistribution of wealth'. Today the Prime Minister of Namibia, Mr Hage Geingob, mindful of his responsibilities to enable as many people as possible to earn a living wage, says: 'It does not help to redistribute poverty.'

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

LETTERS

The Citizen PO Box 7712
Johannesburg 2000SAP 'old faithfuls'
kicked in the teeth

MINISTER Vlok's recent announcement urging "old policemen" to return to the SA Police is most deceiving. According to the following data, policemen will laugh at the mediocre increase they will be enticed with.

Should a constable leave the force with four years' service on a scale of R12 429 a year, on reinlistment he will be promoted to a lance-sergeant and will receive a salary scale of only R14 751, i.e., R2 322 a year more and a monthly increase of R193,50.

An ex-sergeant will benefit the most under certain circumstances only. If a sergeant had left the force with four years' service at a scale of R17 403, he will return to a scale of R27 849, i.e., R10 446 a year and R870,50 a month more.

A warrant-officer will return to an increase of +R83,00 a month more.

It seems from reports

that only constables and sergeants who have recently been promoted in these ranks will benefit by a ratio of 10:1 in relation to the long service constables, sergeants and warrant-officers.

The comparison between the just and unjust is as follows:

1 A sergeant with 10 years' faithful service in his rank, with a top scale of R25 584, will only move up to R27 849 (which is the top scale), i.e., R2 265 a year and R188,75 a month.

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

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

Who were the most loyal members when so many juniors were leaving the force? The "old

faithfuls," one must say.

The "old faithfuls", especially to the rank of warrant-officers, have been kicked in the teeth with this increment adjustment and the message is "thank you for your service, but we don't need you anymore". Our reply to him is: "This is disgusting, Minister Vlok".

It would be appreciated if this letter with the statistics could be published in your newspaper under the title, "What about the old faithful policemen's plight".

A faithful "old policeman".

PS: The officers have implemented these new structures to look after themselves. In turn, to protect themselves, they have only looked after the up and coming recruits in the various ranks. They have also only looked after the academic-minded policeman and not the practical and hard working ones.

Unita shrugs off attack by Mandela

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

Mr Mandela, on a triumphant visit to the United States, castigated Washington on Sunday for supporting Unita.

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

"It is logical. They are using this visit in effect to criticise Unita," the spokesman said.

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

Unita has fought against the MPLA's one-party rule since independence, with support from Portugal in 1975, with support from South Africa and later the United States. The MPLA in turn has been supported by Soviet weapons and 50 000 Cuban troops.

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

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

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

"The American people have already understood that Unita's struggle is aimed at establishing a

multi-party democracy, so we are not afraid that this will affect US public opinion."

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

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

18, Unita summoned its delegation to bush headquarters at Jamba for consultations.

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

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

Mangope, Pik talk about ANC, sanctions

MMABATHO. — The SA Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, held talks yesterday with President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana centring around the recent visit of State President F W de Klerk to Europe.

The Bophuthatswana official news agency Bopana said Mr Botha was accompanied by the SA ambassador to the independent homeland, Dr Willem Kotze.

Mr Botha told reporters after the meeting behind closed doors that he had briefed Pres Mangope about ANC strategy on sanctions, and that if they continued with it they would hit Bophuthatswana and other independent and self-governing states.

He said the whole of Africa was facing financial problems and needed to join hands in drawing up an economic strategy.

— Sapa.

Weapon that refuses to die

CITIZEN

26 JUNE 1990

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Experts say the V-22 — which takes off and lands

vertically like a helicopter and swivels its two wing-tip turboprop engines to fly like an airplane — could be a decisive weapon in future conventional battles, as the threat of nuclear war decreases.

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

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

Officials of Boeing and

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

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

"My rationale is very simple: I believe that politicians read editorial pages. Most people don't, but politicians do."

Mr Cheney, clashing with senators at a recent hearing, complained that Congress is willing to go along with cutting the 305 billion dollar (R793 billion) Pentagon budget, but that lawmakers are unwilling to kill weapons that hit jobs in their home districts. — Sapa-Reuter.

COMMENT

After the party

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

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

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

The sad truth is that capital which has fled will not come back. On the contrary, it must be assumed that a proportion of the whites who

do not like the new South Africa will be trying, with a determination born of desperation, to get money out of the country. That skilled people, Americans among them, will be clamouring to "help" is no doubt true, but they will want First World salaries, First World status, and the right to take their savings with them when they leave. In the end, we shall discover that most of our helpers, by wondrous coincidence, weren't doing very well where they came from.

Nelson Mandela is not to be blamed for his illusions. He is a lawyer, not an economist, and he went to prison at a time when the world was awash with left-wing claptrap, some of it consisting of theories, both patronising and boastful, about how Africa might be helped out of poverty. Those theories, adopted in good faith by many African countries, have driven this continent into the dirt, and one African country after another is now accepting that the rules of the game are hard but clear: capital follows opportunity, and it seeks profit. It takes commercial risks, but it abhors political uncertainty, and it is in short supply. Even the mighty United States is up to its ears in debt.

If Mandela wants a prosperous post-apartheid South Africa, he had better abandon now the destructive tenets — most of them derived from inappropriate revolutionary theories — which he still preaches, and turn instead to the task of building up confidence in South Africa and, no less important, confidence in his own good sense. Ticker-tape parades feed nobody.

Pot and kettle

WHILE the overriding condition for the lifting of sanctions against South Africa, including sports and cultural boycotts, is the "ending of apartheid", it is interesting to find that in some respects at least this country may have overtaken the United States in eliminating racism.

A little row has broken out in Birmingham, Alabama, because it has turned out that the venue for the American PGA golf championship in August — the famous Shoal Creek Country Club — excludes black members. But there is no talk of boycotting the tournament, which is one of the four "majors".

Comments and rebuttals by the club and its accusers could be a replay of those which marked the

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

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

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

THE encomiums heaped on ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela as he tours the US are beyond extravagant. They have begun to approximate the obscene titles accorded the great totalitarians, Stalin, Mao and Ceausescu, by their acolytes. In this instance, happily, the phenomenon is a reflection not on the idol, but on his idolators. Behind the nauseating fog of adulation, lies, without question, an extraordinary man.

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

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

I want to believe that his refusal to criticise Castro, Gaddafi and Arafat — or even to find a formula of words to avoid triggering the neuralgia these men provoke in most Americans — is evidence not of his admiration or desire to emulate them, but rather of his firm allegiance to principle. They supported the ANC. He is honour-bound not to renounce them now that he no longer needs them. As he told TV anchorman Ted Koppel: "A man who changes his principles depending on with whom he is dealing is not a man who can lead a nation."

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

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

I want to believe that he permits his wife to shout "Viva Umkhonto we Sizwe" to adoring New Yorkers and to say she will "return" to the bush to "fight the white man" should negotiations collapse, not because he remains committed to the armed struggle, but to reassure those who do; and that, by avoiding such rhetoric in his own speeches, he is trying to delineate himself as a man of peace who must be heeded if SA is to be saved from the young lions.

I want to believe that his call for the maintenance of sanctions is similarly expedient; that behind closed doors he has intimated to foreign businessmen that he doesn't really want them to leave SA despite his best efforts to energise the sanctions lobby against them; that he really believes, as he told one interviewer, that sanctions put pressure on both government and the ANC to come to terms as fast as possible, because neither wants to see the economy wrecked.

This conjures the interesting image of his telling his colleagues at

some point when negotiations begin to stall: look, gentlemen, we must concede on point x or y because if we don't, the sanctions I have succeeded in getting the world to retain will undermine us as much as the government by making it impossible to fulfil the expectations of the people.

I want to believe, too, that his summons "keep the pressure on" and the all but inevitable obedience of most Western governments is intended not merely to strengthen the ANC's hand at the negotiating table, but to give Mandela himself and his like-minded adjutants the space to compromise, build bridges with the white community and say, as nobody in the anti-apartheid movement has said before, that the NP's leaders are men of "integrity" and "honesty" who "will abide by agreements that are arrived at in the course of our negotiations and discussions".

Iwant to believe him when he tells the UN General Assembly that "the only victory we should seek is the victory of the people as a whole, and not the victory of one party over another"; when he says "no solution is possible ... without the involvement of Chief Buthelezi" and slyly

shifts the blame for the Natal violence onto government for not having deployed its "strong, efficient and well-equipped army and police force" to "suppress" the conflict.

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

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

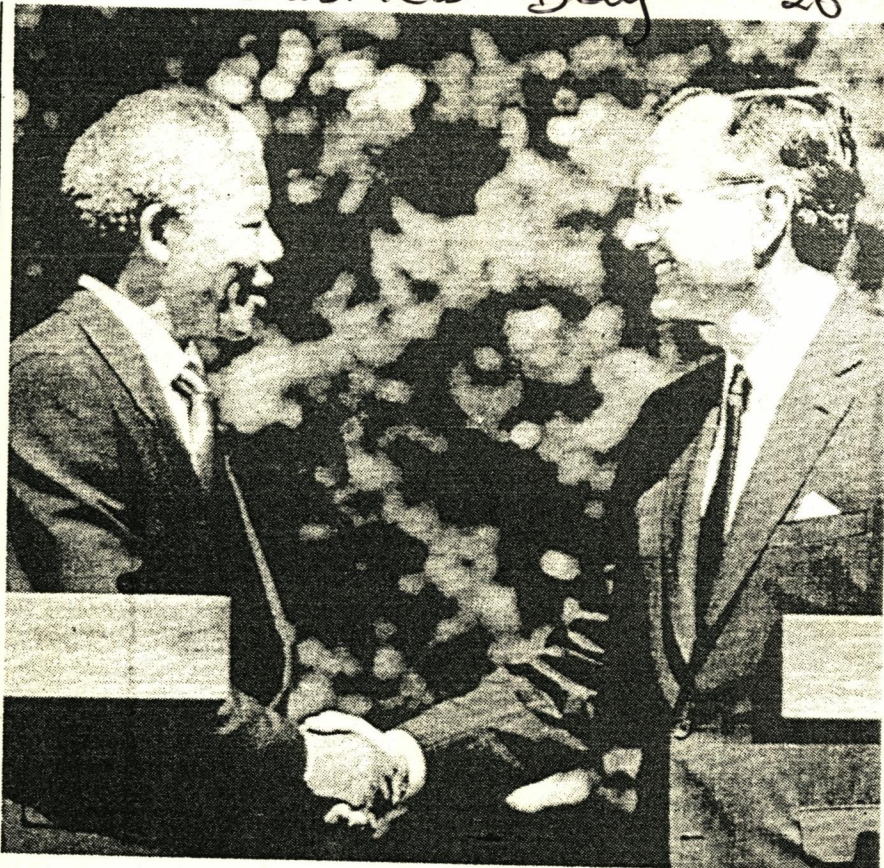
"I'm not concerned with terminology at the moment. What concerns me is substance ... how the people who are entrusted with the task of considering a new non-racial constitution should be identified, that's what concerns me."

When he invokes the vision of a constitution and justiciable bill of rights which ensure "the genuine liberty of every individual" and under

The Mandela riddle: *BUSINESS DAY 26 JUNE 1990* plain expedience or dangerous lullaby?

SIMON BARBER in Washington

Business Day 26 June 1990



President George Bush welcomes ANC leader Nelson Mandela to the White House after his arrival there yesterday. Bush urged Mandela to renounce violence, but Mandela reserved the right to use any tactics necessary to end apartheid.

Picture: REUTER

Schools 'military targets' — Winnie

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — Black schools were legitimate "military targets" because they were government facilities and provided inferior education, Winnie Mandela said on US national television yesterday.

"The children have turned the schools into military targets," she said. This was in line with the dictates of the "armed struggle", in which she "totally believed".

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

The police investigation of the "so-called offence" had been intended to "destroy the image" of the Mandelas.

Donahue asked her whether she might have physically shaken Seipei if she had had reason to believe he was a government informer. "I am a social worker... I would have had better methods of dealing with the situation if it had been addressed to me."

She insisted her infamous remark about liberating SA with the "necklace" had been taken out of context.

She admitted harbouring considerably more bitterness towards "the Afrikaner ruling class" than did her husband, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

Amid cheers from the highly partisan studio audience, she vowed that "if anything goes wrong, I will be the first to go back into the bush and take up arms and fight".

Defending the armed struggle, she claimed it had been fully blessed by the late ANC president Chief Albert Luthuli.

While Mandela last week talked of reconciliation with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, his wife appeared adamant: Inkatha, she said, "works hand in glove with the government to kill opponents of apartheid".

Gap with Bush narrowed, says Mandela

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said he had held "a very fruitful discussion" with US President George Bush yesterday and had narrowed gaps with him to reach "agreement on almost all issues".

Emerging from the White House meeting, Mandela also said he was very encouraged by the support Bush had shown.

Before the meeting Mandela and Bush clashed politely on the White House lawn over the ANC's refusal to suspend the armed struggle and its demand to be treated as the sole authentic voice of opposition to apartheid.

In welcoming remarks as the leaders prepared for two hours of talks, Bush made

it clear he did not fully share the ANC's belief in sanctions and said the US was "committed to the concept of a free market and a productive private sector."

"We applaud the recent steps President (F W) de Klerk and the government of SA have taken to expand the rights and freedoms of all South Africans."

Bush said he remained strongly opposed to disinvestment and would continue to urge American firms that were still doing business in SA to play a progressive role in training and empowering blacks and building a foundation for future prosperity.

On the question of easing the sanctions

contained in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, he said he was bound by the law's conditions and would consult Congress once he believed these conditions had been met.

He noted, however, that sanctions had been "designed to support change", suggesting he would not favour their maintenance for the additional purpose of supporting the ANC's negotiating demands.

Replying, Mandela said Bush's views on the armed struggle were because he had not been briefed properly by the ANC.

The ANC's support for violence was "determined by the SA government", he said. He then hinted, however, that the move-

□ To Page 2

Mandela

ment might be about to change its stance.

"As long as the government is prepared to talk, to maintain channels of communication between itself and the governed, there can be no question of violence."

Although this point had yet to be reached, there had been significant developments which he hoped to brief Bush about.

Bush, in turn, emphasised that the US did not intend to support any one party in the negotiations.

"We here in America walk in solidarity

□ From Page 1

with all the South Africans who seek, through non-violent means, democracy, human rights and freedom."

Mandela countered by insisting that all US policy moves be made in full consultation with the ANC, which had the "key role" in moving SA towards a settlement.

Bush should not do anything to help De Klerk, least of all to lift sanctions.

"We are the only organisation in the world that can help Mr de Klerk maintain his position," Mandela said.

● Comment: Page 10

The Natal Witness

26.06.90

Where we stand

For far too long have successive South African governments "misused the King's press damnably", as Falstaff said. States of emergency, a raft of legislation and sundry individual acts of State-inspired malice against newspapers have taken their toll over the years. Some of the best writers in the country have been imprisoned or driven into exile. Journalists have been threatened, even shot at while covering events. Little wonder that with few exceptions newspapers have lost their crusading zeal at best or practised self-censorship at worst, as reporters began to feel that society was robbing them of their professional self respect.

Fortunately there is light at the end of the tunnel. South Africa has entered a period of transition, we hope in the direction of a democracy. President de Klerk is taking steps to create a climate of free association in order to facilitate the negotiation process. Newspapers are losing their chains, and it is perhaps opportune to state where The Natal Witness stands as changes are thrust on the country.

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

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

The power of the press may last but a day, as Sir Stanley Unwin wrote, but it is a power for all that. As South Africa heads into the turbulent nineties the Witness remains conscious that this power can be all too easily abused. For that reason we shall continue to strive to be true to the fine tradition of journalism established by the paper's founder, David Buchanan.

Investment

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

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

Price of staple food doubled

Police fire on student protesters

Natal witness
26 June 1990

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

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

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

Residents of Kalingalinga township said they saw at least two people fall when police fired volleys from rifles at demonstrators and said police fired teargas canisters as well.

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

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

Protests began when some 2 000 students marched through suburbs near the main Zambia university campus in eastern Lusaka. As the protests spread to six residential townships, students burned ruling party flags and chanted slogans against the United National Independence Party, the only legal political party in the country.

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

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

Mandela may find coffers are empty

25 JUN 1990
From BRYAN BOSWELL
in Washington

OSTENSIBLY unconnected with the visit by South African black leader Mr Nelson Mandela — who is seeking up to \$US50 million (\$64 million) in aid from Congress to further the anti-apartheid campaign — a leaked Congressional report shows the United States is wallowing in a sea of foreign debt.

According to a House appropriations subcommittee report, which is to be officially disclosed today, the US faces a "cascading problem" of collecting almost \$US65 billion in foreign debt.

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

The report describes a worsening global debt in which rich countries are increasingly using the technique of debt rescheduling to paper over their domestic crises.

Wisconsin Democrat Representative Mr David Obey has already complained that unexplained "shenanigans" in financial reporting are "misleading people into believing these debts can and will be paid in full".

The House report warns that even a brief, moderate turn-down in the world economy will expose the true extent of the international debt crisis.

The House Bill being debated this week would set a ceiling of \$US70 million on US contributions to the new European Bank for Reconstruction and Development — mainly aimed at Poland — but it also allows the US President, Mr Bush, to adjust Poland's debt to the US "in a manner which recognises its basic uncollectability".

Most of the debt owed to the US dates from the 1970s Democrat years, from money handed out by the Export-Import Bank, the Commodity Credit Corporation and the Pentagon's Defence Security Assistance Agency.

The Pentagon agency, in particular, lent billions of dollars to countries to help them to buy US arms, almost certainly knowing that the buyers could not afford to repay the cash.

At the end of May, the Exim Bank, which subsidises US exports with direct loans and guarantees, was carrying "delinquent payments" of about \$US1.5 billion from 50 countries. It already has set up a \$US5 billion loan loss reserve.

Egypt owes \$US12 billion, half of it from arms purchases dating back more than a decade, and it is falling increasingly behind on its payments. The US estimates Egypt is \$US630 million behind on the payments this year and is facing a \$US720 million pay-off in principal and interest due.

Against this background, Mr Mandela's plea to the US Congress — which he will make in private meetings before his speech to the joint session of Congress today — looks doomed to fall on deaf ears.

Any sum more than the \$US10 million already allocated will almost certainly have to come from private coffers.

● Mr Mandela criticised US aid to Angola's rightist UNITA rebels yesterday in a question and answer session with the media.

He said a day before meeting Mr Bush that the US should not be aiding Mr Jonas Savimbi, the leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola.

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

Natal Witness 26 June 1988

Investment

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

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

ANC condemns anti-Zulu pamphlet

Natal Witness 26 June 1990
Witness Reporter

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

The ANC condemned the document, saying it regarded it "as the work of an enemy agent".

A member of the ANC Natal midlands committee, Sipho Gcasbashe, said: "Zulus form a substantial part of the membership of the ANC.

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

tended to create divisions and disunity among the oppressed.

"The ANC as a national liberation movement has its own media and publicity department, which is responsible for publishing the views and news of the movement," said Gcasbashe.

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

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

"Deputy president of the ANC Nelson Mandela's praise for and support

for people like Yasser Arafat and Muammar Gaddafi proves that the his organisation is interested in keeping the violence alive," said Mr Ndlovu.

The pamphlet, which was not sourced, stated that "the Boers are helping Inkatha to kill us". It says that the Zulus have always been traitors, that Zulus are always the "cop", security guard and informer, and it is always the Zulu who "crawls" for the favour of the Boer.

The pamphlet also said that "the bastard Boers are using Zulus as their private army" and "the Boers have given a large quantity of weapons to Inkatha to kill us".

Uncomfortable realities

THE future hangs uncertainly over us, like a promise of redemption, or like a death sentence. We are excited and unsure, we do not know where we are going. We do not even know where we are, or who we are. One nation or several? Racial oligarchy or hodgepodge of tribes? Is diversity the glory of South Africa, or its cross? Is the main dividing line class or colour? Or language? Or religion? Does our notoriously unequal division of wealth follow racial lines, or is it more complicated than that?

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

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

There is no doubt which option is the more dangerous: to try to obliterate differences in a system that gives unfettered control to "50 percent plus one" (or even 90 percent plus one) risks unleashing into this volatile mixture the destructive fury of an IRA: a psychopathic right-wing underground army that carries violent resistance, against all odds, from generation to generation.

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

son Mandela did last week, the notion of a federal state. The excuse, put forward most recently by the MDM's Fariel Esack, is that such mechanisms to limit the power of "50 percent plus one" are mere devices to "perpetuate apartheid".

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

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

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

In fact, an equal division of wealth,

"In this volatile mixture of tribe and class and race, each nursing ancient myths and clashing visions, the surest way to disaster is to formulate another grand plan to replace Verwoerd's grand plan. If our history has taught us anything, it is to be wary of leaders who demand power in order to do good."

assuming it were possible, would give the Indians three percent of the whole, which is a little less than their present share; hence equality must make them poorer. But simply to state that fact is to fall into the old obscenity: the truth is that some Indians are very poor, some are very rich, and there is no reason at all to lump them together.

Look at the same question from another angle: almost all home owners in Soweto, and most occupiers of the "little matchboxes", draw large incomes from sub-letting back rooms, Zozo huts, or garages to so-called squatters. As in Sophiatown and old Alexandra in the Fifties, mutterings against the landlords are being heard from the

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

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

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

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

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

In addition, if we are honest we must

Negotiations going well, Mandela tells Bush

ANC likely to 'end hostilities' soon

STAR 26 JUNE 1990

By David Braun, Sapa
and Reuter

Washington

Nelson Mandela expects to announce a cessation of hostilities soon after his return to South Africa next month.

That is what the ANC leader told President Bush at their White House meeting yesterday, according to the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen.

Mr Cohen, who was present at the discussions, told reporters Mr Bush reaffirmed to Mr Mandela the full support of the US administration for his lifelong objective to dismantle the apartheid system and replace it with a nonracial, democratic government.

Mr Mandela, he said, had told Mr Bush the process of negotiation was "doing well" and he was optimistic about the next step, which would be to reach agreement with President de Klerk on removing the last obstacles.

Mr Cohen said: "Mr Mandela said that when the basic obstacles to negotiation are overcome, the ANC will announce a cessation of hostilities. He said that when he returns to South Africa on July 18, he expects that such an agreement will be reached rather quickly."

President Bush urged Mr Mandela to go beyond the cessation of hostilities to renounce the armed struggle and to renounce all violence.

"Mr Mandela said he would consider Mr Bush's request."

Consult Congress

Mr Cohen said Mr Mandela repeated his belief that the maintenance of sanctions were important to continue encouraging the process of negotiations. The President said he would take no action on sanctions until the requirements of the US legislation were fulfilled, at which time he would begin a consultative process with the Congress.

President Bush requested advice from Mr Mandela as to the best way the US could use money recently appropriated by Congress, but indicated the US was unlikely to provide assistance to any specific political organisation directly.

At a media conference at his Washington hotel, Mr Mandela said the ANC's mission to the White House had succeeded beyond its wildest expectations. He had the distinct impression that he and Mr Bush had narrowed the gaps that existed between them at the start of the meeting and he came away "very much encouraged".

He listed the remaining obstacles to negotiation as:

- The return of almost 20 000 political exiles.
- The release of almost 1 000 political prisoners.
- The repeal of repressive legislation which has been identified.
- An end to political trials.
- Complete lifting of the state of emergency.

Today, Mr Mandela addresses a joint meeting of the US Congress, the first South African invited to do so.

When things don't go better

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Coca-Cola products have been banned on all flights of "Air Mandela", the private charter service which is transporting Nelson and Winnie Mandela and their huge entourage around the United States.

The tour organisation has chartered a Trump Shuttle Boeing 727.

Trump Shuttle is owned by New York millionaire Mr Donald Trump. In front of each seat is a public telephone which can be used to make calls anywhere in the world. The

washrooms have been fitted with gold-plated taps.

The aircraft is not, however, fitted with ovens, because the Trump Shuttle only operates on very short hauls and there is no time to serve hot meals.

Also not on the menu are any Coca-Cola products. A flight crew member said this had been ordered by the tour organisers in protest against Coca-Cola's continued operations in South Africa.

The crew member was, however, at a loss to explain why a Boeing 727 was being used, as Boeing continues to be a direct supplier of aircraft to South African Airways.

● See Pages 2 and 8.



Shake ... President Bush greets ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela in the garden of the White House yesterday. ● Picture by Associated Press.



"USA TODAY hopes to serve as a forum for better understanding and unity to help make the USA truly one nation."

—Allen H. Neuharth
Founder
Sept. 15, 1982

Peter S. Prichard
Editor

Cathleen Black
Publisher

John Seigenthaler
Editorial Director

Thomas Curley
President

DEBATE

Mandela is right; keep the sanctions

TODAY'S DEBATE: Sanctions. In USA TODAY's opinion, South Africa has taken only the first steps toward abolishing apartheid — keep up the economic pressure. 8A.

► Support of "morally and politically wrong" sanctions ignores recent world history, says Ernest Lefever. 8A.

Ernest W. Lefever
Senior Fellow In Applied Ethics

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ERNEST W. LEFEVER

An opposing view

Mandela is wrong; lift economic sanctions

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

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

The obvious answer is that Mandela has become a symbol of the struggle against racism. So far, so good. All decent persons should oppose racial and tribal discrimination in South Africa, black Africa and elsewhere around the world.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This prescription flies in the face of recent experience. All new socialist orders have failed. The new South Africa needs freedom and prosperity. Sanctions hurt the economy and cause unemployment for the very blacks the ANC seeks to "liberate." Hence, the majority of black workers want sanctions ended. Only the violence-prone extremists of the left and right benefit from them.

Sanctions are morally and politically wrong. The USA should end them and increase trade with South Africa. President de Klerk's courageous steps toward greater racial justice and prosperity merit our support.



Ernest W. Lefever is a senior fellow with the Ethics and Public Policy Center.

B / Day 26/6/90

Schools 'military targets' — Winnie

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — Black schools were legitimate "military targets" because they were government facilities and provided inferior education, Winnie Mandela said on US national television yesterday.

"The children have turned the schools into military targets," she said. This was in line with the dictates of the "armed struggle", in which she "totally believed".

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

The police investigation of the "so-called offence" had not been intended to "destroy the image" of the Mandelas.

Donahue asked her whether she might have physically shaken Seipei if she had had reason to believe he was a government informer. "I am a social worker... I would have had better methods of dealing with the situation if it had been addressed to me."

She insisted her infamous remark about liberating SA with the "necklace" had been taken out of context.

She admitted harbouring considerably more bitterness towards "the Afrikaner ruling class" than did her husband, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

Amid cheers from the highly partisan studio audience, she vowed that "if anything goes wrong, I will be the first to go back into the bush and take up arms and fight".

Defending the armed struggle, she claimed it had been fully blessed by the late ANC president Chief Albert Luthuli.

While Mandela last week talked of reconciliation with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, his wife appeared adamant. Inkatha, she said, "works hand in glove with the government to kill opponents of apartheid".

THE CITIZEN
COMMENT

28 June 1990

Restrain both

THE state of the country is not very reassuring.

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

Mr Nelson Mandela, the ANC Deputy President, has told President George Bush he believes that a cessation of hostilities might be arranged once the obstacles to negotiation are removed — but the ANC's list of obstacles are not just the ones discussed at Groote Schuur.

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

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

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

The armed struggle will be reactivated whenever it suits the ANC.

However, although there is a tendency to regard talk of the armed struggle as rhetorical these days, since no terrorist attacks on civilians are taking place, the attacks on policemen, Black councillors and other "symbols" of the system are continuing.

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

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

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

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

The first is that it encourages the people who attack the police and other officials to continue their foul deeds.

But worse than that, it encourages the extreme Right among Whites to engage in their own brand of terrorism.

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

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

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

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

They make no bones about their militarism — and they make no bones about their hatred of the government and its reforms.

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

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

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

No government worth its salt would bow to threats, from whichever quarter, and this government certainly won't.

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

"The government takes a strong stand against violence, from whatever source.

"Legislation will be applied strictly and impartially against whoever furthers violence and commits intimidation."

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