

Economic power of few must change, Mandela tells business

STAR 24 MAY 1990

Staff Reporter

While the ANC had no blueprint that decreed privately-owned assets be nationalised, it was obvious the concentration of economic power in a few white hands would have to change, Nelson Mandela said in Johannesburg last night.

About 40 ANC officials and 400 South African business leaders met at a landmark conference at the Carlton Hotel yesterday, organised by the Consultative Business Movement (CBM) to discuss SA's future economic policy.

ANC deputy president Mr Mandela told the conference he would not present any argument about nationalisation.

"The view that the only words in the economic vocabulary that ANC knows are nationalisation and redistribution is mistaken. There are many issues to consider in the question of democratisation and de-racialisation of economic power," Mr Mandela said.

He said it was important to stop propagating a gloomy picture of a future South Africa which would sink into the economic crisis that afflicted many African countries.

Mr Mandela said it would be necessary to review the system of taxation.

The burden of taxation on sec-

tions of the community least capable of looking after themselves should be shifted to the corporate sector — without producing a situation of diminishing returns.

He said the abolition of multi-headed apartheid administrative structures would result in enormous savings.

Defence spending would also have to be radically reduced, and lead to the conversion of military production facilities to civilian needs.

He would fight against the creation of a "bloated and unproductive" civil service.

Crisis

Mr Mandela said South Africa's economy was in a terrible crisis. Unemployment was increasing, investment in fixed capital was decreasing and inflation was high.

"The democratic project cannot succeed unless the economy can deliver. There is no prospect of getting out of the morass while the apartheid system of white minority rule remains."

Anglo-American's Gavin Relly told the conference that business and political movements would have to seek a new set of jointly held values to enable them to confront the challenges of building an economic future together.

These would have to share ele-

ments of individualism, competitiveness, consensus, co-operation and social conscience.

He said the debate about economic options had progressed from the crudities of a "capitalism versus socialism dogfight" to a recognition that South Africa had a future in a mixed economy.

"(There is a) need to get the mix right — the tax system, the efficiency and manner in which we deploy tax revenue, the country's legal and institutional framework and the need for a market-based pricing system."

Mr Relly said instead of contemplating mechanisms such as nationalisation, the private sector should be seen as a source of wealth and job creation, with the Budget acting as an allocator of resources raised by taxation.

CBM chairman Murray Hofmeyr said the conference had not sought to achieve superficial definitive statements about SA's future, but to explore options.

"We have a very long way to go. There are areas of substantial disagreement and I am appalled at the massive problems.

"There is inevitably a degree of mistrust between business and the ANC. We identified areas of disagreement and areas of similar interest," Mr Hofmeyr said.

16/1/11

Nationalisation will be disastrous

Dear editor

I would like to respond to the numerous letters published in NEW NATION which laud nationalisation.

How can nationalisation be established in a country without creating a one-party state first?

For in a democracy, one government can change what has been created by another, sometimes at great expense, as Margaret Thatcher may well discover with regard to her poll tax ruling.

In a one-party state, change is not possible; instead you will find dictatorship.

Why not encourage as much investment as possible in this country in order to create much-needed employment, at the same time ensuring that the workers are given fair and reasonable conditions of employment?

I have read that investment is being chased away from South Africa by all this talk of nationalisation.

And this, in turn, can have an adverse effect on the working population.

Apart from lost jobs, it means less money is being acquired through taxation for schools and other public amenities.

When much-needed investment left Zimbabwe, I believe disinvesting companies never returned to provide employment, with the result that now, according to statistics, only one school-leaver in 10 can find a job in Zimbabwe (despite universal secondary education).

Is there no lesson to be learnt here?

Lorenne Flynn
JOHANNESBURG

N. NATION 24/05/90



Nelson Mandela's call for the nationalisation of the economy and the equitable distribution of the country's wealth has elicited much debate. (See main letter).

16/1/11

A DETAILED step-by-step plan for the assassination of a Durban lawyer suspected of having ANC links was handed over to the Harms Commission of Inquiry into death squads yesterday.

The lawyer, Kwenza Elijah Mlaba, was targeted for assassination because of his purported links with the ANC leadership in exile and his suspected involvement in channeling funds to the organisation's operatives.

When told of the plot to assassinate him, Mlaba said that he was not surprised by the revelation.

Mlaba said that in 1986 he was shot at six times by un-

N. NATION 24/05/90

Harms told of poison plot

known people and had to be treated in two Durban hospitals and Cape Town's Groote Schuur for the injuries he suffered. AK47 rifles were also used in the attacks, according to Mlaba.

In another attack, his house was partly damaged by petrol bombs and his two cars were gutted. All these incidents were reported to the Umlazi police, where the investigating officer was a

Major Erasmus. Nothing came of the investigations.

"Prior to the attack I used to receive threatening phone calls from people I suspect were right-wingers. They constantly threatened me and said that they would get rid of me because I was an ANC member," he said.

The commission was told that the four-page document was drawn up by a Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB)

Region 2 operative, who went under the alias Shane du Plooy.

Under the heading "Elimination", poisoning is mentioned as the method to be used in the assassination.

Detailed instructions for Du Plooy and another operative he worked with, a Bois Nolo, then followed.

Nolo was expected to hand over a sealed container with a poisoned razor to Mlaba. According to the plan, the assassins hoped that the poison would penetrate the skin when the razor was used, and kill the lawyer.

It also says that Mlaba had to be killed in his office because he was difficult to follow and that he did not keep regular hours.

According to the CCB plan, Mlaba sometimes also slept in his office, which was in a building patrolled by security guards.

It became clear from the document that Mlaba was followed closely by the CCB operatives, who knew

that the lawyer was being kept under surveillance by other persons as well.

The document therefore cautioned that an attempt should not be made to follow the lawyer because it could attract attention. It also says that the chances of the lawyer being murdered on the road were slim. It also requests that people visiting Mlaba in a Cressida ND302185 and a Porche (sic) MGR 928T be checked.

The commission also heard that the inner circle of the CCB was still intact and

operational and that its operatives were still being paid by the CCB.

Former director of the clandestine organisation, Joe Verster, told the inquiry that police were in possession of a list of names of members of the CCB's inner circle.

Verster added that the CCB was still entitled to withdraw funds and that someone was responsible for handling money.

As far as he was concerned, he is still able to recommend certain payments and the discharge of certain people from the CCB.

ANC and business leaders discuss SA's economic future

Mandela warns on business monopolies

24 MAY 1990 NATAL WITNESS

JOHANNESBURG — ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday told an historic conference of 300 business leaders and 40 ANC experts that legislation to curtail and control economic monopolies had to be considered in transforming the economy.

Mr Mandela said that fewer than "10 corporate conglomerates control almost 90 percent of the shares listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange ... probably the total number of people who sit on the boards of these companies as directors is far less than 1 000".

Another issue that might have to be considered is the advisability of placing Government-appointed directors on the boards of private companies "to see whether it is possible to balance pursuit of private gain with the need to promote common good".

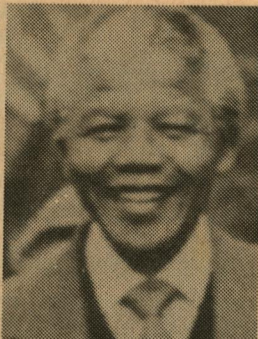
Mr Mandela and the past chairman of Anglo American, Mr Gavin Relly, were both speakers at the Carlton Hotel conference, which dealt with the topic: "Business and the ANC — Options for building an Economic Future".

Mr Relly went halfway to meeting the ANC on economic issues when he said a mixed economy was the way forward to a democratic South Africa — however, the interest lay in the details of the mix.

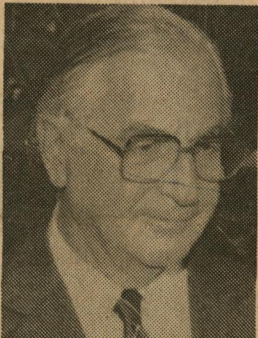
He recognised the role of the state as "coach, referee or arbiter rather than player" in the economy and the importance of carefully balanced combination of appropriate state and private sector roles, but it all had to be consistent with economic growth.

He said requirements for growth were:

- the retention of investor confidence because foreign capital inflows were vital;
- a market-oriented system for optimal investment and resource-allocation decisions;
- a firm control on the size of bureaucracy;



MANDELA ... unswayed



RELLY ... mixed economy

- the abolition of apartheid, which would provide an environment conducive to a new work ethic.

Turning to trade unions, Mr Relly said it was worth studying management-labour structures in West Germany where there was a system of dual board and worker representatives.

"But it will not even be worth starting down this road if trade unions remain committed to sanctions and nationalisation. Differences of view can be accommodated, but unremitting opposition of an ideological nature will not serve to promote close cooperation," he said.

In his speech Mr Mandela said he was not going to argue for nationalisation. "I would, however, like to share a secret with you ... The view that the only words in the economic vocabulary that the ANC knows are nationalisation and redistribution is mistaken."

Mr Mandela stressed the ANC did not want everything in the economic sphere "done by the new government".

"A healthy relationship between employers and trade unions is crucial to the country's future," he said.

"We agree with the view that progressive labour legislation, allowing strong unions to carry out centralised bargaining, will help solve many important issues."

Expanding on his warning that there should be control over monopolies, he mentioned the anti-trust laws of the United States and the work of the monopolies commission in Great Britain in ensuring "that there is no unhealthy over-concentration of economic power".

"The application of those lessons would of course have to take into account the economic realities of our own country which might dictate various optimal sizes for different firms," Mr Mandela said.

According to Mr Mandela, "another question we might consider is whether there are no areas in which it would benefit society at large if the state established public corporations or strengthened existing ones.

"One of these areas might be housing, where it seems clear that there is an urgent need for vigorous state intervention rapidly to expand the country's stock of hospitable accommodation."

Another area was suggested by the need for encouragement of small and medium business as well as the co-operative sector.

Mr Mandela said the ANC was "firmly opposed to the process of privatisation on which the Government has embarked".

The ANC's position was it only seemed "reasonable that so important a question as the disposal of public property should be held over until a truly representative government is in place". — Sapa.

NEWS
N/WITNESS 24/05/90

Four Natal deaths reported

Witness Reporter

FOUR people died, three were injured and 114 arrested in incidents over the 24-hour period covered by the police unrest report released yesterday.

A woman was assaulted and then "necklaced" by a group of men at Lamont in the Margate area.

In another incident, at Mtwalume in the Hibberdene area, a group of men set a house and shop on fire. A man died in the blaze. The group then dragged an elderly man from the house and necklaced him.

A man died in Riverview near Durban in a shoot-out between a group of men and a special constable.

Three people were injured, two seri-

ously, in a hand grenade attack in Nseleni, near Empangeni. Two hand grenades were thrown at a house.

Altogether 112 people stoning the police were arrested at an Isando factory in Kempton Park. Police dispersed the group with rubber batons.

Two more men were arrested in Silendile near Lothair when a large group wielding pangas and knobkerries gathered illegally.

People wanting to report incidents of unrest or who need urgent assistance when attacked in the Pietermaritzburg area could contact the the Midlands Crisis Relief Committee at 427692, the riot unit at 69332 or the South African Defence Force at 450001.

Intolerance

N/WITNESS 24 MAY 1990

The "us-them" syndrome is part of human make-up. But the extent of us-them polarisation in the townships is both horrifying and intolerable. To some, the late Mr Mncwabe was one of us. To others he was one of them and, as such, cannot be afforded even decent burial. Threats and intimidation have caused the undertaker contracted to bury him to withdraw.

If such intolerance is to be part of the brave "new South Africa" which is being heralded, then the last state of the beloved country is likely to be decidedly worse than the first.

Hunger-striking detainees 'weakening'

JOHANNESBURG — The condition of seven Potchefstroom detainees held at the Grootvlei Prison in Bloemfontein was deteriorating as they entered their 10th day of a hunger strike.

According to attorney Mr Satish Roopa, one of the prisoners, United Democratic Front organiser for the Western Transvaal Mr Zacharia Molekane, has been vomiting blood since Friday.

Mr Roopa said Mr Molekane had been examined by a district surgeon, but had refused any treatment.

All seven detainees are extremely weak and are suffering from dizziness, headaches and stomach cramps.

They are UDF organisers Mr Moses Duma and Mr Zacharia Molekane, Thusing advice office worker Mr Ignatius Dipico, Thusing civic members Mr L. Rider Sebidi and Mr Willie Maphosa, Ikakeng SA Youth Congress (Sayco) branch president Mr Willie Maphosa and secretary Mr J. Saliva Molapisi.

They were detained on May 7 — Sapa. 24/5/90 N/WITNESS

Malan criticises remarks by Mandela

CAPE TOWN — Defence Minister General Magnus Malan has repudiated remarks made by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela in a number of African countries recently.

General Malan said Mr Mandela's remarks were not in accordance with the agreement reached at Groote Schuur.

He said there could be no new South Africa as long as agreements were broken, threats were made and there was increasing talk of armed struggle.

He said such action fomented a revolutionary climate.

Referring to the armed struggle, General Malan said the continued harping on such a struggle could wreck peaceful negotiations.

What was negotiable was the ending of the armed struggle, and not a ceasefire. At Groote Schuur, Mr Mandela had committed himself to ending violence.

Referring to Mr Mandela's conditions for the abolition of apartheid, he said Mr Mandela was either obstinate or blind to the reality that the Government had already committed itself to these conditions. — Sapa.

Temporary indemnity for ANC economists

JOHANNESBURG — Two senior African National Congress economists, Mr Max Sisulu and Mr Tito Mboweni, were granted temporary indemnity by the Government yesterday.

The announcement was made in the Government Gazette of May 23.

Acting State President Dr Gerrit Viljoen said the period of indemnity would be from May 23 to August 19.

This follows an announcement on Saturday that 38 ANC members in exile would be granted temporary indemnity. They include ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, the Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani, intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma, MK commander Joe Modise, and the secretary-general of the SA Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo. — Sapa.

Killings: police squad cleared

by CARMEL RICKARD
A SQUAD of police from a secret unit stationed at Vlakplaas outside Pretoria has been exonerated by the inquest court of killing four Durban youths in Chesterville in 1986.

The squad's commanding officer, Major Eugene de Kock, has been named in evidence to the Harms Commission as a leader of police "hit squads", and the families of the four youths killed in the incident claimed the killings were a "hit squad assassination".

However, the version of the police, which was accepted by the inquest magistrate, Mr B.J. Olivier, was that they had intended to arrest the group.

Mr Olivier found that the undercover group had arrived in Durban on June 20, 1986 to infiltrate an African National Congress cell at Chesterville.

They had made contact with an ANC comrade in a nearby shebeen and pretended to be ANC guerrillas.

Later they had gone to a nearby shack where they met the four deceased: Mr Russell Mngomezulu (23), Mr Mutuwenkosi Khanyile (24), Mr Joseph Themba (20), Mr Sandile Khawala (20), and other people.

They believed they had been accepted as fellow guerrillas. But as they left to get help in arresting the shack residents a shot was fired from the shack and thinking they were under attack, they returned fire, killing four youths and injuring two others.

Mr Olivier found the police had acted in self-defence. He was satisfied they had acted as any reasonable person would have acted in the circumstances.

He said that as the squad was using automatic weapons in the circumstances their firing of 67 to 88 shots was not unreasonable.

Mr Olivier found the police witnesses had corroborated each other in their evidence on what had happened. He did not accept the argument that they had acted as a "hit squad", saying if they had been such a squad they would not have reported the incident to the police.

Another factor was that they had not inspected the shack for any survivors.

"If this was a hit squad with instructions to kill, then all I can say is that the police or the persons organising the hit squads were a bunch of fools," he said.

Mr Olivier said he understood his duty was to make a finding to ascertain whether the deaths were due to any acts or omission amounting to an offence by any person.

However the record would in any case be sent to the attorney-general for scrutiny.

Aggrieved parties could also also make representations to the attorney-general. This was especially true in the light of public controversy about so-called hit squads, Mr Oliver said.

Commenting on the finding, lawyers for the family said they would make representations to the attorney-general, asking that charges against the police involved in the shootings should be investigated. If no charges were laid, the family would then consider bringing a private prosecution.

Inkatha speaks on Greytown violence

INKATHA leaders in Greytown's Enhlalakahle township have distanced themselves from violence which broke out there earlier this month.

Inkatha chairman Mr Timothy Zondi said allegations that the aggressors were township councillors who are associated with the S.A.P. and local security branch officers, were "completely unfounded".

He claimed the latest outbreak of violence had been planned by a leader of the youth, Mr Solomon Mzolo, and that "trouble makers" had written a poster calling on school pupils to stop attending school until Inkatha members had left the township.

"They further served pamphlets to the tenants occupying the cottages of township councillors telling them to vacate the premises or face destruction through fire and gunshots," he said.

Mr Mzolo, who was ambushed and shot twice through the neck on April 8 — a few weeks before the eruption of violence — dismissed Mr Zondi's allegations. He spoke of a meeting he had called with Inkatha leaders a few days previously to discuss means of preventing conflict now that youths supporting the African National Congress could mobilise and legally form a youth organisation.

ANC's Imbali recruiting rally is postponed

AN ANC midlands recruiting rally, scheduled to take place at Imbali Stadium on Saturday, has been postponed to some time next week.

The secretary of the branch, Mr Sipho Gcabashe, said that they were trying to avoid confusion with the funerals of Inkatha member Mr Jerome Mncwabe's and Mr Mbhaveni Ngcobo's funeral which are to take place on Saturday.

He also said that those who wanted to join the ANC could do so on an individual basis.

"No one is forced to join. We first explain the constitution and it is up to the individual to decide whether to join or not, after listening to the explanation of the policy and the constitution," he said.

The joining fee for people from the age of 18 and above is R12. There is going to be another recruiting rally at Ashdown Hall on Sunday, starting at 10 am. — WR.

Sebokeng: constable fired first 'from fear'

24 MAY 1990 N/WITNESS

VEREENIGING — Constable S. van Rhyn, of the Krugerspark reaction unit, admitted before the Goldstone Commission yesterday he had accidentally fired the first shot at Sebokeng on March 26.

The constable had been extremely tense and nervous about the size and aggression of the 50 000-strong crowd.

He had held his finger on the trigger and when a stone came flying past his head from the crowd, Constable van Rhyn accidentally fired his "stopper" (containing one teargas projectile).

He said it had been a "fear reflex".

Constable van Rhyn admitted firing a teargas grenade had set off a similar chain reaction among his colleagues. He reloaded his "stopper" and fired another two teargas projectiles — until he heard the "stop fir-

ing" shout from the commanding officer, Captain Willie du Plooy.

At this scene, opposite the brewery in Sebokeng, five people died and 76 people were injured, most of them with bird-shot or buckshot pellets.

Until yesterday Constable van Rhyn had not told anyone of his role in the shooting. He had not volunteered the information although "my conscience had bothered me".

The dramatic testimony came after a special constable had indicated Constable van Rhyn was the man to fire the first shot.

Mr Justice R.J. Goldstone placed the special constable under the protection of the advocate representing the Attorney-General's office.

He told Special Constable Motshawo Oujan Mhaboko of the Vanderbijlpark reac-

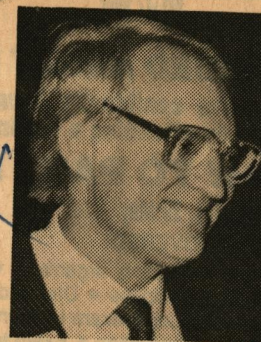
tion unit "it would be quite wrong if any action were taken against you in connection with the evidence you gave".

The information was only brought to the attention of the Goldstone Commission yesterday when Special Constable Mhaboko — initially fearful to tell the truth to his superiors — finally came forward and volunteered the information.

"I heard a shot, looked up and noticed it had come from my right hand side. It was Constable van Rhyn," Special Constable Mhaboko said.

"I had been afraid of telling this to my superiors, because if I do tell them something they don't like, I would be expelled."

None of the previous police witnesses had been able to say which of their colleagues had fired that first shot. — Sapa.



Dr DENIS WORRALL

Worrall: CCB poses a threat to negotiation

CAPE TOWN — The Civil Co-operation Bureau posed a real threat to the negotiation process, the National Party and all parties involved in the process, and should be disbanded immediately, the Democratic Party spokesman on law and order, Dr Denis Worrall, said yesterday.

He also called for the terms of reference of the Harms Commission to be broadened to enable it to investigate the CCB's external activities.

He also called on the Department of Justice to provide accomplices who testified satisfactorily to the commission with indemnity against criminal liability. — Sapa.

Mandela defends Winnie's reputation

JOHANNESBURG — Winnie Mandela's reputation was being "smashed" by the way in which the "Stompie" Moeketsi Seipei murder trial was being conducted, her husband Mr Nelson Mandela said this week.

Mr Mandela said the Rand Supreme Court case, in which former Mandela United Football club coach Mr Jerry Richardson has been accused of murdering teenage activist Moeketsi, is being conducted deliberately "so that my wife's reputation is smashed without giving her a chance to defend herself or to establish her innocence".

Mrs Mandela has been mentioned several times in the case against Mr Richardson.

Asked why Mrs Mandela had chosen not to testify in the case, Mr Mandela said that as a witness she did not have the rights and privileges of an accused.

If prosecuted, her answers to questions as a witness could be held against her as an accused, he said. — Sapa.

Spymaster Barnard 'influenced by ANC rhetoric'

JOHANNESBURG — Revolutionary rhetoric contained in African National Congress documents helped form alleged Johannesburg City Council spymaster Mr Frik Barnard's perceptions by which he ran the now notorious council spy network, the Hiemstra Commission of Inquiry heard yesterday.

The ANC documents, which were given to Mr Barnard by the SA Defence Force, were presented to the commission as evidence by his legal counsel.

According to the documents the destruction of third-tier government and local authorities featured high on the ANC's armed

struggle agenda.

The infiltration of left-wing groups, from small community organisations to mass political movements as well as church and human rights groups, was also planned by the ANC to "reactionalise" leaders, according to the documents.

One passage read by Mr Barnard supported his earlier testimony that the ANC intended recruiting conscientious objectors associated with the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) for its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Mr Barnard said his concern was that white ECC members who had joined Um-

khonto would seek an alternative to national service in the council's fire brigade, for example. Once installed such an Umkhonto member would be in an position to wreak havoc.

The intelligence chief also told how he had clashed with his superior, security deputy head Brigadier Jan Visser, over the scaling down of the council spy network's activities.

He said he had in mid-1989 warned Brigadier Visser the onslaught on local authorities was not diminishing.

The hearing proceeds. — Sapa.

Relly moves to meet ANC halfway on economic issues

Natal Mercury
24 May 1990

JOHANNESBURG—The past chairman of the giant Anglo American Corporation, Gavin Relly, moved to meet the ANC halfway on economic issues yesterday when he told an historic conference between businessmen and the former exiled movement in Johannesburg that a mixed economy was the way forward to a democratic South Africa.

Mr Relly and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela were the keynote speakers at the conference, which brought together 300 businessmen and 40 ANC experts to deal with the topic 'Business and the ANC — Options for building an Economic Future'.

'The future begins today and it is a more promising day than any day in the past five, 10 or 50 years,' Mr Relly began.

He said the delegates were united by a vision of South Africa that included a growing economy capable of generating the resources to address socio-economic needs.

'In the debate about our economic options, we have fortunately progressed away from the crudities of a capitalism-versus-socialism dogfight to the recognition that we have today, and will have in future, a mixed economy,' said Mr Relly, adding that the interest was in details of the mix.

He recognised the role of the State as 'coach, referee or arbiter rather than player' in the economy, but it all had to be consistent with generating economic growth. — (Sapa)

Mandela shares a 'secret'

JOHANNESBURG—Nationalisation and redistribution were not the only words in the ANC's economic vocabulary, Mr Nelson Mandela told business leaders and senior ANC officials here yesterday.

'There are many issues we shall have to consider as we discuss the question of the democratisation and deracialisation of economic power,' he told more than 350 South African delegates.

The deputy ANC president delivered a keynote address to the one-day conference at Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel, organised by the Consultative Business Movement.

'Today, I am not going to present any argument about nationalisation,' Mr Mandela said.

'I would, however, like to share a secret with you ... the view that the only words in the economic vocabulary that the ANC knows are nationalisation and redistribution is mistaken.'

Legislation to curtail and control economic monopolies was an issue to be considered in transforming the economy, he said.

Realities

'One of these is whether we should not draw on such lessons as we might learn from the anti-trust laws of the United States or the work of the Monopolies Commission in Great Britain to address the issue of how to ensure that there is no unhealthy over-concentration of economic power.'

'The application of those lessons would of course have to take into account the economic realities of our own country which might dictate various optimal sizes for different firms,' Mr Mandela said.

He emphasised that the ANC did not want everything in the economic sphere 'done by the new government'.

'A healthy relationship between employers and trade unions is crucial to the country's future.'

'We agree with the view that progressive labour legislation, allowing strong unions to carry out centralised bargaining, will help solve many important issues,' he said.

The economy was in a terrible crisis.

'Unemployment is increasing. Black unemployment is the same now as it was 10 years ago. The rate of investment in fixed capital is decreasing. Inflation is high.'

'There is no prospect of getting out of the morass while the apartheid system of white minority rule remains in place.' — (Sapa)



ANC Deputy President, Mr NELSON MANDELA and Mr GAVIN RELLY, former chairman of Anglo American Corporation at a Press conference last night following a meeting between the ANC and business leaders in Johannesburg. CITIZEN 24/9/90

No ANC rethink

FROM PAGE 1

"I would however like to share a secret with you . . . The view that the only words in the economic vocabulary that the ANC knows are nationalisation and redistribution is mistaken."

Legislation to curtail and control economic monopolies was an issue to be considered in transforming the South African economy, Mr Mandela said.

"One of these is whether we should not draw on such lessons as we might learn from the anti-trust laws of the United States or the work of the monopolies commission in Great Britain to address the issue of how to ensure that there is no unhealthy over-concentration of economic power."

"The application of those lessons would of course have to take into account the economic realities of our own country which might dictate various optimal sizes for different firms."

Factors which would have to be considered included the necessity of achieving economies of scale, the capacity to generate the critical mass of investible funds, and the strength to compete successfully on the international markets.

"Another issue we might have to consider",

the ANC leader said, "is the advisability or otherwise of the placement on the boards of privately-owned companies of directors appointed by the government".

The reason for such a move would be "to see whether it is possible to balance pursuit of private gain with the need to promote common good".

Mr Mandela stressed the ANC did not want everything in the economic sphere "done by the new government."

"A healthy relationship between employers and trade unions is crucial to the country's future."

"We agree with the view that progressive labour legislation, allowing strong unions to carry out centralised bargaining, will help solve many important issues."

"The questions of a living wage, job security and industrial restructuring must be dealt with in the bargaining process."

According to Mr Mandela, "another question we might consider is whether there are no areas in which it would benefit society at large if the state established public corporations or strengthened existing ones."

"One of these areas might be housing, where it seems clear that there is an urgent need for vigorous State intervention

rapidly to expand the country's stock of hospitable accommodation."

Another area was suggested by the need for encouragement of small and medium business as well as the co-operative sector, especially in light of the "crying need for the multiplication of economic activities that will lead to the creation of new jobs".

Mr Mandela said the ANC was "firmly opposed to the process of privatisation on which the (National Party) government has embarked". Economic power in South Africa was one of the "thorniest" issues that

must be addressed, said Mr Mandela.

"It is said that less than 10 corporate conglomerates control almost 90 per cent of the shares listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange."

"If somebody did any arithmetical calculation, he or she would probably find that the total number of people who sit on the boards of these companies as directors is far less than 1 000." These will almost exclusively be White males.

"If you add to this the fact that 87 per cent of the land is, by law, White owned and is in fact owned by a minority even among the Whites, then the inequity of the system we have all inherited becomes even more plain."

If South Africa was "genuinely interested in ending the old social order and bringing in a new one...it is quite obvious that the economic power relations represented by the reality of excessive concentration of power in a few Shite hands (will) have to change."

The ANC believed "there must be further discussion of the issue of nationalisation of assets that might at the moment be privately owned."

"The ANC has no blueprint that decrees that these or other assets will be nationalised, or that such nationalisation would take this or the other form."

"But we do say that this option should also be part of the ongoing debate, subject to critical analysis as any other and viewed in the context of the realities of South African society."

The ANC was concerned "at persistent reports that some of our own domestic companies have been and are involved in a process of exporting capital from this country".

"We cannot sit here, verbally welcome the prospect of democratic transformation, talk of the need rapidly to develop the economy, and at the

same time reduce the means that would make such development actually possible," Mr Mandela said.

The matter of the redistribution of wealth, in conditions of a growing economy, was one that must be faced squarely and addressed firmly.

The past chairman of Anglo American Corporation, Mr Gavin Relly told the conference that a mixed economy was the way forward to a democratic South Africa.

"The future begins today and it is a more promising day than any day in the last five, 10 or 50 years," Mr Relly said.

"In the debate about our economic options, we have fortunately progressed away from the crudities of a Capitalism versus Socialism dogfight to the recognition that we

have today, and will have in future, a mixed economy," said Mr Relly. The interest was in details of the mix.

On the question of nationalisation as a solution for South Africa's economic ills, Mr Relly warned the private sector should be seen as the source of wealth and job creation, with the budget "acting as an allocator of resources raised through the taxation system".

He also issued a stern warning on wholesale land-reform. "The worst thing that can be done is to transfer efficiently farmed land to inefficient peasant cultivators, or worse, to inefficient collectives."

Mr Relly called for pragmatism rather than ideology when decisions on economic options were made. — Sapa.

ANC STICKS
TO NATIONALISA-
TION

NATAL Witness 24 MAY 1990

BLACK UNEMPLOYMENT ALARMING, SAYS SANLAM SURVEY

Business Editor

ALMOST three-quarters of a million black South Africans are still unemployed in spite of a dramatic drop in the country's unemployment rate.

This, says Sanlam's chief economist Johan Louw in their latest economic survey, was just less than 10% of the economically active black population and was cause for alarm. Unofficial figures he says put this number substan-

tially higher.

Creating employment in the formal sector in the next twelve months will become appreciably more difficult. "The informal sector is likely to become an increasingly important source of job opportunities in these difficult conditions," he says.

The more rapid economic growth of the past year had contributed to the levelling off in unemployment figures. The number of unem-

ployed whites, coloureds and asians had dropped from 82 000 in August 1986 to 43 000 at the end of last year.

A further cooling in the economy is predicted and "in fact there are growing signs that the downturn in general economic activity is gathering momentum."

It was disappointing says the report that the monthly increase in the consumer price index had increased by 1,6% in March.

Price increases had taken place over a wide range of goods and services but the sharpest increases were in education (18,6%); liquor (10,5%); furniture (10,6%); reading matter (4,9%); personal care (4,8%) and clothing and footwear (1,9%).

Food prices rose more quickly in March than in the previous month, says the report which notes that on an annual basis the inflation rate for food is still very high.

Thousands wait for Govt clarity over land issue

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Hundreds of thousands of black people are waiting to see whether the Government will make it possible for them to return to land they were forced off years ago.

Their hopes were raised after the Government this week stopped the sale of land in the Western Transvaal. Black people were forced off farms around Koster in the 1960s and 1970s because the farms fell within "white" areas.

The land was due to be sold to white farmers on May 25, but was halted in view of President de Klerk's announcement that the Lands Acts of 1913 and 1936 were to be revised.

A statement by Minister of Agricultural Development Mr Kraai van Nierkerk and Minister of Development Aid Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said that "no agricultural land which previously belonged to black communities, and had been expropriated at an earlier stage in accordance with the previous consolidation policy, will be sold henceforth".

The Cabinet discussed the implica-

tions of this turn in National Party policy yesterday. But the office of Acting State President Gerrit Viljoen refused to clarify the Government's intentions.

Dr van der Merwe's office pointed out that in terms of the present laws, the land could be sold only to whites. However, all sales of land taken from black people would be frozen until the position of the two Lands Acts had been clarified.

Lost homes.

Access to land is going to be a key issue in the coming negotiations, largely because of the mass removals of people from their traditional homes.

One study conducted in the 1980s found that 3½ million people had been forced from their homes.

The removed people nearly always felt bitter because they lost their homes, land, access to agricultural land, stock, and often jobs.

People nearly always felt they were left materially and spiritually poorer by the forced removals.

'Holier-than-thou' Mandela taken to task

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The National Party bluntly told ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday to stop criticising it and to get his act together.

"Your track record of controlling your own people is not good, just as your call for people to 'throw pangas into the sea' has not worked," senior NP sources told Mr Mandela in reaction to his comments on Tuesday that the ANC would not tolerate the continuing "massacre" of people by police while negotiations on peace were in progress.

Mr Mandela also said that while President de Klerk was honest in his efforts, he could not control the police.

Senior NP sources said there was a widely-held resistance building up among people outside of the ANC "to the way in which Mr Mandela is posturing on the one hand yet is totally unable to control what his people are doing on the other hand".

In Welkom, the sources said, many people involved in the unrest violence were wearing ANC T-shirts.

"This has done nothing to inspire any confidence in Mr Mandela's ability to control his followers. There were even ANC members in the group that was going to march to the white residential areas of Welkom."

NP sources said Mr Mandela's attack on the police played into the hands of people who would like to see a reactionary groundswell developing.

"These kinds of statements are really doing nothing to contribute to the situation. There is a feeling of impatience with his whole demeanour, with his holier-than-thou attitude."

The NP wanted to see Mr Mandela reprimanding his erring followers. He needed to distance himself from "this whole pattern of pointless political demonstrations and confrontational cycles".

While the right wing was playing a role in bringing about the political confrontation, the NP would like to see Mr Mandela use his influence to break the cycle of violence.

"He would then have a lot more credibility among people who are not ANC supporters."

The Government had been criticised for appointing a commission of inquiry "every time the police took action", the NP sources pointed out.

'SA system unjustly administered'

STAR

24 MAY 1990

By Cathy Stagg

DURBAN — The difference between law in Commonwealth Africa and in South Africa, Mr Justice McNally of Zimbabwe said yesterday, was that "we have a just system somewhat inefficiently administered; you have an efficient system somewhat unjustly administered".

In a paper delivered at the 13th South African Law Conference, Mr Justice McNally said: "In my view the existence of a Bill of Rights brings the legal profession to life.

"Judges in South Africa are necessarily detached from the realities of the country's life because of your structure. Some judges are struggling to become involved but are compelled by the constitutional structure to

spend their time solving legal cross-word puzzles."

He said judges in the rest of Africa were involved in the lives and problems of their communities. "Our job is not an easy one, but our judges are writing in the history books while yours are writing in the law reports."

He noted that of the 17 jurisdictions which made up Commonwealth Africa, 10 had an English law background, five in the Roman-Dutch group had a strong English influence and two with a French legal background had judges from the English law tradition.

Judge McNally said he hoped when South Africa rejoined the Commonwealth, it could help solve some of the financial prob-

lems facing other countries.

"Most countries in Commonwealth Africa have a Bill of Rights entrenched in the Constitution. Our judiciaries are in theory more independent than yours because the principle of the separation of powers and our role as guardians of the constitution and of individual human rights are enshrined in our constitutions. At the same time, judicial independence in Commonwealth Africa is, in practice, limited by constraints.

One such constraint was the slender thread by which judicial independence hung in countries where the executive was insecure and liable to react arbitrarily to too much assertiveness on the part of the judiciary.

Bill of Rights vital — Dumbutshena

By Cathy Stagg

DURBAN — Judges in Zimbabwe have done much to assist the independence of the judiciary, the recently retired Chief Justice of Zimbabwe told the 13th South African Law Conference here yesterday.

Chief Justice Enoch Dumbutshena said he admired the endeavours of judges who worked under military regimes in Africa, many of whom were fearless, and worked under very trying circumstances.

He believed Zimbabwe had

done much to assist judicial independence because the country had a constitution which gave the judiciary power to upset any unconstitutional legislation passed by parliament.

Bills of Human Rights are important for the development of concepts of justice, he said.

"The rights to liberty and security of person, to be brought promptly before a judge and tried within a reasonable time, the right to challenge the lawfulness of one's arrest or detention and to a fair hearing are the basis upon which many

countries and nations are building up an internationally acceptable jurisprudence."

As an example, Mr Justice Dumbutshena referred to the appeal launched by Ian Smith the former Rhodesian Prime Minister. Mr Smith was an MP when he was found guilty of contempt of Parliament arising from remarks he allegedly made on British TV. He appealed.

"We allowed the appeal," the judge said. "We declared the suspension of Mr Smith's salary and allowances illegal.

Sebokeng inquiry told how chain reaction was sparked

First shot fired 'out of fear'

STAR 24 MAY 1990

By Melody McDougall

A member of the SAP's Krugersdorp Reaction Unit yesterday admitted before the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry that he had accidentally fired the first shot at the Sebokeng shootings on March 26 "out of anxiety and a fear reflex".

Constable Sean van Rhyn said he was shocked after the shooting, which caused a chain reaction when his colleagues opened fire on the 50 000-strong crowd in the township that day.

However, he told the commission he had reloaded his stopper and fired two more shots seconds after the main bursts of fire.

From evidence led so far, it appears at least five people died in the incident.

Allegations that Constable van Rhyn fired the first shot in Sebokeng were made yesterday for the first time in the hearing by another witness, Special Constable Motshawo Oujan Mhaboko.

According to Constable Mhaboko, he was afraid to come forward with this information sooner because he was afraid he would be "expelled" if he said something his seniors did not like.

In his testimony before Mr Justice R G Goldstone yesterday, it emerged that Constable van Rhyn had never made a statement about the shootings.

He said yesterday that he had been part of a police line-up near the Sonda Brewery in Sebokeng, which prevented a UDF gathering from marching to the National Party offices in Vereeniging.

The gathering was about 25 m to 30 m from the police when some members of the crowd started flanking out to the sides as if they were going to surround the police. These flanks were, however, halted by police vehicles.

Fired spontaneously

Constable van Rhyn said that while the middle section of the gathering continued to come nearer he saw a stone flying over his head.

"Then a shot went off. It was probably fired by me, because I had my finger on the trigger of the stopper all the time. Other policemen then started firing spontaneously," he said. "... I didn't really mean to shoot, it was an accident."

Afterwards he heard a command to stop firing, and the crowds turned around and started running away.

He said he never reported to the commanding officer that he had fired the first shot because he did not think it necessary as he had fired with a stopper, while the other policemen had used shotguns.

Constable van Rhyn said he was very nervous that morning as a result of other incidents in the Vaal Triangle townships. Half an hour before in neighbouring Evaton he had been hit on the back by a stone.

Asked by Mr du Toit when he had actually realised he was the person who fired the first shot, he said he couldn't remember. But it had bothered him ever since that day.

During cross examination George Bizos SC, representing families of 12 dead people and the injured, asked if it was not true that the constable had decided to admit firing the first shot only after hearing that a special constable had come forward and made a statement on Tuesday night. He replied: "That was the final point which convinced me."

The Goldstone Commission is investigating the circumstances of all incidents in the Vaal Triangle townships on March 26.

Two ANC exiles get temporary immunity

Pretoria Bureau

ANC exiles Max Sisulu and Tito Mboweni have been granted temporary immunity until August 19.

An announcement to this effect in yesterday's Government Gazette follows the ANC's reported puzzlement as to why the men — particularly Mr Sisulu, son of ANC internal chairman Walter Sisulu and UDF patron Albertina Sisulu — were left off the list of 38 others granted immunity at the weekend.

In terms of the Indemnity Act

the men may not be prosecuted or detained for previous alleged offences during the period of immunity.

"That's beautiful news," Mrs Sisulu reacted yesterday.

"But what a pity he did not get this clearance before the conference in Johannesburg."

Her son, an economics expert, was due to attend the ANC meeting with businessmen yesterday along with Mr Mboweni, who returned to South Africa before being granted immunity.

Mrs Sisulu said her son left South Africa in 1963.

ANC leader has hectic agenda

STAR Political Reporter

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela will maintain his hectic pace this week with a series of meetings and rallies following his two-week African tour.

He was a main speaker yesterday at a landmark conference with South African business heavyweights in Johannesburg at which the country's economic future was discussed by about 400 invited delegates.

Since Mr Mandela's return from a two-week tour of seven African states, he has addressed two press conferences.

He will address two rallies at the weekend — in Atteridgeville near Pretoria on Saturday and in Kimberley on Sunday.

Today he is due to have a series of meetings, among others to arrange his pending trip to the United States and Britain.

Close aides said Mr Mandela would take a short rest next week before leaving for a tour of Belgium, West Germany, France and the Soviet Union.

Mr Mandela told The Star he was fit and getting enough rest.

STAR 24 MAY 1990

Witness: Vlok lied about CCB

By Norman Chandler
and Karen Stander

A Harms Commission witness yesterday accused Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok of lying when he said he had not been informed of the existence of the covert Civil Co-operation Bureau.

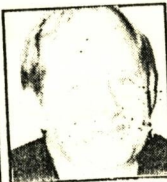
Petrus Botes, a former foreign-based co-ordinator for the CCB, said he had told Mr Vlok about the nature and operations of the organisation on the afternoon of August 29 last year.

He visited Mr Vlok at his offices to tell him a bomb had wrecked his business premises and that he believed his employers were responsible.

Louis Visser, for the Minister and the SAP, told Mr Justice Louis Harms that Mr Vlok would say that Mr Botes might have mentioned the name "CCB" during the interview but that this would have meant "nothing" to him.

In evidence presented to the

The Harms
Commission



commission by Brigadier Floris Mostert, Commander, Witwatersrand, SAP Special Investigations, on May 8 this year, it was said that he (Brigadier Mostert) had first heard about "a mysterious organisation called the CCB" as a result of a tip-off on August 29 to Mr Vlok.

Mr Botes told the commission he had told Mr Vlok of his involvement with the CCB and that he had worked for CCB managing director Joe Verster.

He told the Minister that the previous week he had been involved in an operation in the then South West Africa in which cholera germs were placed in the water of a Swapo refugee camp.

He also told Mr Vlok about his argument with Mr Verster

over auditing queries and his suspicion that a bomb which damaged his office at Verwoerdburgstad had been the work of Mr Verster.

Mr Visser told the commission that the Minister said Mr Botes had never mentioned Mr Verster's name.

Mr Botes said: "I did."

Mr Visser: "Then the Minister must be lying."

Mr Botes: "Then the Minister lies."

Mr Visser then said Mr Vlok's recollection was that Mr Botes had not said anything about cholera germs being introduced into the water supply.

Surprise

Mr Justice Harms, addressing Mr Botes, said: "Surely this must have been a surprise to him that you, as a private person, came and said that, on behalf of a private organisation, you put cholera in the water of a refugee camp?"

Asked by Mr Visser whether the Minister had expressed astonishment, Mr Botes replied he had not expressed astonishment nor had he commented.

Mr Justice Harms: "He also didn't offer you a medal?"

According to Mr Visser, the interview with Mr Vlok was arranged because Mr Botes was a voter in Mr Vlok's constituency and "it was shortly before a general election".

When Mr Botes arrived at Mr Vlok's offices, the Minister was already aware of the explosion at Verwoerdburgstad and had made preliminary inquiries. Indications were that it had not been politically motivated, the commission heard.

"When you arrived and said your office had been bombed, the Minister was no longer interested in you because you could help the detectives and it had nothing to do with politics," Mr Visser told Mr Botes.

The next sitting of the commission will be on Monday.

ANC armed struggle call is to give dignity to violence

STAR 24 MAY 1990

One wonders how much of the current violence in South Africa is due to the call by the African National Congress and its camp followers for an armed struggle to redress or "normalise" the political situation.

It has somehow made violence "acceptable" or "respectable", or even "dignified", never mind the bloodshed, misery, damage and disruption to law and order that it causes.

The attitude seems to be "we must have our own way, even if anarchy ensues".

ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela stated in a newspaper article after his release: "We resorted to the armed struggle in order to defend ourselves against the violence of apartheid".

He added that he told the South African Government "the armed struggle will never be suspended, to say nothing of it being stopped, until a settlement is reached, and we stick to that decision".

Mr Mandela, therefore, not only gives approval to violence, but argues that it is pardonable because of apartheid.

But what about the violence in Northern Ireland, the Lebanon, Central America and elsewhere, where there is no apartheid?

There civil unrest, verging on war — not unlike the South African situation — exists, not because of apartheid, but because of the bloody-min-



An IRA bomb blast site . . . a reader says groups resort to violence because of greed and ambition.

dedness, intransigence, greed or political or religious ambitions of people who resort to armed struggle because they cannot get their way through recognised, peaceful, law-abiding, democratic or conventional methods.

Is that not the case, too, with the ANC bloc?

To advocate violence, no matter how great the provocation, is to forfeit the respect and support of decent people, and is just one reason why so many white South Africans, of all political parties do not relish the prospect of black majority rule.

Benny Alexander, secretary-general of the Pan Africanist Congress, claims that white fears of black majority rule are a fear of losing their wealth, as if every second white South African is a millionaire or near-millionaire.

What poppycock. More than 85 percent of white South Africans, while certainly enjoying a better way of life than the average black, are nonetheless anything but wealthy people.

The reason why white South Africans fear a one-person, one-vote constitution is because they do not relish being ruled by people who resort to necklacing their political or tribal opponents; burn, bomb or limpet-mine schools, churches, banks, homes, power stations, public buildings, cars, buses, and so on, to vent their frustrations; who stage boycotts, strikes, demonstrations and potentially dangerous protest marches, and other acts of confrontation, at the slightest provocation; spitefully promote international sports boycotts of South Africa; and so on.

I'm all for giving the blacks a big and meaningful share in one central parliament, and have advocated this in letters to the press for many years.

But to countenance black majority in this great land . . . ouch!

Douglas Alexander

Berea



Ready to leave for Lusaka . . . from left to right: General Wally Black, Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana of Venda and the DP's Mr Tian van der Merwe. ● Picture by Stephen Davimes.

LUSAKA — A former director-general of operations in the SADF, General Wally Black, warned yesterday that political rapprochement between black and white South Africans could bog down if there was no close involvement of various armies which fought against or supported apartheid.

Speaking in an interview at Lusaka Airport, when a predominantly white 50-man delegation from South Africa arrived for talks with the ANC military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, on the future role of SADF in the country's fast-changing political climate, General Black said: "If we are going to have peace constitutionally, we have to involve the military in the talks, as they are part of the system."

Pressure groups

"Such talks will allow us to understand each other and contribute to political negotiations."

The South African delegation includes retired military officers; representatives of the Democratic Party, led by Tian

Armies must talk, STAR 24 MAY 1990 says ex-general

van der Merwe; the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), led by director Nic Borain; and several pressure groups.

General Black said that apart from the SADF and Umkhonto, the defence forces of homelands should also be made part of the military negotiations.

General Black said that though he was retired, and speaking as an individual, he welcomed the chance to talk to the ANC military wing.

Meanwhile, the ANC and the spokesmen for the 50-man team expressed disappointment at the refusal by the South African Government to send formal representatives to the talks.

Altogether six former senior SADF officers are attending the meeting. They are Major-General Black; Commodore Vic Holderness; Commodore Andrew

McMurray; the former commanding officer of the Army Women's College in George, Colonel Hilda Burnett; and Tony Mariner and David Plane, both former civilian force commanding officers from Cape Town.

Umkhonto chief of staff Chris Hani, who welcomed the South African delegation at the airport, said the meeting had serious implications for the future of the military in South Africa.

At a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport before the internal group's departure, Mr Borain said the conference had been organised for three reasons:

- It was a peace mission to enable people who had fought each other in the past to talk.
- It was to explore ways to de-escalate the conflict in South Africa and prevent tragedies

such as the one which "accompanied Swapo's return home".

● It was to start discussion about the shape and role of a future defence force, which would be "truly national in the sense that it will have to represent and reflect all sections of the population".

Mr van der Merwe and General Black both criticised the Minister of Minister, General Magnus Malan, for his rejection of the possible integration of the SADF and MK soldiers.

They said General Malan's attitude was short-sighted and dangerous to negotiations.

Short-sighted

General Black said: "The future defence force of South Africa should be a force which everyone can be proud of."

The head of the Venda military government, Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana, said he was planning to reincorporate his homeland into South Africa and the Venda Defence Force would form part of the new SADF. Reports by Kaizer Nyatumba and the ANO news service.

STAR 24 MAY 1990 SA back on Africa's path

South Africa is believed to be throwing all its diplomatic weight behind promising new efforts to resolve the civil wars in Angola and Mozambique and stands to benefit handsomely if they succeed.

Helping to find solutions in Angola and Mozambique appears to have moved to the top of the list of Pretoria's diplomatic priorities in Africa, replacing what until recently was an overweening desire for open acceptance in black Africa.

The shift in emphasis, though slight, could have important consequences. It stems partly from the favourable reaction that has come from black Africa, as well as from the Western countries, to President de Klerk's reform initiatives and to South Africa's co-operation in Namibia's independence.

By improving Pretoria's standing in both Western and African capitals, these moves have given a new perspective to Pretoria's efforts to win acceptance in Africa.

While not devaluing this acceptance, South African diplomats appear to give less emphasis than before to the maxim that for South Africa the road back to international acceptance is through black Africa.

Namibian independence and President de Klerk's bold initiatives have, in a sense, found a short cut — not to open acceptance, but to greater respectability, which would be much enhanced if settlements were reached in Angola and Mozambique and word got around that South Africa had played a major role in this.

African *realpolitik* has always dictated that the road to South African acceptance in black Africa began with the recognised black movements in the Republic itself and then went on through the Front-line states and to the Organisation of African Unity.

For a long time there was a feeling in the Union Buildings in Pretoria that African countries would bypass this route and deal directly

with South Africa if their need for South African goods and services was urgent enough.

This turned out to be true in that just about every African country started doing business with South Africa under the counter and some accepted surreptitious aid. But the open acceptance that Pretoria desired never came.

Now that Mr de Klerk and his government have embarked on an apparently irreversible course of reform, there is a growing conviction that acceptance will follow (always depending, of course, on the outcome of internal negotiations) and that South Africa must look to its interests in its own neighbourhood.

Priorities

"As we become relatively more acceptable in African countries, the question arises of assessing our priorities because of our limited resources," says Rusty Evans, the Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs, who has direct responsibility for South African interests in Africa. "That has become a major factor in our approach to Africa."

While Mr Evans has not said so, it seems logical to assume that those interests — both economic and political — are seen to lie primarily in a regional grouping (but probably not the subservient "constellation" of states that the previous Government envisaged).

It appears to be against this background that South Africa is playing an active though discreet role behind the scenes in both the Angolan and Mozambican settlement efforts.

Both conflicts are still far from reaching solutions, but their pros-

pects have improved recently.

Success in these efforts would bring political stability and economic regeneration in the two former Portuguese colonies, both of which are potentially prosperous, with a resultant boost to stability and development in the region as a whole.

For South Africa, there would be prospects of substantial trade with Angola which, unlike Mozambique and most other African countries, has the money (from oil revenues) to pay for South African goods and services.

If Mr de Klerk's initiatives lead to a non-racial South Africa with its economic potential undisturbed, then South Africa might become the nucleus of a regional bloc that would have a major influence in Africa and an enhanced capacity to compete for foreign investment against an Eastern Europe liberated from Soviet Union communism.

Senior South African diplomats are believed to have been working assiduously to bring the warring parties to a negotiating table in both Angola and Mozambique. The intention, apparently, is not to become the major mediator, but rather to function as a discreet but effective facilitator.

Pretoria seems not to be opposed to both conflicts being resolved through African mediation and seems to have made no effort to replace President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire as mediator in the Angolan dispute, despite the view in some African circles that he botched the most recent attempt to resolve it.

Prospects for negotiation in Angola have clearly been boosted by the failure of the recent attempt by the MPLA government to capture Mavinga, the gateway to the Unita rebels' stronghold in the south-east.

This failure must dampen, if not quench, the faith of the hardliners in Luanda in the MPLA's ability to defeat Unita militarily.

It is this obsession with crushing Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita that has kept the Luanda government away from the negotiating table in the past. South African and Western diplomats hope that the moderates in Luanda who favour a negotiated solution will now get their way.

In Mozambique, South African efforts to get the Frelimo government and Renamo rebels to a negotiating table are thought to have been set back by the military offensive recently launched by Mozambican government and Zimbabwean forces on Renamo hide-outs in Gorongosa.

Once this offensive is completed — whether victoriously or in failure — the efforts at negotiation will be resumed. These efforts are at present still concentrated on getting the parties to agree to a mediator and a venue for talks.

President Mugabe of Zimbabwe, who had been mediating jointly with President Arap Moi of Kenya, is understood to have withdrawn, acknowledging that his impartiality will be suspect as long as Zimbabwean troops continue to back Frelimo forces against Renamo.

President Moi remains the only mediator at the (still empty) table but the possibility of Frelimo and Renamo getting together without a mediator cannot be ruled out.

The Frelimo government is believed to have accepted Malawi as a venue for negotiations, despite that country's previous support for Renamo, but Renamo's leader, Afonso Dhlakama, is not confident that his security can be guaranteed there.

Both President Joaquim Chissano and Mr Dhlakama are willing to enter negotiations and broad agreement is understood to have been reached already on certain basic principles which have greatly narrowed the gap between the conditions they have respectively set for the start of talks.

THE FORUM

Letters
to the
Editor

No real change without nationalisation

SIR — One of the most important debates raging in South Africa is that of nationalisation. The might of capital through the mainstream Press, radio and TV is used to brainwash people into thinking that nationalisation is not in the interests of the oppressed majority. Suddenly with Mandela's release, the masters of capital have become interested in the welfare of the oppressed.

We must always remember how the Nationalists nationalised key industries in the interests of white voters a few decades ago, for example SA Railways, SA Road Transport, SA Airways, electricity (Eskom), iron and steel (Iscor), petrol etc.

The question of nationalisation must be seen in the context of where the monopoly exists. In 1988 the Johannesburg Stock Exchange was monopolised by four South African companies — Anglo American, Sanlam, SA Mutual, Rembrandt groups.

Philanthropy

Together they controlled 79,6% of all shares. Anglo alone controlled 56,1% of shares (we now understand Anglo's so-called philanthropy).

Although the blacks through their labour power help in the creation of wealth, they have no control over it. If blacks were to win political freedom without control over the wealth, they would perpetuate their own worst form of oppression — economic.

Now the South African regime is privatising state corporations, eg Iscor, SATS. This will leave the incoming majority government toothless and without any means to correct the historical imbalances and injustices. All of these shares have been snapped up by white capitalists.

Some 13% of land in South Africa is occupied by blacks who form 80% of the population. Various laws have been enacted to maintain this status quo, eg Group Areas Act, etc.

As for free enterprise, the oppressed are still prevented by racist laws from trading in the CBDs of major cities, let alone the small dorpies.

In a new South Africa there has to be nationalisation of natural resources and redistribution of land otherwise there will be no real change.

TORIQ ABDUL HAW

1219 Chatsworth Main Road
Umhlathuzana

FOOTNOTE: If our reader is trying to refute the economic arguments against nationalisation he must surely give examples of how nationalisation, and that amorphous concept redistribution, have worked so that readers can see if there are any economic merits in it. It appears that his arguments are based on political control 'of the means of production' and sadly politicians the world over have not yet demonstrated any ability to create a better world. It is difficult to trust them with making business decisions.

The organisations he mentions were not nationalised, that is made into state monopolies by the Nationalists. Nor does Anglo American, Sanlam, Old Mutual and Rembrandt control 79,6% of all shares — that doesn't leave any shares over for the rest of us capitalists to own!

Iscor, for example, became State-owned because private investors in the 1920s had no confidence in a steel industry and would not buy shares. The State owns these organisations on behalf of the people and profits, or losses, are for the benefit, or payment by, the taxpayer or the consumer.

There are many problems with the glib statements that two insurance companies have control of large numbers of shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange — they are the trustees for all who own insurance policies or who have pension provisions.

Perhaps our reader thinks 'the State' must look after him from cradle to grave and things like pensions and insurance should not exist.

I am sure that most people of good will are prepared to pay heavier taxes so that the under-privileged (in respect of health and education) can get a better deal. Those who oppose nationalisation think a better way is to encourage productivity and profits, that is, free enterprise, so that business will pay the bill for this type of redistribution. — Finance Editor

Healing the wounds of violence in SA

Natal Mercury 24 May 1990

By MARY BURTON, past president of the BLACK SASH

SINCE the beginning of 1990 events have moved with astonishing speed, and South Africa finds itself on the brink of a process of transformation.

As the Black Sash marks 35 years of existence, we look forward with hope to the dismantling of apartheid and the start of the redressing of past injustice. But we recognise that this will be achieved only with with great difficulty.

In spite of the degree of trust and understanding which has been reached between the representatives of the Government and of the ANC, there will be no easy move away from conflict and resistance to the painful task of building a new, more just and united nation.

The structures of apartheid remain in place, and widespread violence is shaking the country. The uncertainty of this transition period is aggravated by conflict at many levels: contests for power and control; attacks based on racist hostility; intimidation and revenge; and outright warfare between competing forces.

How do we seek to affirm human rights and condemn their violation in such circumstances? Of course we deplore and denounce the Right-wing braggarts and vicious bullies, the mysterious car accidents and the horrendous events being revealed by the Harms commission, the calls to arms by several different parties, the bomb attacks and the killings (shootings, stabbings, necklacing), and all the torture and unjust imprisonment, whether sanctioned by the state or in exiled prison camps — as well as the desperate, destructive warfare which is laying waste to Natal.

We aim to record and expose these things, but what can be done to bring an end to such violence and to build respect for life and trust in the law?

The first step is to seek the causes of the violence: When people resort to physical attack they have given up hope of having an influence by any other means on the outcome of events affecting their lives.

This applies equally to the threatening militants of the Right-wing in Welkom or Pretoria and to the warring armies in Natal, as well as to the attacks and counter-attacks on leaders or members of competing groups in situations like that of Crossroads.

They clearly have no belief that their interests will be served or protected unless they impose their demands by force and demonstrate that they have the power to do so.

As in all wars, decisions are made by leaders who send others into the field of battle. Leaders depend on the support they can demonstrate — the numbers they can muster, the power they wield, and therefore the apparently good reason for more followers to join them.

In South Africa this demonstration of support is a consequence of the denial of the vote to the vast majority of the population.

On-going conflict becomes a way of life. The young sacrifice their youth, their education, their innocence. What can we have to offer them? They cannot regain the lost years, and there seems no substitute for the heady excitement of fighting and danger. This is the tragedy of the young black generation, but it is also true of those white youths being indoctrinated and trained to fight to the death to preserve an ethnic identity.

Violence feeds on hostility and fear. The legacy of apartheid is the mistrust, the fear of loss of privilege, the anger at injustice, the divisions and inequalities which have made strangers out of the citizens of one country.

The structural violence needed to enforce apartheid has had the effect of desensitising its victims to such an extent that physical conflict loses its power to shock.

'Structural violence' is a contested term, but it encompasses the actual violence which has accompanied pass law arrests, torture in detention, destruction of houses and property during forced removals and squatter demolitions and violent actions by employees of the state against political opponents.

This violent history is indeed structural, and it has had a blunting effect on sensitivity to brute force which may be difficult to measure but should not be underestimated.

In addition to all the violence for which such explanations can be made, there is the seemingly mindless brutality

of crime — theft and assault, rape and murder — which arises out of the socio-economic environment of thousands of alienated, disaffected, criminalised people.

The Black Sash is sometimes accused of ignoring acts of violence unless these can be laid at the door of the Government or its suspected agents and supporters. We do not deny that we see our primary task as one of defending the rule of law and protecting the rights of the public against incursions by the state.

But neither do we deny that we have been horrified over the years by killings of alleged collaborators and informers carried out by anti-apartheid groups. We do not make excuses for such actions. We do believe the most urgent task is to lay the foundations for peace.

How is this country to be healed? All must share the responsibility. Causes and culprits must be identified, and the Government (present and future) must assume its task as the ultimate provider of protection for all. This means that it is of the utmost importance that the police and the army are impartial servants of the public and are seen to be so.

The constitution-making process must be consultative and open. Those who see no future unless they fight for it must be persuaded that there is a process through which their voice can be heard. The guaranteed protection of civil rights is essential, but so is a real commitment to address the economic restructuring which must take place.

The state of emergency and curbs on political activity must be lifted in order to foster a rapid process of organisation, mobilisation and political education.

The help of those who have power to affect the outcome of events must be enlisted. It is inevitable that the actions of the powerful business sector, the outside world, the unionised labour force, the religious communities and other groupings within and outside the country will have an impact. There is a risk that such forces could aggravate rather than reduce conflict.

It is neither surprising nor wrong that those who fear the possibility of one political grouping (for example, the African National Congress) acquiring too much power, should support its opponents.

But when, as in Natal, lives are being lost and the fabric of the society is being torn apart, sectarian interests must take second place to a common commitment of peace. Those who have influence must use it to guide disagreement and competition into formal channels and away from armed conflict.

Part of the process of healing is the acknowledgement of past wrongs. Retribution and revenge are not conducive to reconstruction, but a new edifice cannot be built on secrecy and guilt. The role of independent commissions is vital in opening up to the light all the evils which have taken place, so that old ghosts can be laid to rest.

South Africa will depend heavily on the capacity of all its people to forgive, a capacity which has often been generously demonstrated. Knowledge of the truth, however, is the precursor to forgiveness.

It is for this reason that the prompt acknowledgement by the ANC of its responsibility for any malpractice in its detention camps is to be welcomed, and that its commitment and that of other parties to continuing openness is a necessary component of future peace.

Those who are and have been combatants and victims must be of primary concern. The country's resources must be urgently directed towards a programme of counselling, curing, educating and training this battered generation — those within the country and those who will be returning to it.

This will require a massive mobilisation of people and skills: the task of providing jobs and training must be a priority for the business sector and the Government; and divisions and problems that bedevil the education system must be vigorously addressed.

We must deal with poverty and the need to acquire skills. We must prepare for major change and help people to accept it. We in the Black Sash have some of the abilities which will be needed. Our advice offices and our fieldworkers can offer valuable services. Our commitment to human rights, to justice and to peace demands that we dedicate ourselves to this work.

F W and Marike window-shop

Cagey Swiss *Natal Mercury* don't show their *24 May 1990* sanctions cards

ZURICH—When President de Klerk went shopping along Zurich's famous Bahnhofstrasse yesterday, he was walking just a few metres above huge stores of gold — much of it South African — in Swiss bank vaults.

But those bankers are unlikely to recycle much of this wealth to South Africa in fresh loans until they are convinced political peace has cemented chances for stable economic development in a post-apartheid society.

'The economy in South Africa will develop magnificently as soon as an agreement is reached that guarantees the democratic rights of all members of the society,' one Swiss banker said.

'A political solution has to come first, and economic development will follow.'

Mr de Klerk is nearing the end of a nine-country European tour to seek political and financial support for his vision of a democracy with guaranteed rights for the white minority.

He spent his first day in Switzerland talking to Government officials, and met business leaders privately yesterday.

On Bahnhofstrasse Mr de Klerk and his wife, Marike, window-shopped stores thick with South African gold and diamonds.

Switzerland has never imposed sanctions on South Africa.

But it limits new loans to 300 million Swiss francs (about R540 million) a year to prevent Swiss banks being used to circumvent sanctions other countries have imposed. Mr de Klerk raised this subject at yesterday's talks, but got no response. — (Sapa-Reuter)

Pik left

with

whiplash

after crash

Mercury Correspondent

ZURICH—Foreign Minister Pik Botha will receive a pain-killing injection from a doctor before each of the remaining meetings on President de Klerk's European tour which ends on Saturday.

This follows an incident in Zurich on Tuesday night when the limousine carrying Mr de Klerk and Mr Botha was rear-ended by a car driven by Swiss security officials.

The crash, which left Mr de Klerk unscathed but resulted in a whiplash neck injury to Mr Botha, will not affect the programme for the rest of the trip.

Wearing a neck brace, Mr Botha yesterday told journalists visiting him in his suite in the Hotel Dolder Grand that he was 'feeling fine' and had managed 'a good night's rest'.

However, the doctor who had been attending him had said that there were some of the vertebrae in his neck which 'will have to be looked at'.

Police conduct raid on Welkom township

Natal Mercury 24 May 1990

WELKOM—Police carried out the biggest crime prevention operation held in the Free State in the black township of Thabong here on Tuesday night.

The District Commissioner of Police in the northern Free State, Col Hennie Heymans, said the operation had been intended to prevent crime and 'to restore law and order' in the township after the recent violence.

More than 1 000 po-

licemen supported by the Defence Force's Group 34 and the Thabong municipal police took part.

About 4 000 houses were searched and suspected stolen vehicles, pangas, knobkieries and petrol bombs were seized.

● A great deal of confusion still reigns among blacks in Welkom over the ending of the two-week-old consumers' boycott on the Goldfields.

Spokesmen for various city businesses said that since Tuesday there had been a greater influx of customers, but claimed that intimidation was still evident.

Some black people were afraid to shop while others ignored the intimidators because the boycott had ended.

A number of policemen were present at business concerns yesterday morning and were patrolling the streets. — (Sapa)

When children ask, parents should be there with the right answers

IN an age of increasing sexual activity among teenagers, of deadly sexually-transmitted diseases and unwanted pregnancy, sex warrants a far more serious discussion than a gruff discourse on birds, bees and biology.

The average adolescent girl becomes sexually active at the age of 14, according to a 1987 report by the Department of National Health and Population Development.

Most teenage pregnancies occur among those aged 16 and 17, according to the same study.

Research conducted by various welfare groups and government departments "has revealed that the extent of adolescent sexual activity, illegal abortions and unplanned pregnancies is vast", says Mr Kagan in a dissertation dealing with sources of sexual information among Standard 9 and 10 pupils.

And Aids has changed the consequences of sexually-transmitted diseases from nuisance to death.

Since the seventies many countries have introduced some form of sex education in schools, but studies have indicated — in the United States — that these programmes have had "relatively little effect" on sexual attitudes, behaviour, and the consequences.

To correct this, the preferences of the children themselves need to

Stop dodging sex questions!

Daily News 24 May 1990



Not good enough, Hagar. A survey by Jeffrey Kagan of Natal University's Educational Psychology Department on where pupils at one school obtained their sex-

ual information has suggested that fathers are failing their sons by fobbing them off with this age-old dodge. **CLAIRE ROBERTSON** reports.

be taken into account, studies suggest.

And the latest South Africa study places the responsibility firmly at the door of both parents.

The study was conducted at a private school in the Cape, and while this and the honesty of the replies may have coloured the results, Mr Kagan says the findings are largely consistent with those of other researchers, and are thus largely representative of the actual and preferred sources of sexual information among the adolescents under investigation.

He found that both boys and girls obtained sexual information mainly from books, magazines and pamphlets, then their mothers, peers, television and movies and school programmes.

Fathers and other

adults were relatively minor sources.

"With the media playing such an important role, it can be assumed that much of the sexual information acquired by these pupils is distorted and inaccurate," says Mr Kagan.

When analysed separately, results showed that boys obtained most information from books and magazines, and girls from their mothers.

Mothers were the main source of information on "non-behaviour related topics" such as the origin of babies, pregnancy, childbirth and menstruation.

Peers of the same sex were the most important source for most of the behaviour-related topics of wet dreams, masturbation and petting.

"Surprisingly, moth-

ers were the major source of information regarding sexual intercourse...

"This suggests that mothers deemed it necessary to discuss sexual intercourse with their children, possibly because of potential consequences, but were less prepared to discuss other aspects of sexual behaviour with them," said Mr Kagan.

Books and magazines were found to be the main source of information on the "so-called controversial topics" of prostitution, abortion and homosexuality.

"This suggests that sensitive, contentious sexual topics were not being adequately addressed by parents and school personnel, and that these adolescents were largely being left to acquire information (on these topics) from

the sensationalist mass-media and their ill-informed peers."

About what the teenagers would have preferred as sources of sexual information, the pupils attached an overwhelming importance to their mothers.

And while very few girls wanted to acquire information from their fathers, boys cited fathers as the second most preferred source.

All wanted to learn about babies, pregnancy, childbirth, contraception and menstruation from their parents, but preferred to receive information about masturbation and petting from peers of their own sex.

The study suggested strongly that boys wanted to obtain their information about almost all topics mostly from their mothers and fathers.

The boys polled were clearly not satisfied with their sources of information and wanted their mothers and fathers, rather than books and magazines, to tell them about sex.

"Male pupils would have liked their fathers to be far more involved in their socialisation," Mr Kagan concluded.

Parents must become more involved in sex education, says Mr Kagan, and to this end schools should consider training parents to teach their children about sex.

"Fathers, in particular, would require much help in how to become far more involved in providing their sons (and hopefully daughters) with the required information.

"Parents need to be encouraged to be actively and honestly involved in the sexual socialisation of their children."

Spiking their guns

Daily News
24 May 1990
LAW and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok has perhaps gone off half-cocked by merely threatening to ban the carrying of guns at political meetings and protest marches. The law prohibits the display of weapons in public places, but this is being ignored by groups whose habit of openly flaunting their guns must be taken as provocation, since there is hardly any need for weapons at public meetings. Armed and uniformed bodyguards and vigilante patrols only inflame tension and add to the spiral of violence which now has the Pan

African Congress planning to send armed units into Welkom townships.

Gun ownership is increasing among South Africans, along with their bad record of gun abuse through carelessness and hotheaded lack of control. The potential for tragedy is greatly heightened in tinderbox situations such as Welkom. There is every reason to ban weapons from public meetings, or at least enforce the law to have them kept out of sight to lower the risk of confrontation and intimidation.

Daily News

Non-appearance a shame

SIR — It was a crying shame that Nadine Gordimer (author) and Dr Beyers Naude (ANC delegate) refused to turn up for an honorary graduation held by UDW (The Daily News, May 14).

These are the kind of persons the public looks to for guidance.

But when such figureheads play "wishy-washy" roles at the slightest turn of some dishwater thinking, then they must be regarded as the true disappointments of their societies.

The layman looks upon these people for their moral and social responsibilities to society. This "wishy-washy" turn of thinking in this case was disappointing.

Dr R SOOBIAH, Tongaat

Mandela will come under fire for ANC nationalisation statements: Pik

European leaders fear 'African mess'

24 MAY 1990

DAILY NEWS

JOHANNESBURG: European business leaders and governments are busy "writing off Africa" and generally fear that developments in South Africa could result in a "typical African mess", Foreign Minister Pik Botha said last night.

He warned ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela would have much to answer for, particularly in view of his economic policy and ANC statements on nationalisation much in the same way as the Government had had to defend apartheid in the past.

"We want African leaders — Mr Mandela and Dr Buthelezi and others — to realise that in Europe there is change which, in my opinion, is comparable with the Renaissance," he said in an interview with SABC-TV.

"And we in South Africa had better take notice of this — Mandela and all responsible parties — otherwise Europe will be like a ship that passes us by and bids us farewell."

Mr Botha was interviewed by the SABC-TV in Switzerland where he is currently on a European tour with President F.W. de Klerk.

He disclosed he had pleaded with a European leader for funds for "a certain African state", but he had been told European governments could not force their private sectors to invest in Africa.

"They invest where there is safety and freedom, and where there is not a threat of nationalisation or one-party states.

"There is total mistrust in Africa's ability to govern itself, to make a success of its economy, or to administer itself.

He said there was concern that South Africa

would degenerate into "a typical African mess".

"The President explained we are prepared to settle but not commit suicide."

He expected Mr Mandela would be honoured during his coming European visit, but said: "Whereas in the past we had to explain apartheid — and there were elements which you couldn't really explain — we believe Mandela will be asked about his economic policy, about nationalisation, the visits to some countries and his alliance with certain parties." — Sapa

■ While the ANC had no blueprint that decreed privately-owned assets be nationalised, it was obvious the concentration of economic power in a few white hands would have to change, Mr Nelson Mandela said in Johannesburg last night, a Daily News correspondent reports.

"The view that the only words in the economic vocabulary that ANC knows are nationalisation and redistribution is mistaken. There are many issues to consider in the question of democratisation and deracialisation of economic power," he said.

He said it was important to stop propagating a gloomy picture of a future South Africa which would sink into the economic crises afflicting many African countries.

Welkom: an Daily NEWS ugly plunge 24 May 1990 from early days of hope

WELKOM. There are many bitter ironies in contemporary South Africa, but the name of this Free State town must now be the most incongruous of all.

Racism has reared its ugly head there (it used to be sex but these days it is race that rears its ugly head) and the conflict resembles the ugliness of the Deep South of the United States in the 1960s.

Welkom, as its name implies, started life with high hopes and ideals. In 1946 fabulously rich gold deposits were discovered under the flat maize lands of the Free State, giving South Africa one of those economic boosts that seem periodically to help it out of difficulties (maybe the Lord does smile on us after all).

Mining began in 1947 and Welkom was established at the centre of the goldfields area and named after the farm on which it stood. It was designed by Anglo American as a model town, with wide streets and wide grass verges, pleasant amenities and a black township called Thabong, which means Place of Joy, another grim irony.

I got to know Welkom quite well more than 25 years ago when I was editor of *The Friend* in Bloemfontein. We sold an edition there called the Goldfields Friend and occasionally I would visit the town to keep in touch with local dignitaries.

Sustaining the Goldfields Friend was hard work. Welkom was closer to Bloemfontein, 160km away, than to Johannesburg (275km) but its white inhabitants were Transvaalers in their origins, attitudes and sympathies, and many of them preferred the Johannesburg papers which were sold there.

No doubt they still have some ingrained Transvaal attitudes. The angry and armed white mine-workers do not sound to me like the calmer, more reflective Free State Afrikaners whom I knew well years ago.

I was never enthusiastic about Welkom itself. In spite of its "model" design — no traffic lights, for example, just very big traffic circles — it was rather a bleak place, with a couple of good restaurants and the typical mine recreation clubs.

Mind you, its inhabitants were doggedly loyal. Its climate was on the whole reasonable, but, like much of the central Free State, the area was stricken at times by suffocating dust storms, brought by high winds from the newly ploughed mealie fields to the west.

Even the dust storms conferred a benefit, however. I had not recognised this until *The Friend* published a supplement on Welkom, written mainly by a young reporter named Hugh Robertson. He is now an assistant editor on the *Argus* in Cape Town.

Hugh Robertson grew up at Welkom, though he went to school and university in Natal. He joined *The Friend* as a reporter based in Welkom and, writing in the special supplement, he said: "People sometimes complain about the dust storms in Welkom, but without the dust we would not have our beautiful sunsets."

The ultimate in positive thinking.

□ □ □

I'M not altogether surprised that a poll in Britain has indicated that nearly half those questioned did not understand what a percentage meant. Many people, it seems, think that 40 percent means one in forty.

Numerate and literate are the buzz-words these days for people who are good with figures or good with words. A large proportion of the British seem to be neither.

Mind you, there is nothing new about this. In the 1880s Winston Churchill's father, Lord Randolph Churchill, was the Chancellor of the Exchequer — the British Minister of Finance — and on one occasion was shown external trade figures by a senior official.

"Good," said Lord Randolph. "I see our foreign trade is up 44 percent."

The official nervously put his finger on a decimal point and said: "No, sir, four point four percent."

"What's the difference?" said the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The official explained.

"Ah," said Lord Randolph, enlightenment dawning. "I never could make out what those damned dots meant."

Perhaps his mind was already affected by the syphilis which killed him at the age of 46.

Youths had to eat slices of their ears

DAILY NEWS
24 MAY 1990
Daily News Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Khutsong township near Carletonville was tense yesterday after "comrades" had fled their homes after an attack on five boys, who had pieces of their left ears sliced off — which they were then forced to eat.

The victims said a vigilante group known as the Gaddafi Squad had run amok.

The local civic association has called on the national leadership of the ANC and the UDF to assist in restoring peace there.

A spokesman for the Khutsong Civic Association described the situation as volatile.

"We are sitting on a time-bomb. There will be bloodshed if the situation is not resolved."

People interviewed said the Gaddafi Squad, also known as the G Squad, comprised armed youths under 18 who wore political T-shirts and pretended to be ANC supporters.

Local police have distributed pamphlets requesting residents to report the activities of the vigilante group. It reads: "Wanted Tsotsis. Help the Police find them. R5 000 Reward."

A victim of the G Squad told of his terrifying experience. The youth refused to have his

name published, for fear of repercussions.

He said 20 members of the G Squad captured him and his friends on Saturday and tortured them after accusing them of an alleged killing.

Members of the G Squad told the prisoners, five boys and three girls, that they had to be disciplined.

"We tried to tell them that we were innocent. They did not believe us and took us to a school where we were tortured."

"The G Squad beat us up and then sliced off pieces of our left ears, except for the girls, who had pieces of their forehead sliced off," he said.

The youths were terrified and were prepared to do anything that was requested of them and this included eating their own flesh.

"The G Squad told me to chew the piece they had sliced off my ear. I could not chew it because it was too hard so I swallowed it."

The youth said he would not lay any charges against the vigilante group because his family was at risk.

A local doctor confirmed that he treated two youths who had pieces of their ears sliced off.

EXCLUSIVE WHITE BERE EARMARKED TO GET ANC BRANCH

NICOLA CUNNINGHAM-BROWN

Political Reporter

THE exclusive and predominantly white suburb of Berea may be one of the first white areas in Natal to set up an African National Congress branch — and other white suburbs throughout the country appear to be following a similar trend.

ANC spokesmen confirmed yesterday that they had been inundated with queries from people, many of them white, interested in forming ANC branches in their areas.

Mr Patrick Lekota, ANC convener for southern Natal, said that a meeting of about 80 Berea residents had been addressed by ANC spokesmen recently and there was a strong possibility that a branch would be set up there soon.

The other ANC branch which should shortly be operational in the greater Durban area is in the black township of Lamontville.

A spokesman for the ANC in Johannesburg said they were hoping for "as many as four

million members of all races" by the end of the year, when the ANC was due to hold its first national conference inside South Africa in more than 30 years.

The spokesman said the ANC had already printed its first million membership cards and these had been distributed to regional offices throughout the country.

He said the ANC was definitely making gains in traditionally conservative white areas, such as the East Rand towns of Springs and Benoni.

"We have about 100 white members from these towns and I believe we are gaining numerous white members in other areas as well."

Interim structures have been set up in many areas and the Western and Eastern Cape regions appear to be moving faster than other regions.

New ANC members have to pay an annual membership fee of R12, or R1 a month, and must take an oath agreeing to the movement's principles and supporting the Freedom Charter.

Attacks on police show sharp rise since Jan 1

By Tony Stirling

TWENTY-SEVEN policemen have killed and more than 270 injured in attacks since the start of the year. Attacks against the police have shown a sharp escalation since January 1.

Black policemen in particular have borne the brunt of the violence directed against the security forces, while attacks against the Defence Force have been far more limited and resulted in one reported death.

The homes of more than 200 Black policemen have been attacked mainly by petrol bombs, but also by handgrenades and physical attacks by mobs.

More than 20 incidents are recorded in newspaper reports of police

having come under fire in Black residential areas this year, while the stoning of police vehicles patrolling townships is a daily occurrence.

In the five months between August and December last year, 79 attacks against the police took place which caused the deaths of 12 policemen. Two hundred and twenty six members of the force in all categories — police, municipal police and special constables were injured. Between the start of the year and May 18, there were 886 attacks against the police. During this period 27 policemen died and 270 were injured.

The statistics indicate, however a possible tapering off in the number of attacks against the police, with the number of attacks having reached a peak in March.

In January there were 87 such attacks, resulting in one death and 45 injuries to policemen. In February there were 194 attacks, seven deaths and 76 injuries. In March there were 317 attacks, six deaths and 82 injuries. In April the figures show a drop to 201 attacks, eight deaths and 49 injuries.

The figures up to May 18 showed that there were 87 attacks against the police, five deaths and 18 injuries. A similar pattern has been noted in regard

to attacks on homes of policemen. This year there has been both a sharp increase in the number of such attacks and in the severity of the damage caused.

From last August to December the homes of 51 policemen were attacked causing damage estimated at around R75 000. From January to the end of April this year, this jumped to 224 attacks with damage sustained of about R1,75 million.

In January, the homes of 36 policemen were attacked. In February there were 26 such attacks, with a high of 126 attacks in March, dropping to 44 in April. Attacks on police vehicles in the first four months of the year also increased sharply and showed a similar trend to the other types of attacks.

The severity of the attacks also intensified, with damage caused to police vehicles being double what it was in the last five months of 1989.

From August to December there were 550 attacks on police vehicles, with damage estimated at more than R2 million. In the first four months of this year, there were 651 such attacks with damages of more than R4 million. March again topped the list for such attacks with 293 recorded, followed by February with 158, while the figures for both January and April

were 100.

Newspaper reports based on the daily unrest bulletins of the SAP show that police came under fire on at least 22 occasions this year. There were also two attacks on police stations.

There have also been at least 12 occasions on which policemen or their homes have been subjected to handgrenade attacks, which have resulted in injuries to the dependents of policemen. Some of the attacks against the police have been extremely brutal. One, alleged to have been executed as the result of being sentenced by a so-called people's court was stabbed more than 40 times, another was decapitated, and others have been burnt to death.

Major General Herman Stadler, chief of the Police Division of Public Relations, who is also the police expert on the ANC, says the attacks have to be seen against the background that the police are in the front line of curbing unrest where it occurs.

As the instrument of preserving law and order, it was the police who were called upon to deal directly with unrest situations, with the Defence Force playing a supportive role where needed.

It also had to be borne in mind that over the years the police had formed the front line of the country's defence against radicalism and terrorism.

The SAP wanted to and should be seen in the role of the protector of the community, but they were often seen as instruments of the system.

In considering why

policemen came under attack, it should be noted that they had been an extremely effective instrument in countering revolution and radicalism. They therefore came under attack by elements who knew that as long as the police were able to carry out their task effectively, they would be unable to achieve their goals.

It was important that people should remember that the SAP's duty was to protect the community. Where called upon to deal with situations such as unrest, it was not the police who provoked or initiated the violence which was occurring, said General Stadler.

Sebokeng: I fired first shot in fear reflex

Citizen 24 May 1990

A "FEAR REFLEX" prompted Const Shaun van Rhyn, of the Krugersdorp Reaction Unit, to fire the first shot at Sebokeng on March 26, the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry heard yesterday.

Const Van Rhyn claimed he had been tense and nervous about the size and aggression of a 50 000-strong crowd, had held his finger on the trigger but accidentally fired his "stopper" gun — load-

ed with a teargas projectile.

It had been a "fear reflex" after a stone came flying past his head.

He admitted his first shot had set off a chain reaction among his colleagues. He himself had reloaded his "stopper" and fired another two teargas projectiles until he heard the "stop firing" shout from the commanding officer, Capt Willie du Plooy.

Const Van Rhyn was called to testify yesterday after Special Constable Motshawo Oujan Mhaboko of the Vanderbijlpark Reaction Unit "fingered" him as the man who had fired the first shot.

Up to yesterday, Const Van Rhyn had not told anyone of his role in the shooting.

When S/C Mhaboko told the commission he was afraid to tell the truth to his superiors, Mr Justice R J Goldstone said: "It would be quite wrong if any action were taken against you in connection with the evidence you gave today."

If any action was taken against the special con-

stable — for testifying against a colleague — he was immediately to contact Adv J J du Toit, who represents the Attorney-General's office at the commission.

"I heard a shot, looked up and noticed it had come from my right hand side. It was Const Van Rhyn," S/C Mhaboko told the hearing.

Const Van Rhyn had been armed with a "stopper" gun and a 9 mm side-arm, he said.

"I had been afraid of

TO PAGE 2

'Why I fired'

FROM PAGE 1

telling this to my superiors, because if I do tell them something they don't like, I would be expelled," he said.

"I was afraid to tell them that a White police officer had fired first without having been given a command."

S/C Mhaboko testified that after he heard the first shot, he fired one shotgun blast with SSG buckshot into the air.

The shooting to which he referred was in front of the Sondela brewery at Sebokeng.

At this particular site, five demonstrators died and 76 were injured on March 26.

The commission's terms of reference are to investigate and report urgently to the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, on all the circumstances relating to incidents on March 26 at Sebokeng. Boipatong,

Sharpeville and Evaton — together known as the Lekoa area — in which at least 12 people were killed and residents injured. — Sapa.

6 000 teachers, student teachers march

NELSPRUIT. —More than 6 000 teachers and student teachers marched yesterday in the Lowveld to protest against what they said was the Lebowa Government's non-payment of salaries to newly appointed teachers.

Newly appointed teachers had not received salaries for four months, teachers said.

"At least 800 newly appointed teachers are af-

ected by the Lebowa Government's non-payment," Bushbuckridge Teachers' Union President Bernard Matsani said last night.

The teachers come from an area bordered by the historical Pilgrim's Rest, Nelspruit and Mahala in the east.

The marchers presented a second memorandum to the Mapulaneng circuit inspectorate of the

Lebowa Government, demanding payment of outstanding wages and textbooks for pupils.

The march follows the presentation of a memorandum demanding payment among other issues by a teachers' delegation to the Mapulaneng Circuit Inspectorate of the Lebowa Government on May 14.

In the memorandum, the teachers demanded that the government settle the outstanding wages to the newly appointed teachers and supply textbooks.

"We gave the government, through the inspector, until May 16 to meet our demands (flowing from the first memorandum) and said we would have to consider other strategies if the wages remained unpaid," a newly appointed teacher said.

An activist in the area, Mr Joe Makhubedu, alleged the affected teachers had been warned that if their respective principals were not "satisfied with their performance", they would not be paid.

The memorandum the union presented to the in-

spectorate said the teachers recognised their responsibility as part of the Mass Democratic Movement and endorsed the popular "back to school campaign".

But it accused the authorities of sabotaging the campaign and called on the government pay the teachers immediately and restore the situation to normality.

Mr Makhubedu said education for the more than 20 000 secondary students in the area was now jeopardised by the attitude of the government. — Sapa.

Welkom boycott

Citizen 24 May 1990

suspended

WELKOM. — The consumer boycott of White businesses and shops in Welkom by Blacks has officially been suspended.

Spokesman for the Consumer Boycott Co-ordinating Committee and chairman of the Welkom Negotiating Forum, Rev Gavin Graham yesterday said the negotiating forum had been instrumental in getting the boycott suspended.

The boycott committee had done everything in their power to end the recent violence so an atmosphere of calm could prevail.

"Once peace descends then the negotiating forum can get down to other issues such as the education crisis."

Mr Graham said he hoped to have Thabong youth representatives on the forum.

He wanted all opinions represented, including the White Right-wing and the more conservative Black groups.

"Issues must be dealt with through negotiation not confrontation."

"The boycott has proved its point by raising issues...it has created loss and sadness to many people."

He said all people around the negotiating table wanted the boycott resolved.

A consensus had been reached by the forum about how various issues would be handled. These issues would be dealt with on an ongoing basis.

Issues included the education crisis, White vigilante groups and management committees.

Mr Graham said the education crisis must ultimately be solved by the authorities.

"We would hope to get someone into the forum from the Department of Education and Training who can speak with authority."

The boycott committee was attempting to get the DET involved.

"The education crisis is a priority."

"The forum will continue to deal with issues that arise as we move to a new dispensation in SA."

A great deal of confusion still reigns among Blacks over the two week-old consumers' boycott on the Goldfields.

Spokesmen for various city businesses said that since Tuesday there was a greater influx of customers, but intimidation was still evident.

Some Black people were afraid to shop while others ignored the intimidators because the boycott had ended.

A number of policemen were present at business concerns on Wednesday morning and were patrolling the streets.

The massive police

TO PAGE 2

Boycott is suspended

FROM PAGE 1

"Operation Watchdog" crime prevention exercise in Thabong township early yesterday morning was a "total success", the SAP Divisional Commissioner Colonel Hennie Heymans said.

Twelve people have died since violence erupted in Thabong on Sunday night.

Col Heymans told a media conference there were 11 bodies in the mortuary "as a result of alleged police involvement".

Another man, former councillor Mr Albert Phakati, "succumbed to wounds".

Two illegal immigrants and 37 suspects had been arrested in yesterday's exercise which was carried out by more than 1 000 policemen supported by the SA Defence Force.

Knives, sharpened instruments and other home-made weapons, dagga and gold-bearing ore had been confiscated.

A suspected stolen vehicle was recovered.

Col Heymans said Thabong was "cleaned up and stable".

Pamphlets were issued asking people not to be intimidated. No complaints were received from local inhabitants and police-community relations had been restored, he said.

A convoy of 38 police cars, vans, Casspirs and Hippos moved through the White suburbs and city centre from 9 am Wednesday.

Col Heymans said the convoy was to show the security forces were present and prepared and had the ability to mobilise people if necessary.

Asked about SAP and Right-wing relations, he said the police were "colourblind and apolitical".

"We will react to complaints by people from the ANC or Blanke Veiligheid".

He said he was unaware of any vigilante patrols since BV leader Hennie Muller's threat that patrols would resume from Monday night.

Thabong residents said

police conducted house-to-house searches from about 2 am.

"They banged on the door and shouted", a middle-aged woman said. "When I argued they threatened to search the house and leave everything in a mess."

The streets of the township were swept clean of debris and remains of barricades by late Tuesday night following a decision taken at a youth meeting to clean up Thabong after the two days of violence and police action.

Neither the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, nor his office, had given the Blanke Veiligheid movement permission to patrol the streets of Welkom, Mr Vlok's Press officer, Brigadier Leon Mellet, said yesterday.

He reacted to a statement by the leader of Blanke Veiligheid in Welkom, Mr Hennie Muller, on a morning TV news bulletin claiming his movement had received permission from Mr Vlok to conduct street patrols.

Sapa

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

24 May 1990

Two sides

TWO events this weekend sum up the political situation in South Africa.

The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, returns on Saturday from what must be regarded as a triumphant nine-country tour of Europe.

Heads of state and leaders have learnt at first hand the nature and irreversibility of his reforms.

They have been impressed, they have been friendly, and some have indicated that sanctions should be eased.

Whether sanctions will be lifted depends on whether Mr Nelson Mandela, the ANC Deputy President, following in Mr De Klerk's tracks, can persuade the same leaders that sanctions shouldn't be eased.

And whether countries like Ireland and Spain can persuade the rest of the European Community that sanctions should stay.

During his visit, Mr De Klerk has also stressed the need for capital investment in South Africa, to enable South Africa to prepare for the post-apartheid society that is on its way.

Some new investment may result, but international bankers and businessmen will wait to see what develops in South Africa before they put their money here on any big scale.

Black Africa has a poor track record, and with the ANC threatening nationalisation of mines, banks and other sectors of the economy, they will not risk investing in what could turn out to be a Marxist Socialist State, if the ANC came to power.

Although Mr Mandela told a meeting with top business leaders yesterday that "the view that the only words in the economic vocabulary that the ANC knows are nationalisation and redistribution is mistaken", he informed a media conference afterwards that the ANC was not rethinking its nationalisation policy. Meanwhile, Mr De Klerk has succeeded in ending South Africa's isolation in the capitals of Europe.

As he himself puts it, South Africa's international relations will normalise "whether it happens now or in six months".

Mr De Klerk will deservedly receive a "hero's" welcome home on Saturday from his Cabinet colleagues and other Members of Parliament.

At the Voortrekker Monument, by contrast, the Conservative Party will be holding a massive rally to condemn Mr De Klerk and everything he stands for.

The CP's leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, will be presented with a petition with more than a million signatures calling for a general election.

He will also seek endorsement by the volksvergadering of a "Freedom Manifesto" that rejects an undivided unitary State in which "differing people are forced together into one nation under one authority".

It also rejects Black majority rule or any constitution which does not provide for the Afrikaner's freedom in an own fatherland.

The demands in the manifesto include the right "to protect our existence with all the means at our disposal", to exist as a people, and to establish an own community life and educational system.

It concludes: "We request our leader and our party to call up our entire people to the freedom struggle."

If the rally does attract 100 000 people, as expected, it will confirm the alienation from the National Party of a great section — perhaps the majority — of the Afrikaner volk.

The polarisation between Nationalist Afrikaners and Right-wing Afrikaners will be complete.

It is easy to dismiss the Right-wing backlash as being of no consequence in the emerging new South Africa, but no constitutional plan that is rejected by the majority of Afrikaners can hope to succeed.

Mr De Klerk may have won a major battle overseas, but here at home, with violence spreading, with White-Black confrontations as in Welkom becoming a dangerous threat, and with a great section of the volk opposing him, Mr De Klerk has the biggest battle of all on his hands to sell his policy and to bring peace to South Africa.

It is what happens here, rather than what breakthroughs South Africa makes in Europe, that will determine our future.

3 policemen attacked by stone-throwing mob

Crime Reporter

THREE White Gonubi policemen were injured when a group of Black men from a squatter camp near this Eastern Cape town became violent.

The riot unit was called in to rescue the three police constables who were attacked with stones, sticks and hammers and then kicked and hit while they were on the ground.

Const N Petzer hurt his right arm and sustained bruised ribs, Const R Buys sustained bruises to his left buttock and Const A Gouws injured his left elbow and left knee when he was dragged along the ground by the assailants.

The incident occurred after an attack on a building contractor, Mr Robin Hewitt (60).

Police said 10 Black men arrived at Mr Hewitt's building site at about 9 am.

Two of them stepped forward as spokesmen. They told Mr Hewitt that they had brought him eight builders.

When he said he could only employ three builders he was told that if he didn't employ all of them they would see to it that nobody would work for him at all.

The group suddenly charged Mr Hewitt who fired a warning shot but failed to scare off the would be job seekers.

He fired a second shot and one of the spokesmen was struck in the leg. The others fled towards the squatter's camp.

The police were notified of the incident and on their arrival at the squatter's camp were attacked by a group of about 50 Black men, throwing stones and lunging at them with sticks and hammers.

Six men were arrested in connection with the attack on Mr Hewitt and the three policemen.

They will face charges of intimidation, assault with intention to do grievous bodily harm, assault on police, defeating the ends of justice, and public violence.

Red carpet welcome is planned for De Klerk

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — The Acting State President, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, will head the Cabinet in a red-carpet State welcome for the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, on his arrival at Jan Smuts Airport at 10 am on Saturday.

Mr De Klerk will step down from the aircraft and, as soon as he is on South African soil, the national salute will be given by a unit and orchestra of the SA Defence Force.

Dr and Mrs Viljoen will then step forward to greet Mr and Mrs De Klerk on their return to South Africa. They will be joined by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and Mrs Botha who accompanied the State President to Europe.

Members of the Cabinet and other distinguished guests will add their welcome before the official party moves to a reception area in the airport, where Mr De Klerk will give an address.

All members of Parliament have been formally notified of the time of Mr Botha's arrival at Jan Smuts, and offered parking space should they attend.

Cabinet members in the welcoming group will include the National Party's four provincial leaders: Dr Dawie de Villiers of the Cape, Mr Kobie Coetsee of the Free State, Mr Barend du Plessis of Transvaal, and Mr George Bartlett of Natal.

The majority of National Party MPs are also expected to be present.

No formal decisions have been taken by the other political parties in the three Houses of Parliament about attendance, and it is apparently a matter for each individual MP to decide.

The Conservative Party is the exception, in that it will definitely not welcome Mr De Klerk back. The CP will hold a mass rally at the Amphitheatre of the Voortrekker Monument on Saturday, at which the speaker will

be the party's leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

The CP has been highly critical of the tour, and it has voiced its objections in a number of Parliament debates in the past three weeks.

Preparation are already well under way for Mr De Klerk's forthcoming trip to the United States for talks with President George Bush.

While a Washington spokesman earlier named June 18 as the day of the meeting between President Bush and President De Klerk, this has yet to be confirmed by the office of the State President.

An announcement may be made by Mr De Klerk at Saturday's formal reception, or after next week's Cabinet meeting.

Confirming the 10 am arrival on Saturday, the Office of the State President said yesterday that members of the public would be welcome to attend the ceremony at the airport. Special arrangements are being made for additional parking.

16/1/20

N. NATION

24/05/90

Churches must continue to fight

THE president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Allan Boesak, says right-wing political leaders like Eugene Terre'Blanche and Andries Treurnicht should go somewhere else if they do not want to face the realities of a new South Africa.

Boesak was addressing an open-air church service attended by more than 10 000 people from regional congregations at Port Elizabeth's Dan Qeke Stadium last Sunday.

The rally was hosted by the Interdenominational African Ministers of South Africa (Idamasa).

He said those who were afraid of justice, humanity and peace should go away and find a place where they could be "bosses".

"They are afraid of reconciliation because they think



Dr Alan Boesak and Beyers Naude.

we will do what they have done to us," he said.

Boesak continued by saying people like PW Botha and Adriaan Vlok should not tell people that this was not

their country and that they had no right to live in it.

He praised the role played by the church and called on the Eastern Cape clergies to speak for the people.

They should not be afraid of being intimidated by those who camouflaged the apartheid system because "God will help them".

He said that churches standing for the truth must continue fighting for the total dismantling of apartheid because the government had at last recognised the demands of the people.

It was as if "God had sent Christ" to set free those who had been jailed.

Meanwhile, the president of Idamasa, Rev de Villiers Soga, told the people that recent changes were indications of the society that would be born.

He said the recent changes by president FW de Klerk were happening at a time when "bad things" were being revealed by the agents of apartheid.

Double — speak:

1 LANGA 24-26 - MAY 1990

Another way of taking power

Inkatha is not the enemy. So says ANC Deputy President, Dr Nelson Mandela. Inkatha will be wiped out. So says Mr Harry Gwala, Midlands leader of the ANC. Inkatha President, Dr M G Buthelezi, will be killed by the ANC ...not in the physical sense, you understand, but politically. So says Mr Terror Lekota, ANC spokesman and leader in the southern part of Natal.

All the above statements have been made recently, since the unbanning of the ANC. There are those who smell a power struggle hidden behind these seemingly contradictory statements. There is truth in that, but that tells only part of the story.

FACADE

Decades in exile as a result of the Government's banning actions have taught the ANC the art of hiding its real intentions behind a facade of sweet talk.

While the Mandelas and junior Mbekis dazzle the audiences with clever and beguiling wordcraft, nastiness is plotted and perpetrated in dark corners away from the public eye.

Dr Mandela speaks sweetly about Inkatha. When he agrees to appear on a public platform with the movement's le-

ader, his colleagues almost "throttle" him ... his words.

ANC allies, the UDF and COSATU engage the movement in peace talks, while detailed plans are forged in the dark of night to let loose the dogs of war.

Let us have a closer look at what actually happens on the ground to verify this statement.

It is well known that Inkatha has for months been holding high-level peace talks with the UDF and COSATU. But behind the scenes other ANC formations have been briefed in detail on how to use the peace process to destroy Inkatha.

A document in which the peace talks were codified was titled "Guidelines for Comrades" and addressed itself specifically to the UDF\COSATU\INKATHA peace talks. Here are some of the things said in the document:

PRIMARY FORCE

"The peace talks between the democratic forces and the reactionary Inkatha movement has(sic) the potential to once and for all establish the UDF\COSATU alliance as the primary force in Natal."

To counter perceptions in the media that the UDF\COSATU had been forced to the con-

ference table and was thus "selling out", the guidelines offer the young comrades a perspective:

"It should be emphasized that talk is just another way of taking power. It cannot be expected of the comrades to understand this new international tendency for peace and that is why these talks should be explained as simply as possible.

They should be told that the UDF\COSATU alliance have identified talks as a more effective strategy and in this case also has the support of our movement. This is just another form of onslaught against Inkatha. If the situation demands it, it can also be said that even the Soviets support such moves."

VIOLENCE

The guidelines then go on to instruct comrades in detail how to engage Inkatha in talks at local level and then use "selective" violence against those who "do not co-operate as this will subtly encourage those who listen to give us their full co-operation."

This is exactly what is happening on the ground. ANC leader Walter Sisulu recently provided an interesting perspective to these guidelines.

In a recent article in New Nation he wrote as follows:

"In our struggle we can no longer afford to have grey undefined areas. Now, more than ever before, it is the people or the regime".

Those who did not join "the people" (buzz word for the ANC) would "inevitably gravitate towards the Government and all it represents - and are, therefore, legitimate targets for the corrective ministrations of the young lions."

(Parenthetically, it is worth noting that Inkatha is not alone in being singled out as a "legitimate" ANC target. Attacks on the PAC\AZAPO\Black Consciousness formations continue apace. While Inkatha and these movements have fundamental political differences, there has never been a single case of violence between them.)

All the indications there that those present the darkest side of the ANC believe that there can be no talk with the South African Government until Inkatha has been destroyed completely.

Latest salvo in this war on Inkatha is the campaign to disband the KwaZulu Police. While the one side have seen to the murder and intimidation of many policemen, the other has now launched a campaign to have the force "disarmed."



Death - list

Reporters of the main media glibly refer to this campaign as one aimed as "disarming" Inkatha. Sordid as this is, the Editors allow it to go unchallenged.

We are told that the author of the campaign is the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and that it will stage a programme of labour disruption "in protest against the involvement of the KwaZulu Police in strife-torn Natal townships." This week-long stay-away would be preceded by "nationwide mass action."

Even spokesmen for the Democratic Party, we are told, support the campaign. The irony that they sit in the self-same Parliament that passed the legislation formally constituting the KwaZulu Police seems to escape them.

And let there be no doubt about the consequences. If and when the "nationwide mass action" takes place, it will unleash a fresh wave of violence likely to dwarf anything that has happened to date.

The same Terror Lekota who said the ANC would "kill" Dr Buthelezi had this to say in a Sunday newspaper. It was, he said, the view of the ANC that the Government had "created a monster" by providing Chief Buthelezi with a police force. It was now up to the Government to "disarm" him so that "people" may engage in "open political activity."

Terror Lekota speaks for the same ANC that has, quite recently, called for:

* the murder of Dr Buthelezi;

* the murder of Inkatha Central Committee members;

* the assassination of policemen and "collaborators".

Inkatha continues to be subjected to one of the most vicious propaganda campaigns ever mounted through the South African media. The authors would have the public believe that the movement is responsible for all violence.

That the African National Congress openly and repeatedly called for the country to be made ungovernable and for the murder of the movement's leaders, is an issue which is not kept in the public eye.

Clerics and others who aspire to moral leadership display a chilling ambivalence towards the violence that this campaign has unleashed. That the foundations for this rationalization of violence were laid long ago in the Kairos document, is equally an issue that good liberal folk would best forget about.

African National Congress leaders across a wide spectrum continue to call for more "armed struggle", the modern euphemism for armed revolution and all the human depravity it entails.

These same leaders glorify the most outrageous and unspeakable crimes perpetrated by the young - the so-called "shock-troops" of the "struggle." That more and more children are fed into the flames of revolution seemingly matters little.

Intimidation has become the ground-rule of politics. For those who do not submit, there is the fusillade of the AK-47, the chop of the panga or execution by necklace.

And just look at what has already been achieved through this grisly orgy of death. All are Inkatha leaders. The death-list is by no means complete. C.C. is short for member of Inkatha's Central Committee.

1. Mr. Z. Nkehli - C.C. (Mpumalanga Ward 4) - shot - 3\3\89

2. Mr. A. Mtolo - Chairman (Mpumalanga Ward 8) - hacked to death - 10\05\88.

3. Mr. B.K. Ndlovu - Chairman (Siyanda) - shot - 04\90

4. Mr. W. S. Hill - Youth leader (KwaMakhutha) - stabbed to death - 28\05\87.

5. Mr. F.T. Dlamini - C.C. (KwaMashu) - shot - 28 October 1986.

6. Mrs. S.N. Ntshangase - wife of member of executive - killed by hand grenade - 3\01\87.

7. Mr. D.M. Mbanjwa - Inkatha Chairman (KwaMakhutha) shot - 18\11\88.

8. Mr. Mthethwa - Inkatha Chairman Unit 4 (Mpumalanga) - 9\01\88

9. Mr. H. Nxumalo - Inkatha Chairman (Umlazi) - shot 1989.

10. Mr. Nkosi - Ward 10 (Mpumalanga) - necklaced - 1988.

11. Mr. S.S. Cele - Chairman Unit 9 (Mpumalanga) - burned to death 1988.

12. Mr. Mbhele - Bhambayi - stabbed to death - 1988.

13. Mr. T.M. Ngubane - Inkatha Chairman Unit 7 (Mpumalanga) - stabbed to death, 1989.

14. Mrs. Dlamini - Inkatha Chairperson Unit 7 (Mpumalanga) - necklaced - 1988..

15. Mr. N.M. Shange - Inkatha Chairman (Woody Glen) - shot - 1987.

16. Mr. Nzuzo - Ekuthuleni Chairman - shot and stabbed - 1988..

17. Mr. S. Sigiya - Inkatha Secretary Ward 2 (KwaMashu) - shot and stabbed - 1988..

18. Mr. Ntshangase - Inkatha Chairman (Taylors' Halt) - shot 05\90.

19. Mr. Ngubo - Executive (Woody Glen) - stabbed and shot - 03\90.

20. Mr. J. Mncwabe - Inkatha leader (Imbali) - shot - 17\05\90.

21. Mr. B.P. Mhlomo - Inkatha Chairman (uMbumbulu) - stabbed to death - 11\01\90.

22. Mr. S. Dlamini - Inkatha Chairman (KwaMakhutha) - petrol-bombed - 01\01\85.

23. Mr. Cele - Inkatha Chairman (Amawoti) - shot 13\04\89.

24. Mr. Ngiba - Inkatha executive member (Ohlange) - shot - 1989.

25. Mr. Msibi - Inkatha Chairman (Ntuzuma) - necklaced - 27\03\90.

26. Mr. O.R. Dlamini - Inkatha Chairman (Inanda Newtown) - shot 07\08\87.

27. Mr. Ndebele - Chairman Ward 8 (Inanda Newtown) - necklaced 16\05\88.

28. Mr. Gunundu - Inkatha Chairman Ward 1 (Inanda Newtown) - stoned to death 1987.

29. Mr. T. Ndlovu - Inkatha Youth Chairman (Ntuzuma) - throat cut 1\02\90.

30. Mr. V. Mnomya - Inkatha executive (Inanda Newtown) - decapitated 10\87.

31. Mr. Mkhize - Inkatha Chairman (Esikhawini) - shot 04\90.

ANC STICKS TO NATIONALISATION

Business
leaders
and ANC
meet

Citizen

24 May 1990

THE African National Congress was not rethinking its policy on nationalisation, ANC Deputy President, Mr Nelson Mandela, said after a meeting in Johannesburg yesterday between the ANC and South African business leaders.

"No — we are not rethinking our nationalisation policy," he told a Press conference at the Carlton Hotel, venue of the conference between more than 300 business leaders and 40 senior ANC officials.

"Our stand is exactly the same."

However, the ANC was keen to explain its position on nationalisation, which is what it did yesterday at the conference.

Mr Murray Hofmeyr, joint chairman of the Consultative Business Movement which organised the conference, said the meeting had highlighted "there is a lot of disagreement between the business community and the ANC".

"We have a long way to go," he added. "There is also a degree of mistrust

between the ANC and the business community, which will have to be overcome."

But there were "quite remarkable areas of similarity and concurrence," Mr Hofmeyr said.

Speaking at the conference, Mr Mandela said: "There are many issues we shall have to consider as we discuss the question of the democratisation and deracialisation of economic power."

"Today, I am not going to present any argument about nationalisation.

TO PAGE 2



ANC Deputy President, Mr NELSON MANDELA and Mr GAVIN RELLY, former chairman of Anglo American Corporation at a Press conference last night following a meeting between the ANC and business leaders in Johannesburg. CITIZEN 24/9/90

No ANC rethink

FROM PAGE 1

"I would however like to share a secret with you . . . The view that the only words in the economic vocabulary that the ANC knows are nationalisation and redistribution is mistaken."

Legislation to curtail and control economic monopolies was an issue to be considered in transforming the South African economy, Mr Mandela said.

"One of these is whether we should not draw on such lessons as we might learn from the anti-trust laws of the United States or the work of the monopolies commission in Great Britain to address the issue of how to ensure that there is no unhealthy over-concentration of economic power."

"The application of those lessons would of course have to take into account the economic realities of our own country which might dictate various optimal sizes for different firms."

Factors which would have to be considered included the necessity of achieving economies of scale, the capacity to generate the critical mass of investible funds, and the strength to compete successfully on the international markets.

"Another issue we might have to consider",

the ANC leader said, "is the advisability or otherwise of the placement on the boards of privately-owned companies of directors appointed by the government".

The reason for such a move would be "to see whether it is possible to balance pursuit of private gain with the need to promote common good".

Mr Mandela stressed the ANC did not want everything in the economic sphere "done by the new government."

"A healthy relationship between employers and trade unions is crucial to the country's future."

"We agree with the view that progressive labour legislation, allowing strong unions to carry out centralised bargaining, will help solve many important issues."

"The questions of a living wage, job security and industrial restructuring must be dealt with in the bargaining process."

According to Mr Mandela, "another question we might consider is whether there are no areas in which it would benefit society at large if the state established public corporations or strengthened existing ones."

"One of these areas might be housing, where it seems clear that there is an urgent need for vigorous State intervention

rapidly to expand the country's stock of hospitable accommodation."

Another area was suggested by the need for encouragement of small and medium business as well as the co-operative sector, especially in light of the "crying need for the multiplication of economic activities that will lead to the creation of new jobs".

Mr Mandela said the ANC was "firmly opposed to the process of privatisation on which the (National Party) government has embarked". Economic power in South Africa was one of the "thorniest" issues that

must be addressed, said Mr Mandela.

"It is said that less than 10 corporate conglomerates control almost 90 per cent of the shares listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange."

"If somebody did any arithmetical calculation, he or she would probably find that the total number of people who sit on the boards of these companies as directors is far less than 1 000." These will almost exclusively be White males.

"If you add to this the fact that 87 per cent of the land is, by law, White owned and is in fact owned by a minority even among the Whites, then the inequity of the system we have all inherited becomes even more plain."

If South Africa was "genuinely interested in ending the old social order and bringing in a new one...it is quite obvious that the economic power relations represented by the reality of excessive concentration of power in a few Shite hands (will) have to change."

The ANC believed "there must be further discussion of the issue of nationalisation of assets that might at the moment be privately owned."

"The ANC has no blueprint that decrees that these or other assets will be nationalised, or that such nationalisation would take this or the other form."

"But we do say that this option should also be part of the ongoing debate, subject to critical analysis as any other and viewed in the context of the realities of South African society."

The ANC was concerned "at persistent reports that some of our own domestic companies have been and are involved in a process of exporting capital from this country".

"We cannot sit here, verbally welcome the prospect of democratic transformation, talk of the need rapidly to develop the economy, and at the

same time reduce the means that would make such development actually possible," Mr Mandela said.

The matter of the redistribution of wealth, in conditions of a growing economy, was one that must be faced squarely and addressed firmly.

The past chairman of Anglo American Corporation, Mr Gavin Relly told the conference that a mixed economy was the way forward to a democratic South Africa.

"The future begins today and it is a more promising day than any day in the last five, 10 or 50 years," Mr Relly said.

"In the debate about our economic options, we have fortunately progressed away from the crudities of a Capitalism versus Socialism dogfight to the recognition that we

have today, and will have in future, a mixed economy," said Mr Relly. The interest was in details of the mix.

On the question of nationalisation as a solution for South Africa's economic ills, Mr Relly warned the private sector should be seen as the source of wealth and job creation, with the budget "acting as an allocator of resources raised through the taxation system".

He also issued a stern warning on wholesale land reform. "The worst thing that can be done is to transfer efficiently farmed land to inefficient peasant cultivators, or worse, to inefficient collectives."

Mr Relly called for pragmatism rather than ideology when decisions on economic options were made. — Sapa.

ANC STICKS
TO NATIONALISA-
TION

CREATING A CULTURE OF RIGHTS AND FREEDOM

NATAL WITNESS 24 MAY 1990

Earlier this week Albie Sachs, lawyer and member of the ANC's constitutional committee, gave a speech entitled "The Struggle for Justice — the Reform of the Security System in South Africa" on the local campus of the University of Natal. This was the first in a series of speeches to be given by invited speakers to mark the 80th anniversary of the School of Law on the Pietermaritzburg campus. The following is an edited version of his address.

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Mr ALBIE SACHS . . . speaking on the local campus of the University of Natal.

WE are really now in a phase of sweeping away, of opening up, and what we need to do is open up our own minds, our own imaginations, to look forward to the new South Africa, we all want to bring about. Instead of thinking about restrictions in the future we should start habituating ourselves to being free people, and how we should articulate our freedom.

Now is the phase of removing obstacles to achieving a new democratic constitution in South Africa, and you have to view the whole apparatus of security legislation in that context. The Internal Security Act and the emergency regulations are major impediments to the construction of a new constitution. We can't have a new constitution without the issues being freely and openly debated by everybody. A constitution is not some kind of secret blueprint that is elaborated by the whizz-kids and then sold and promoted . . . as one writer said, a constitution is the autobiography of a nation. We write the constitution. Not literally, but it is our demands, our goals, that have to go into the constitution.

A constitution can only work if the people feel that "this is our constitution, this is what we want, these are the rights we will fight for and even die for. And even if it doesn't affect me personally as a collection of rights, they are all interdependent. You touch one right, you touch them all". That presupposes the whole population of South Africa being involved in the constitution debate.

We have to take up the issues

with whatever means available — with dance, with movement, through debate, speeches, television, radio, in the press — we have to have a wide extensive nationwide debate on the constitution. That means the security laws are standing in the way of the constitution.

There are two possible approaches to this — one is to maintain the present apparatus and start modifying it. The ANC position is that all these laws — the Internal Security Act, the emergency regulations, the Public Safety Act — are not capable of sensible modification. They express apartheid racist power. The ordinary law of the land is there to prevent violence, to prevent abuse. What we would like to see is a freedom of expression act in this interim period before we have a proper bill of rights, which guarantees the freedom to express opinions, the freedom to have peaceful processions, so that it doesn't depend on one police officer or one magistrate's totally arbitrary discretion to permit or ban. There's been more violence because meetings have been banned . . . the banning itself gives rise to the violence. We perceive the Government as being generous for allowing marches — but it's not a sign of good will, it is a right people have to express themselves peacefully.

The second approach, given a new constitution, is "What would the new constitution say about security laws?" The first thing is that the constitution should focus on the rights of people. We don't

have a culture of rights in this country, we have a culture of authority. The ordinary citizens of South Africa, black, white, and brown, must start feeling that they are citizens who enjoy rights. We are used to authority, we are used to being subordinate and obedient. We have to turn that around, we have to get used to being citizens: free people in a free country, and our constitution must embody those values.

We don't know what a bill of rights is in South Africa. Our struggle in the past has been for the vote, not for a bill of rights. These are the historical and accidental factors of being colonised. This colony was colonised by the English and many of the institutions were created by the English, consequently the idea of a written constitution and a bill of rights is not part of our colonial heritage. We are familiar with the idea of the sovereignty of parliament, and

the big struggle in this country has been to extend this sovereignty to the people. In that sense South Africa has never been fully de-colonised. What took place in 1910 related to the white population. But the black population has never been de-colonised.

In January 1986, and I stress the date because this was before events in Eastern Europe, glasnost, perestroika, etcetera, the national executive committee of the ANC adopted the policy of having a justiciable bill of rights in a written constitution. Justiciable in that there is access to the courts to get relief if there is a violation of a right.

The reason was very clear, firstly it was right, and also because people would have fears about what life would be like in the future. It will be a democracy according to the law. And the whole group rights issue becomes irrelevant once we guarantee

rights for individuals.

A later question from the audience concerning the issue of group rights in the context of majority rule elicited the following reply from Sachs: This term majority rule only really came on to the agenda when it was discovered that the majority of people claiming this right were black — until then it was called democracy . . . the real struggle in South Africa is to have a common solution where the essential dignity and worth of every human being is recognised and acknowledged.

Questions such as freedom from torture, due process of law, these are not the issues that parliament should be debating — these are fundamental rights of the citizen and should be enshrined in a bill of rights. What should be left free to parliament is to debate the socio-economic and cultural, and political issues of the day. They should be in touch with the popu-

lation through strong local government. The bill of rights simply gives a framework within which majority rule operates in a democratic country.

What implications does this have for security? A bill of rights will ensure freedom of expression, association, of movement — all the legislation restricting this must be nullified. You will have criminal law, police powers, courts and the ordinary judicial system to enforce the law — and we have to get used to using ordinary laws to deal with insubordinate behaviour. The emergency laws have solved nothing in this country. They are supposed to be in operation in Natal at the moment and all I hear is that the law is doing nothing, that the powers of the statute book are irrelevant . . . if the police force, backed up if necessary by the military, exercised ordinary police powers to stop public violence, to stop people brandishing guns and assegais, that would be enough.

Whatever legislation is adopted, whatever constitutional procedures and principles might be adopted, we are imagining a new kind of police force — one that is drawn from the whole population, one that is accountable to the community . . . if we can get a new kind of police force on the basis of our people coming back from Tanzania — used to discipline, with a strong love for the country and its people — and building up a new police force with the honest black and white police in the existing force, that's probably worth more than any amount of legislation. The same would apply to the defence force.

We can't have an all-white judiciary applying a non-racial constitution, we must have a judiciary that represents all the people, so that anybody going to court feels "I am a South African in a South African court" — not a black in a white court or a white in a black court. People must look to the quality and honesty of the judges.

The Rivals

SIR: Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi joined the ANC in 1948, remained a member until it was banned in 1961, and has adhered to its principles ever since, being by far the most successful black leader—as Kenneth Kaunda recently acknowledged—in fighting apartheid from within.

George Case's Buthelezi ('Enemies Within', *The Listener*, 10 May) is a figure of myth and fiction. The split between Buthelezi and the ANC External Mission came only in 1979—a split that, like the Pan-Africanist split of 20 years earlier, was largely the fault of the South African Communist Party, with its unrealistic policy of insisting that the ANC must operate simultaneously as a broad-based nationalist movement and an ideologically based political vanguard.

One legacy of these splits is the existence of rival federations of black trade unions. It was rivalry between the ANC-aligned COSATU and Inkatha's UWUSA that sparked off the present violence. The industrial dispute at the British-owned BTR factory in Pietermaritzburg was a major factor. When I was last in Pietermaritzburg in January, four young black women were stripped naked in a township street and whipped for the crime of being the girlfriends of UWUSA members working at BTR.

Natal today is part *Heart of Darkness*, part Wapping.

Chris Jones

Folkestone, Kent

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