

# Boesak to start new political life in Sept

CAPE TOWN. — The Rev Allan Boesak, who resigned from his church after newspaper reports about an extramarital affair, said yesterday he would begin his new political career in early September.

In his first news interview since he resigned from the Dutch Reformed Mission Church in early July, Dr Boesak said the public appearance would probably be in a small rural town in the Western Cape.

"I have been doing two things for the last 10 to 15 years of my life," Dr Boesak said. "One was being a full-time member of the church and the second

thing was being really involved in politics in all kinds of ways."

During the 1986-90 national state of emergency, Dr Boesak and other clergymen such as Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, became political spokesmen "because many Black organisations were banned".

"The things that we have worked for so hard, for so long, the things that we were beaten up for, the things we went to jail for, the things that so many people have been killed for, those ideals of democracy and peace are the things that one must pursue politically," Dr Boesak said.

He said he had received 15 invitations from towns and organisations asking him to speak or work on their behalf. The first appearance would probably be to either launch a consumer boycott or negotiate with a town council on behalf of residents.

He would respond to all requests and do whatever people in need asked of him. He would run for a seat in a future non-racial Parliament if it would help those he had championed during his years as an anti-apartheid activist.

"All of us have certain gifts that one receives from God. I can only offer that and say whatever it is that I have, I give," Dr Boesak said.

However, he said, he had no intention of joining any political organisation "at this stage".

Dr Boesak is a patron of the United Democratic Front.

He said he believed he could contribute to national reconciliation, and said he was committed to non-violence.

"I am deeply worried that South Africans so naturally turn to violence to solve problems," he said.

Dr Boesak made no comment on his relationship with Ms Elna Botha, a married woman who is a producer for the SABC. He previously said he had done nothing wrong and that he and Ms Botha would maintain their contact.

Dr Boesak's wife, Dorothy, has filed for divorce. — Sapa-AP.



**Dr ALLAN BOESAK**, the former president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, has given his first interview since his, "fall from grace" over an alleged extra-marital affair with a married TV producer.



# Release Mandela Campaign alleges

## UDF 'treason'

A MAJOR affiliate of the United Democratic Front — the Release Mandela Campaign (RMC) — has made allegations on the existence of a "cabal" in the UDF, which it has accused of "treason" against the African National Congress (ANC).

The allegations on the existence of a cabal within the UDF — which is attempting to influence ANC policy and at the same time control the UDF as a separate organisation — have been made in a letter from the Release Mandela Campaign to members of the ANC's national executive committee and UDF leaders.

The letter, which complains about the activities of the cabal — described as a "secret clique of activists" within the UDF — was sent to leading figures in the ANC, including deputy president, Mr

Nelson Mandela, by Mr Aubrey Mokoena, national co-ordinator of the Release Mandela Campaign, in June.

It was also sent to the co-presidents of the UDF, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, and Mr Archie Gumede.

In this letter, Mr Mokoena said he and his national executive committee "wish to bring to your attention a certain conspiratorial document prepared by the cabal to confuse, retard the struggle, demobilise certain activists, and thus undermine the ANC".

He accuses the cabal of tactics such as manipulation, the building up of its own leaders, and the putting of its people in strategic organisational positions.

"The net result of this

is that the 'movement' is deprived of the services of some comrades who have exceptional skills to whom the doors of the ANC are deliberately being closed," Mr Mokoena said.

In his letter Mr Mokoena said he was a member of the UDF national executive committee from the time of its formation in 1983 until the Pietermaritzburg treason trial two years later.

It had always been the understanding that the UDF was "a front or organisations", and never an organisation itself.

However, certain functionaries of the UDF had "cherished ambitions and aspirations" that the UDF should be an organisation, and this view had been advanced by the cabal, which wanted the

UDF to exist as a "parallel structure to the ANC".

Mr Mokoena pointed to a passage in the cabal document which said it should be ensured that the UDF did not disintegrate with the unbanning of the ANC, and referred in particular to a resolution to be taken at a conference in April.

"This plot was accomplished," said Mr Mokoena, who said he had first raised the existence of the cabal at a conference with the ANC leadership in Lusaka in 1987.

The result of this had been a commission to investigate, consisting of Father Mkhathswa, Dr C F Beyers Naude and Mr Chris Dlamini, but this had produced no clear results.

The cabal had consequently grown by "leaps and bounds between 1987 till today when it is capable of hatching such a plot against the ANC and other prominent activists," said Mr Mokoena.

The cabal document, he said, had spoken of a strategy to isolate certain key figures such as Peter Mokaba (leader of the Lebowa Comrades in 1986), Mr Terror Lekota and Mr Popo Molefe, while attempts had also been made to isolate the SA Youth Congress (Sayco) by labelling it as "radical", as well as the RMC itself.

He accused the cabal of using the formation of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) to "dignify its cliquism" and said "everybody knows how many forms of mischief have been committed in the name of the MDM".

## Talks aim to solve Soweto rent boycott

### Municipal Reporter

A SOLUTION to the five-year-old rent boycott in Soweto could be in sight as talks continue between the Transvaal Provincial Administration, the Soweto People's (SPD) and the Soweto City Council.

A meeting held yesterday was adjourned until Tuesday after it was agreed that the town councils of Dobsonville and Diepmeadow be included in the discussions.

The chairman of the meeting Mr Olaus van Zyl, MEC in charge of local government said all the involved parties were still committed to reaching a decision on the main points of the discussions.

Discussions would continue on Tuesday at a venue still to be decided.

The main points of discussion which were investigated by a technical

committee are the writing off of arrears in respect of municipal charges and rents; the upgrading of municipal services in Soweto, affordable tariffs for municipal services, the transfer of rented housing stock; and a common fiscal base for the cities for Soweto and Johannesburg.

The leader of the SPD, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, said after yesterday's meeting that the talks were cordial and an eventual agreement would depend on whether the TPA were prepared to concede to the reasonable demands of the people of Soweto.

He said the SPD had

insisted on the participation of Diepmeadow and Dobsonville as the SPD did not see a solution to the Soweto rent boycott without involving the other two councils in the actual agreement.

He said he was optimistic that the TPA would accede to all their demands. If all the objective were reached and the TPA agreed to the demands, the boycott would be lifted.

The TPA delegation includes Mr Van Zyl and Mr John Mavuso, MEC for housing, while the SPD members include Mr Ramaphosa and UDF president, Mrs Albertina Sisulu.



Friday 10 August 1990

THE CITIZEN

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# The Star

## Towards a security "umbrella"

LIKE a jumping-jack fire-cracker, violence explodes at one place after another. Just as fury seemed to abate in Kagiso this week, so it erupted in Port Elizabeth. Daily police reports of death and destruction make sombre reading. Does the ANC's undertaking to cease the "armed struggle" mean anything at all? It is a question that will be asked many times in difficult days ahead. It deserves a careful answer.

The reality is that the undertaking, historic though it is, cannot bring all violence to an end tomorrow. But it does offer, in the longer run, the best hope for a more peaceful future.

Community violence has become a feature of our society — from the endemic family feuding in the valleys of Natal to the lawlessness of the "lost generation" in townships to the destructive urges of criminals. Even though this violence often has political undertones, and is sometimes exploited for political purposes, it obeys no Minute but its own. It can only be contained by an effective police force that has the sup-

port of most people.

This is where the ceasefire is invaluable. It puts the ANC squarely on the side of the peacemakers. It makes the movement a potential force for law and order. In Kagiso, for instance, the ANC is meeting Inkatha and the police to devise ways to end the fighting. It seems to be paying off, though the situation is volatile.

In Durban, the ANC and Cosatu met Inkatha for more talks on the Natal violence. A joint statement said the meeting was "fruitful". In Port Elizabeth a call has been made for the ANC to help defuse things. There can be no reason to refuse the invitation.

And so, gradually, the ANC can become involved in peace-keeping. It seems a distant hope now, but one day the movement will have to be drawn more formally into the process of law enforcement. An "umbrella" security force is an essential. When it does happen — as it must — then, at last, enough South Africans will have a vested interest in law and order for the State to tackle properly the murderous criminals in our midst.



# Matching the ceasefire card

STAR

10 Aug. 1990

The ANC's unilateral suspension of armed actions removes a major stumbling block to negotiations and an ultimate settlement. It will do much to erase the mistrust and suspicion about an ANC-SACP double agenda which has assumed serious proportions in Government circles over the past few months.

At the same time it puts pressure on President de Klerk to take an equally important symbolic step in bringing the police under much firmer control.

There exists a tendency among whites to scoff at the ANC's armed struggle as an amateurish guerilla operation which did virtually no harm to the mighty South African State. One can therefore expect that in many quarters there will be the temptation to dismiss the significance of this step by the ANC.

In fact, suspending the armed struggle is just about the gravest risk any liberation organisation can take.

To give one example: the Provisional Irish Republican Army nearly disintegrated as a result of internal feuding in the 1970s after it had agreed to cease hostilities.

## Wheel's hub

For me the the Dakar conference of 1987 was particularly revealing for showing how seriously the ANC took the armed struggle. As one of the internal South Africans at the meeting, Riaan de Villiers, expressed in a report, the armed campaign was the hub of the entire struggle of the ANC. Without it, the other spokes of the wheel such as township mobilisation and isolating South Africa internationally, would not come off.

**HERMANN GILIOME**, head of the Department of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town, looks at the significance of the African National Congress's bold decision to halt the armed struggle as well as other important consequences that could flow from the Pretoria Minute.

Indeed, without the ANC the armed struggle would never have attracted to its ranks the thousands of black students who fled the country after the Soweto rebellion of 1976. Without it, too, the ANC could never have capitalised so well on

the township revolt of 1984-86.

Nevertheless most of the ANC leadership remained ambivalent about the armed struggle, particularly the terrorist part of it. Bombings were morale boosters to many blacks and attracted them to the ANC; however, it repelled in equal measure whites whose support the ANC needed. Hence the leadership's awkward silence when out of control operatives launched attacks at soft targets, such as restaurants.

In the words of the authoritative study by Steven Davies, "Apartheid's Rebels", the ANC feared that outright condemnation would risk repelling new enlistees.

But as a legalised political movement the ANC would have experienced unbearable tension if it continued to mix war talk with peace talk. As a political party the ANC proper — as distinct from the ANC-SACP alliance — cannot rely purely on the immense personal appeal of Mr Mandela.

To compensate for the defections of those who feel the ANC has gone soft, the movement needs to project its commitment to peaceful, manageable reconstruction. It must not

only become the majority party, but also secure the confidence of bankers and investors after the election.

The ANC's commitment to a multiparty democracy was given substance by the Pretoria Minute which declares that there are also other parties that need to be drawn into the negotiation process.

Also important is the undertaking given by Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, ANC southern Natal convenor, not to attack Inkatha and to defend its right to open offices in Durban — since it is for the masses to decide on a party of their choice. Yet the

ANC's suspension of armed actions will not automatically bring peace.

The political upheaval of the latter half of the 1980s was never really a civil war as some would have it. It was, in fact, a profusion of local conflicts in which the masses were up against a police force which at some places was highly partisan.

Mr Mandela will undoubtedly expect Mr de Klerk to take a much firmer hold on the police as a quid

**'Without the ANC the armed struggle would never have attracted to its ranks the thousands of black students who fled the country after the Soweto rebellion of 1976. Without it, too, the ANC could never have capitalised so well on the township revolt of 1984-86.'**

pro quo for his movement's suspension of armed actions.

A look at other divided societies such as Northern Ireland and Israel show that the professionalisation of the police ethos is a slow and laborious process. And even if a police force succeeds in transforming itself — as many argue the Royal Ulster Constabulary has done in recent times in Northern Ireland — the oppressed continue to feel alienated from it.

Only a minor transgression by a

junior officer rapidly revitalises all the old mistrust and hatred.

Still, President de Klerk needs to do something much bolder than issue the now standard invitation to those who feel wronged by the police to bring their complaints to the police which then proceeds to investigate itself. Something that can be looked at are the monitor centres which were established in Northern Ireland during the 1970s when the IRA observed a ceasefire.

These centres managed to acquire a non-partisan image and Catholics who felt themselves

wronged at the hands of the police availed themselves of this facility in considerable numbers. Ultimately, however, measures such as these never go far enough.

The only real alternative is for the politically excluded to be drawn into government — and into the senior ranks of the police force.

The Pretoria Minute brings the NP and the ANC one step forward to the unstated goal of forming the new governing coalition. There can hardly be any doubt that in such a coalition, the ministry of the police will go to the ANC and that of defence to the NP.

## Key question

The key question is a simple one: Would enough political trust develop in the process of negotiating and subsequently governing the country together that a black-led police force and white-led army can co-exist?

If not, there is a dire danger that they could turn into well-armed antagonistic forces which could trigger a real civil war in South Africa.

This gloomy thought notwithstanding, the fact remains that with the Pretoria Minute South Africa has come much nearer to peace than anyone could dare hope for at the beginning of this year.

For once, the major political leaders on both sides of the great divide are taking political risks in order to make peace.

That in itself is a singular occurrence in the last hundred years of our country's history.



# Violence spills over into Uitenhage

# Thugs run amok in PE townships

STAR 10 August 1990

Staff Reporters  
and Correspondents

Criminal elements continued to rage through Port Elizabeth's coloured townships last night as violence overflowed to nearby Uitenhage.

Township residents claim that there were three deaths in Uitenhage's Rosedale coloured township last night.

The official death toll in the area has climbed to at least 33, with injuries totalling more than 200 — and damage to property running into millions of rands.

Police and army reinforcements, with air support, have poured in to assist embattled policemen swamped by widespread violence, looting and arson.

By last night police had arrested more than 100 people.

No exact figures were available, but hospitals said they had treated up to 200 people for injuries — mainly birdshot wounds.

Residents in the upmarket section of Gelvandale have formed vigilante groups to ward off possible attacks.

After two days of continuous violence, emergency services and business have ceased.

## Armed businessmen

Last night soldiers stood guard at businesses and shops. Armed businessmen were also standing ready at their premises.

Police said many of the dead were looters shot by shop-owners.

Frantic efforts were being made by police and other organisations yesterday to hold talks to end the violence.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok sent personal representative Lieutenant-General Mulder van Eyk to Port Elizabeth to report on the situation.

The casualty ward at Livingstone Hospital in Port Elizabeth was overflowing last night with unrest victims.

Several people were being treated for stab wounds received during drunken gang fighting which followed the looting of bottle-stores.

One man with birdshot wounds died on the operating table about 7pm.

Doctors were being called in from outside to assist the hospital staff.

Heavily armed police and SADF troops were roving the area firing teargas and birdshot sporadically to disperse possible looters.

Govan Mbeki, ANC and SA Communist Party executive leader, said: "Our people are there handling the situation. We hope that with the co-operation of the police the situation should be under control."

He stressed the importance of the police holding their fire, saying: "The police must desist from shooting."

"On Wednesday night the people were beginning to listen to the ANC, but with the police shooting it was difficult to control them. If only the police would hold back their fire."

## Causes of the unrest

By Dawn Barkhuizen

The reasons behind the unrest in Port Elizabeth's townships appear to be two-pronged:

- A protest meeting on Monday night over a service charge increase in the coloured areas resulted in police using tear gas to disperse the crowd. Angry protesters went on the rampage as a result.

- A month-long dispute over a school principal, Joe Slingers, at Chatty High School.

Pro-ANC pupils demanded that Mr Slingers be removed from the school, but this was rejected by Labour Party

leader, Rev Allan Hendrickse.

The pupils, who staged a boycott and threatened to kill Mr Slingers, have been at the forefront of the mobs.

Bethalsdorp Labour Party MP, Willie Dietrich, last night distanced himself from Mr Hendrickse's decision not to remove Mr Slingers.

He said: "Had Mr Slingers not been foisted on the people of Chatty, many of the present problems would have been averted".

A subsequent development has been that rioters appear to be members of gangs and criminal elements taking advantage of the situation.



# The SACP's en route to democracy ... and beyond

Weekly Mail

10 Aug. 1990

**T**HE worm enjoys some notable advantages. Chopped in half it happily proceeds off on its now two separate ways.

Steven Friedman's Worm's Eye View often provides a canny perspective on South African politics. But when he deals with the SACP, as he did in his column last Friday, he gets to work not with one worm's eye but with four little eyes, two pairs, two contradictory worms emerging from a well disguised chop in half.

The main drift of Friedman's argument is that there is an "intriguing possibility" that the SACP could be an important factor in the democratisation of South Africa. We have never doubted it. But for Friedman this real possibility is full of paradoxes — just think of it, a party that has been "for decades the most Stalinist communist party in the West" etc!

This is a wormy paradox — not a real one. (In the first place we are not in the West, nor even in the East as some of our detractors have also alleged. Geopolitically our party and our country are south.

Why does Friedman believe our party can play a role in the democratisation process? "The fate of democracy here will depend partly on whether an economic compromise is achieved between the majority's demand for redistribution and the need for economic growth."

Friedman concedes the SACP has significant legitimacy and support among this majority that is demanding redistribution. On the other hand, the SACP's leaders "may well be enthusiastic compromisers". And so, Bob's your aunt, believe it or not, the SACP could play a crucial role in securing the fate of democracy in South Africa. (Presumably by dampening the majority's enthusiasm for redistribution.

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*The SA Communist Party is accused of being an undemocratic conspiracy. Of course the party conspired — it was banned — but it was done for democracy, argues SACP leader*

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**JEREMY CRONIN**  
*in this reply to a Weekly Mail column last week*

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**Jeremy Cronin ... We conspired against the apartheid regime**

tribution. Hmm?)

In our imperfect world it is, perhaps, ungrateful not to accept a compliment, no matter how grudging and back-handed it might be. But Friedman's column is so buttressed with distortions that some rejoinder is required, lest these harden even further into unquestioned common wisdom.

What substantial evidence does Friedman offer for labelling us a thoroughly undemocratic organisation? It seems to come down to the fact that we have been party to secret conspiracies. Of course we've conspired. Between 1950 and February 2 1990 the circulation of a dozen *Umsebensizi*, or the holding of three person unit meetings have required deep conspiratorial techniques. Yes, we've conspired ... against the apartheid regime. No apologies offered.

But we have not conspired against or within fraternal organisations. And if individual party members or collectives have done so they have broken with one of our party's most basic principles.

There are two worms' voices speaking, not one. One worm, the shorter, is an ultra-leftish. It calls the SACP leadership "compromisers", we are

"abandoning socialism", in the recent past we have tried to get trade unionists to "defer demands for socialism".

The other worm, and it is the larger half, is a right-wing liberal. It nibbles away at us for our "vanguardism", for our Marxist "orthodoxy". Above all, this particular worm has a highly cynical view of democracy.

It rejects the vision of democracy as a process of empowering the people at all levels and in all sectors of their lives. Instead, at least by strong implication, democracy is reduced simply to multi-party wheeling and dealing, to compromises struck between apparatuses that are capable of delivering their respective constituencies.

To the government and to business this worm says quite explicitly: deal with the SACP, they can deliver the workers and the youth.

If this is the "democratic" role envisaged for us, then we are happy to admit that our party and this democra-



cy are indeed strange bed-fellows.

It is out of this contradictory, partly ultra-left, mostly right-wing liberal appraisal that the SACP emerges, in Friedman's article, as a potential factor for democracy. But are there not more coherent (and more generously democratic) explanations for the potential role of the SACP?

The SACP continues to propagate the desirability of socialism — that is, the social ownership and control over the major means of production. But we have long argued that the most direct line of advance to socialism in South Africa lies down the path of a national democratic transformation.

This is not to defer socialism but to advance by the most rapid (and we believe democratic) route. The opening up of this national democratic transformation will now most likely occur through some negotiations mechanism. There will be compromises. But such compromises can only be justified if they lay the basis for real democratisation.

In our view the deepening and consolidation of this process will depend on a democratic transition to socialism in the medium term. Democracy, after all, is a limited thing when a handful of private individuals continues to own and control the commanding economic heights.

The SACP and democracy are not strange bed-fellows. It is precisely because of our 69 years of struggle for a democratic South Africa that we have been persecuted. And it is precisely because of both our struggle and our persecution that we enjoy the respect of large numbers of oppressed South Africans.

As we build a renewed mass party, the SACP will reflect the views of its communist membership and of the wider working class from which most of our membership will be drawn. Whether legitimate worker demands and aspirations are deferred in the interests of their longer term realisation will be determined democratically.

We emphatically decline Friedman's invitation to deliver, like a sack of mealies, and in the name of securing democracy, any constituency whatsoever. Thanks but no thanks.

10/8/90  
The SACP's en route to  
democracy...

A bold  
Weekly Mail  
farewell to  
10 Aug. 1990  
arms

**T**he two parties to this week's talks-about-talks have now made bold gestures to show their goodwill and their commitment to the negotiation process: FW de Klerk on February 2 when he unbanned all previously restricted organisations, and Nelson Mandela this week when he declared a ceasefire.

So much for the gestures: now we have to get down to the real issues, which present potentially more difficult problems. There is a real danger that talks proper could get bogged down by questions of who should be at the table, what side they sit on and their relative weighting. There could be endless haggling over the representativeness of all the parties.

This could be dealt with swiftly if a vote is held for a constituent assembly. A ballot would sort out who's whom, once and for all. And then the parties can get down to drawing up a new constitution.



## COMMENT

# Winning nation

**T**HE ANC might put aside constitutions and economic workshops for a while and think about the effect of Frith van der Merwe, David and Rammy Tsebe or a host of other world-class runners competing abroad.

It would unite South Africans, of all colours and political persuasions and of both sexes, behind South African athletes who stand a chance of defeating the world's best. It is the nationalism that sport engenders and that we have been denied, first by apartheid and then by the resultant boycotts. It could help build the nation we don't yet have.

For the ANC, which holds the key to our sports isolation, this should be an urgent consideration. We are not talking about the politically sensitive issues of rugby and cricket, tainted by rebel tours and supported mainly by whites. Nor about rewards, especially to whites, for good behaviour in desegregating one or other sport, or for progress made in constitutional negotiations. For us, and we hope for the ANC, something wider is at stake.

A start needs to be made on creating the symbols of a single new South Africa. Particular sports, deliberately selected for the contribution they can make to united national pride, fit this bill. Athletics, and especially the marathon and ultra-marathon runners we have in proliferation, comes first to mind. Then boxing, dominated by top-class black boxers who can compete as individuals but not as teams, and possibly even soccer,

which had nations united around their television screens during the World Cup. Local soccer may, however, have been so deprived that we would be in for one drubbing after the other; that wouldn't do much for national pride.

The ANC has the power to call off the international sports boycott and the blacklisting of those who compete here, or against South Africans. It can use this power selectively where it would do most national good. It can apply the experience of the World Cup, and pick the sports where South Africans would excel and be supported by most other South Africans. It can get Frith van der Merwe fans in Soweto, and the Tsebe brothers fans in Bloemfontein, not because of sex or colour but because they are South Africans.

This will mean sidestepping the political and racial divisions built up over the years, and it may threaten some personal fiefdoms, but it promises almost instant rewards. Those rewards are needed long before we get down to negotiating a constitution, or stopping the violence, or even deciding on an economic policy for the new South Africa.

We first have to build that new South Africa. Selected sports and their stars offer a quick and costless start, with a high probability of success. Pack the Boston Marathon, and the London to Brighton race, with South Africans of all colours, arrange for live screening, and get a nation cheering together.



**B**USINESS DAY has proposed a debate on federalism as part of the country's forthcoming constitutional debate. This, I believe, is the wrong starting point. The questions which need to be raised should concern the development of forms of effective public participation in decisions and control over decision-making.

Looked at in this light, the critical issues become those of electoral systems — proportional representation in particular — the devolution of certain state powers, including the creation of "corporatist" structures where key actors have a formal role to play in policy-making, and greater economic democracy at the micro level.

Constitutions seldom provide accurate guides to the way in which power is distributed, and this is notoriously true of federal states. We learn little about the distribution of power in the USSR by knowing that the constitution confers on the constituent republics even the right to wage war and to make treaties.

**D**ebates about desirable constitutions ought to be placed in their particular historical and political context. The federal idea in SA has been mainly concerned with devising ways to limit government in a future where formal democratic rights will have been extended to the whole adult population. Overtly it reflects the fear of majority rule. Decoded, the federal idea expresses a hostility to the idea of majority rule.

Minorities' fears that majority rule will deprive them of their political privileges are not groundless. But it is a damaging implication that federalism should be used to frustrate majority rule which is the only way we know for producing democratic governments.

It is doubly damaging that almost all past proposals for a federal state in SA have incorporated elements of race. Federalism is a leaky ship in which to sail any commitment to a

nonracial SA. It has become associated with perpetuating the dominance of groups (black and white) that have a vested interest in restraining democratic participation.

It is unfashionable nowadays to propose that race or ethnicity should be a basis of federal units. Proponents of federalism are anxious to purge federalism of all connotations of racialism. But it is almost inevitable that in a future federal SA, residues of the present homelands and national states would remain as prominent elements in the territorial bases for a federal state. If this were to happen the racial and ethnic elements upon which apartheid was constructed would continue to exist.

One of the attractions of federalism is that it promises a division of powers which will reduce the possibility of the state exercising tyrannical or arbitrary powers. But such a prospect is more apparent than real.

Liberty is less likely to be promoted in a weak and incapacitated state than in a strong one. On the contrary, strong states — and of course federal states are just as likely to be strong as unitary ones — are strong because they mobilise support from, and incur obligations to, a wide variety of groups. Weak states are particularly vulnerable to corruption, patron-clientelism, and arbitrary and authoritarian government.

If the state in post-apartheid SA is to play the vital roles required of it in economic development, the provision of welfare, and in regional and international politics, it needs to be an effective and coherent actor. In the period of upheaval and conflict we are likely to undergo during the next decade or two, this is more likely to be achieved under a unitary than a federal constitution.

This does not mean that power in the strong state should be highly centralised. Indeed, a strong and authoritative state is likely to emerge only if opportunities for participation are widened, not narrowed. If this is to take place we need to look very critically at the institutions of representative government.

**T**he main feature of contemporary representative governments is that that they are instruments for

# True public control is more important than federalism

BUSINESS DAY

ALF STADLER 10 AUGUST 1990

elite participation and the exclusion of other actors. Representative government creates a situation in which power is located in an alliance between party leaders who compete with one another for office and permanent state officials. The system precludes effective public participation, though it is open to influence by strong private interests.

The search is on for alternative forms of political participation which can break the tyranny of that alliance. Devolution of power is invariably prescribed as part of the solution. But to devolve powers to a smaller unit of government which simply replicates the forms of participation of the larger one is simply to duplicate the problems of secrecy and exclusiveness.

Johannesburg's sordid traffic in intimidation merely replicated the national one, and had its origins in the same pathology: both were dominated by secretive and well-nigh irremovable power groups.

This is why questions about whether control over governmental structures should be centralised or decentralised, or about the appropriate levels to which power should be devolved, miss the point. They do not provide alternatives to representative institutions in which participation is limited.

The question raised in Business Day about whether the training of local police forces should be done under national or regional aegis reveals a loss of contact with the main

problem. Perusal of the evidence before the commission of inquiry into the KwaNdebele police force, or a morning at the Hiemstra inquiry, suggest that distinctions in police power between national and regional structures have collapsed.

The ending of the tyranny of the security forces does not lie in federalism any more than in liberation. It will become possible only when the conditions of secrecy and unanswerability are ended. That can only be achieved through radical changes in

modes of political participation.

This obviously does not mean there is no place for representative institutions. On the contrary, institutions such as parliament are indispensable for providing a locus of generalised political authority in political affairs and for debating the larger issues, such as foreign affairs. But they have become overloaded with issues which belong elsewhere — where opportunities for participation can be broadened. They have obliterated alternative modes of participation in central, regional and local government.

At least two other forms of participation — corporatist and direct — are worth mentioning. Corporatist structures are those in which the "strategic actors" of the economy (mainly big business and the most important federations of labour) participate in the formulation of economic policy.

Such structures can ensure co-operation in developing strategies which achieve both growth and re-

distribution. For this, capital and labour need to be concentrated.

Direct participation is more diverse and complex, but in principle it involves the establishment of structures in various settings, such as the work place. Some schemes have been developed for the direct participation of "non-strategic" actors such as community and cultural associations in representative assemblies.

**F**inally, these innovations in forms of participation should be complemented by changes in the electoral system. The "first-past-the-post" system may ensure that governments have workable majorities, but they effectively disenfranchise the supporters of minority parties, in national, regional and local bodies. The introduction of a system of proportional representation, where each party gets parliamentary seats proportional to its overall voter support, would go a long way towards giving expression to a greater variety of interests.

Anyone interested in exploring the institutions of a future democratic SA should begin with these issues.

□ Alf Stadler is Professor of Political Studies at Wits University.



NATAL

WITNESS

10/8/90

## Prosecutor concedes that Ngcobo was at work on night of attack

### Witness Reporter

THE state prosecutor in the case of Petros Ngcobo, accused of 10 murders, conceded in the Supreme Court yesterday that Ngcobo was at work on the night of October 16, 1988, during an attack in which the accused's gun was used.

Chris Macaddam said it was unnecessary to call Ngcobo's employer to confirm that the accused was at work at Aunt Caroline's

Rice in Willowton on the night that his gun was allegedly used to kill Lucky Geza in Imbali.

Ngcobo is facing 21 charges, including the murder of Geza, seven attempted murder charges and four of arson, to which he has pleaded not guilty.

It is alleged that bullets from a firearm legally owned by Ngcobo (43), a father of four who resides in Imbali, were linked to

the crimes.

A ballistics expert gave evidence that some of the bullets found at the crime scenes and extracted from bodies, including Geza's, were fired from Ngcobo's firearm.

A friend of Geza's, Bheki Shezi, who was with the deceased shortly before his death and was himself injured, identified Ngcobo as the man who shot him twice.

Ngcobo, who has denied any knowledge of the crimes, admitted to the court that he lent his gun to his brother, Michael Thu Ngcobo, on occasions, and that Thu Ngcobo possibly borrowed it without his knowledge at times.

Thu Ngcobo, a prominent Inkatha member and an Imbali councillor, was assassinated on February 1 this year.

The case continues on Monday.

## An exile's view of the city

ONE of the organisers of Sunday's Women's League's launch is Pietermaritzburg nurse Kosi Xaba, who has been in Lusaka with the ANC for more than three years.

Her chief impression of her hometown now is that it has become a refugee village.

"Since our arrival on June 12 from Lusaka it has been so sad to see the situation.

"The churches one used to know as churches are now full of displaced people.

"I have seen Esigodini, Edendale and Mphophomeni. It is a very different picture from what I used to know, because I come from the area.

"When I left the violence had started, but it hadn't reached this scale.

"If people ran away they were able to be accommodated with relatives and friends. It had not reached the scale where they had to be housed in church buildings and in big numbers."

Apart from the growth in the number of refugees, Xaba says she has noticed another significant change — the level of political awareness.

"I notice that a lot more people are involved in the struggle.

"It's partly because we arrived back after the unbanning of the ANC. In the past you could never hear people just talking freely about the ANC. It's very encouraging.

"When you are still in Lusaka and you read about the rallies it is very encouraging because it never used to happen when we

*'It is so sad to  
see my hometown  
has become a  
refugee village'*

by  
CARMEL RICKARD

left. People just speak politics on the buses and everywhere which makes a great difference."

Speaking about the launch of the ANC women's league this week-end, she said there had been a lot of debate about the exact relationship between the ANC and the Women's League. Some of the discussion centred around whether women joining the ANC would automatically belong to the league or not.

"Finally we decided that you would have to make a decision consciously to join the Women's League because if you don't do that consciously it means you have not realised the need to belong in the Women's League.

"We are trying to encourage women actively to participate. Patriarchy is a very old thing and men will not change over night. So

it is women who need to sensitise the men, to change the attitude that men have about the way they look at things.

"Therefore we will make them reckon with us as women and include us in the laws of the country and the constitution. They are not going to do it if we do not make them do it."

After a number of activities over the next few days, the league will be officially launched on Sunday during a rally at Curries Fountain in Durban.

The league will seek to "mobilise the entire national liberation movement for the struggle for the emancipation of women", the organisation announced yesterday.

The league said one of its priorities would be to initiate a national campaign to ascertain what should be incorporated into a Charter of Women's Rights.

"This will be a constitutional instrument of the non-sexist South Africa."

The decision to hold the launch of the league in Natal was "an expression of our concern about the state-perpetuated violence which has engulfed this province in the last five years," said a spokeswoman.

"Our presence here is thus a demonstration of our solidarity with the victims of this violence and an act of protest against the regime, which we hold responsible for the carnage."

Only members of the ANC would be accepted into its ranks, the league said.



City nurse Kosi Xaba has come home after three years in exile for the ANC Women's League launch.



NATAL WITNESS

10/8/90

## Govt conceded only one point in Minute — Azapo ✓

JOHANNESBURG — The only point conceded by the Government in the Pretoria Minute was to commit itself to begin releasing political prisoners, the Azanian People's Organisation said yesterday.

Azapo President Jerry Mosala said the outcome had been disappointing.

Nothing had been said about the complete lifting of the state of emergency, and there appeared to be a complicated process defining political offences.

Nor has the Government said its armed forces "will not invade and occupy the black townships", he said at a Johannesburg press conference.

Mosala called for the liberation struggle to be intensified.

He said the ANC had a democratic

right to engage in any activity, as long as it did not harm the activities of others in the liberation struggle.

Azapo was still committed to holding a consultative conference, which should take the place of negotiations.

Mosala said negotiations "can only proceed when and if all the parties accept the concept of a constituent assembly" — "the only democratic process" for drawing up "a new and just constitution".

The Azanian Students' Movement and the Azanian Youth Movement, at the same conference, said the ANC had moved towards being more of a political party than a liberation movement, which was estranging it from the broad liberation structure.

— Sapa.

Recd



N/ WITNESS 10 AUGUST 1990

## Winnie Mandela stirs up a storm again



WINNIE MANDELA

A COMMENT attributed to Winnie Mandela last night that the suspension of the armed struggle was "a mere strategy" and did not mean the cessation of violence has caused a stir within the ranks of the ANC.

SABC TV news quoted Mandela as saying this at a National Women's Day commemoration meeting in Durban last night. She was reported to have said that the ANC's demands centred on the return of 20 000 exiles and the release of political prisoners.

In response to the SABC report, the controversial ANC and UDF official, Archie Gumede, said last night that if it could be proved that Mandela had said this then "I say it is not in keeping with my understanding of the Pretoria and Groote Schuur Minutes".

Gumede said, however, he was at the meeting and did not recall Mandela saying vio-

lence would not cease. He said he had understood her as saying the suspension of armed action by the ANC did not mean an end to Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing and this, he said, could not be disputed.

ANC internal spokesman Ahmed Kathrada said last night he was not prepared to comment on the matter. He said he could only refer to the Pretoria Minute and did not like to comment on "alleged statements made by individuals".

Mandela also endorsed a plea made this week by Adelaide Tambo, wife of ANC president Oliver Tambo, that pupils should return to school and further their education.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela could not be reached for comment and ANC internal corps leader Walter Sisulu was also not available. — Sapa.



BACKGROUND TO THE NEWS

# Let them be brought to book

*The question of whether to forgive or prosecute hit squad members faces South Africa's judiciary. CARMEL RICKARD reports.*

SOUTH African death squad members and possibly even the "architects of apartheid" should be prosecuted for the sake of justice, an international jurist has urged.

David Matas, a Canadian human rights lawyer in South Africa to address the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, said in an interview this week that if the perpetrators of "extra-judicial killings" were not prosecuted, it would give a message to the police and the military that such actions were permissible — and they could well continue to act in this way in the future.

Matas, legal co-ordinator of the English branch of Amnesty International in Canada and a member of the International Commission of Jurists, has written extensively on human rights issues, including the question of prosecuting "war criminals" and people accused of "crimes against humanity".

He said there were international standards of justice that not only allowed for prosecution of people alleged to have committed crimes against humanity, "but required it".

"There is a tendency during transition to push such crimes aside for practical considerations.

"If the perpetrators are handing over power to their victims, it is especially difficult to prosecute because it could make the transition very difficult.

"These practical difficulties also allow the victims to make a virtue of necessity. People can say — look at us; isn't this a great thing we are doing by being so forgiving.

"I understand the problems for countries in transition, but there are also legal and other problems about doing nothing.

Matas said that he believed the victims taking power from the perpetrators should always consciously decide whether or not to prosecute those alleged guilty of war crimes or crimes against humanity.

"Do not pay this price unless you have to, and you may not even have to pay the price you think you do."

He gave as an example the Harms Commission, which he said indicates that even the Government "may be prepared to prosecute death squad killers".

"There is no point for a new dispensation to be forgiving of death squad killers if even the present Government is to take action against them.

"Even if the new dispensation makes a conscious decision not to prosecute, there are other avenues which should always be followed up — if you do decide to be 'forgiving', you should at least investigate to know the full facts, and you should also provide compensation for the victims.

"Even if the political reality makes it difficult for the new dispensation to press charges, other groups should continue to advocate prosecution.

"Nadel is not itself involved in the transition and can therefore continue to state an ideal and press for it."

Matas said it might be true that prosecution made the transition period more difficult "but what is politically expedient is not necessarily what is right".

Asked about his motive in propagating this view so strongly, Matas replied, "I am a lawyer and believe in justice. Doing nothing to bring the most flagrant criminals to justice is the most gross breach of justice imaginable.

"What it means is that the people committing 'small crimes' are prosecuted, while people involved in 'big crimes' are not.

He said that in South Africa "it is not a case of the regime saying we want an amnesty.

"Instead the ANC is going into the negotiations somehow internalising this unspoken demand.

"They are saying let bygones be bygones.

"As a result no one is talking about an amnesty law because it does not seem it will be necessary.

Matas said that in Brazil there had been no prosecutions of torturers and others involved in crimes against humanity.

"As a result people in the police and military are continuing to use torture in a routine

way to extract information about ordinary crime.

"Right now I am involved as legal co-ordinator of Amnesty in Canada in a campaign to get the police in Brazil to stop using torture on street children involved in 'ordinary crime'.

"The Amnesty publications on the issue are blaming the fact that at transition there were no prosecutions. This gave the message that it was OK to do it. Abuses are seen as acceptable and people believe they may go on doing their work in this way."

Commenting on Matas's argument, the acting dean of the faculty of law at the University of the Witwatersrand, Etienne Mureinik, said justice and the rule of law both required the prosecution of "offenders against humanity".

"The price of prosecution, however, may be to impair the prospect of reconciliation.

"Whether that price is worth paying may depend very heavily on the feelings of the victims, individual and collective, of the crimes to be prosecuted. Our legal tradition has always treated the wishes of the complainant as being entitled to the greatest respect.

Nadel officials were more direct in expressing the view that prosecutions would not be appropriate.

Publicity officer for Nadel, Johnny de Lange, said the "crisp question" was whether during the period leading to a new dispensation, an amnesty and indemnity should automatically be granted to all groups and individuals.

"We draw a distinction between those fighting the apartheid system to end it and those who were pro-apartheid and fighting to maintain it.

"Our view is that for those fighting apartheid there should be an immediate and unconditional amnesty to include those in prison for security or unrest crimes and even other crimes committed with political motives.

"But as far as those fighting to maintain apartheid are concerned, they should not be granted automatic amnesty



## 'Every time I see Winnie, I see Stompie'

By SONTI MASEKO

"EVERY time I hear the name Winnie Mandela, everytime I see her face in the papers, I think of Stompie. In my mind the two will always go together. I cannot separate them."

These painful words uttered yesterday came from Miss Joyce Maninki Seioei, mother of slain teenage activist Stompie Moeketsi Seipei.

Her son's killer, Jerry Vusumuzi Richardson, was sentenced to death on Wednesday for the murder with aggravating circumstances.

Mr Justice O'Donovan said the murder of Stompie was a brutal attack carried out against a victim who was hardly more than a child.

### Justice

Seipei said even though her son's murderer was sentenced to death, the pain he had caused her was far more than he was likely to suffer. But she believed justice had been done.

Mrs Mandela's name came up repeatedly at Richardson's trial.

Evidence in court was that Stompie and three other youths were abducted by Richardson from a Methodist Church manse where they were staying to Mrs Mandela house and were seriously assaulted.



Stompie's mother, Joyce Seipei ... "People who kill others must be punished."

### Punished

Mrs Mandela is alleged to have participated in the assaults, hitting the youths with fists and claps and beating them with a sjambok.

"I feel strongly that people who kill others must be punished. I know its painful but Richardson chose to do it," said Seipei.

\* The Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand Local Division, Mr Klaus von Lieres, said last night he would decide late next week on whether or not to prosecute Mrs Mandela for her alleged involvement in events leading to Stompie's death.



# Nation salutes Tsietshi

SOWETAN  
10 AUGUST 1996

**T**WO events this week, the funeral of the leader of the 1976 students' revolt and the commemoration of the 1959 march by women to Pretoria, should cause South Africans to pause and think.

When the history of this country is written, Tsietshi Mashinini's name will stand out. He was only a boy in 1976 but he changed the face of this country.

The revolt revitalised the exiled liberation movements; it brought new thinking to white South Africans; and was the beginning of the end for white rule in this country.

It is sad that he had to return to his home in a coffin.

One day when this country is truly free we will say that we are free because of his sacrifices and those of people like him. But the truth will be that their deaths were so unnecessary.

His funeral coincides with the week when women remember the march to Pretoria to protest against the extension of the pass laws to women.

At the meetings that started yesterday, women who committed themselves to the liberation struggle, like Lillian Ngoyi and Helen Joseph, were remembered.

But there are also women who will not appear in the history books, women who quietly carried the cross with their menfolk and their children.

These women missed their children for a few days before somebody whispered to them that they had gone into exile or had been arrested.

The nation salutes Mashinini as he goes to his resting place.

It salutes the women who have carried the cross of the liberation struggle.



**W**HAT does freedom of speech mean to the man in the street? It means:

- \* He has the right to have opinions and beliefs without interference from anybody else, including the government;
- \* He has the right to express these opinions and beliefs without fear;
- \* He has the right to seek and receive information and ideas from whatever source and he can also impart his own information and ideas through any medium - word of mouth, printed matter, radio, television, demonstrations or rallies; and
- \* He has the right to choose whatever newspaper, magazine, book, pamphlet, radio or television station he prefers.

It means he has access to the body of information and ideas in society. With this information he can make the right choices about his life and the direction that his country should take.

There should be nothing to frighten him from exercising his right to free speech.

We are struggling out of an era of fear when information and ideas were suppressed by the Government.

Some political opinions have landed thousands in prison. The old Suppression of Communism Act outlawed the Communist Party and it became an offence to advocate communism.

People listed as communists by the Government became the walking dead because it was an offence to publish anything they said, even if it had nothing to do with communism.

### **Banned**

Later the Pan-Africanist Congress, the African National Congress, the Black People's Convention and scores of other organisations were banned.

In fact, the present Internal Security Act is a sad monument to suppression of freedom of speech in this country.

The Publications Act set up a machinery for censorship of publications and objects other than newspapers.

"Big Brother" decided, and still does, what magazines and books you could read, what films and theatre you could view, and what objects are "undesirable".

There is a host of other laws that the Government uses to suppress freedom of speech.

But as the Government intensified its repression, the more the banned material was circulated underground. The ANC and the PAC grew among the people against all the attempts to wipe them off the people's minds.

Thousands of people ended up in jail because they were found to hold the wrong ideas: they were promoting the aims of banned organisations.

For decades black politics has been a game of not getting found out.

There is a thawing now in Government circles. It started when the South African Law Commission said that a bill of rights is essential for this country.

Article 8 of the bill of rights the Commission proposed in their report to the Government was:

# The irony of our struggle

SOWETAN 10 AUGUST 1990



This is the fourth article in our series on freedom of speech and the need for independent media. Today we focus on Press freedom and the man in the street.



Individuals have the right to seek and receive information and ideas from whatever source and he can also impart his own information and ideas through any medium - word of mouth, printed matter, radio, television, demonstrations or rallies.

"The right to freedom of speech and to obtain and disseminate information."

Since the commission's report there have been other developments that show this thawing. Since February 2 when State President FW de Klerk made his historic speech in Cape Town, large chunks of the Internal Security Act are no longer being used.

Banned organisations are now free to operate again; listed people are now quoted by the media; and people are no longer being charged with furthering the aims of banned organisations.

Also, the Government has asked the Media Council to investigate restrictions on the media and to

make recommendations on them.

It is tragic irony that when the Government is relenting, the people who were fighting it are now the ones who disregard freedom of speech.

The headlines in the newspapers these days tell the same stories: Cops recover burnt bodies of comrades; Vaal feud claims two more lives; and Marchers threatened - all from yesterday's *Sowetan*.

The leaders of the various political organisations always say their organisations believe in freedom of speech and in tolerance, but their followers simply ignore this as they slaughter one another.

**Monday: How the Sowetan and the other media contribute to freedom of speech in this country.**



## THE CITIZEN COMMENT

10 AUGUST 1990

### CP wrong

THE leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Treurnicht, has announced that the CP will not take part in the negotiation of a new constitution.

"The CP will never go to the negotiation table to talk about the surrender of Whites," he says.

"It does not matter if it will be an ANC, SA Communist Party or Inkatha Government. We demand the right that Whites be allowed to govern themselves in their own fatherland and that is all."

We think he is very wrong.

There will be negotiations, whether he likes it or not.

Whatever form the negotiations take, there will be parties other than the government and the ANC at the table.

None of these parties will have the same blueprint for a new constitution, but some may share basic ideas.

At this point, the government has not spelled out its constitutional plan, though it has outlined the principles on which that plan will be based.

In essence, the NP and the CP are poles apart in their views of the South Africa of the future.

But then, the NP and the African National Congress are poles apart as well.

This also applies to other parties and interested bodies.

To keep out of the negotiations means that the CP's case will go by default.

The negotiators can only deal with the plans that they themselves advance or which are put before them.

What emerges will hopefully be a compromise acceptable to all reasonable men.

The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, reiterated yesterday that any new constitution would have to be approved by the current Parliament and the White voters.

We do not know what Dr Treurnicht has to gain by keeping the CP out of the negotiations.

His party has some decided views on how this country should be run.

Fundamentally, it is that the Whites should govern themselves, with some form of partition, still to be defined.

The CP clings to outmoded policies like White sovereignty, separate development and separate amenities.

It will definitely find itself in the minority at any negotiations, but that doesn't invalidate the need to participate.

We do understand (though we do not accept) the bitterness of the CP.

The government has embarked on a reform programme that is destroying all the cornerstones of apartheid — including separate amenities, group areas (this is to be done next year) and other forms of segregation.

And the most heinous thing in CP eyes is that the government is negotiating with the African National Congress, the SA Communist Party is now operating openly, ANC "guerillas", or terrorists, as we call them, are going to be released from jail and ANC exiles are going to return.

As far as the CP is concerned, the government is selling out the Whites, an allegation which Mr De Klerk vigorously denies.

Negotiation of a new future had to be started some time — and Mr De Klerk has had the courage to do so now.

That means the ANC and every other organisation that is willing to negotiate the future in peace has to be brought into the negotiations.

The CP is not able to judge the kind of constitution that will be thrashed out for the simple reason nobody knows what it will be.

A CP boycott does not mean the CP will be able to say afterwards that it did not participate and therefore does not accept the plan that emerges.

We are talking about a constitution which, once it is accepted and becomes law, will be binding on everyone, the CP included.

Dr Treurnicht and the CP should thus think again before the tides of history leave them stranded while South Africa decides its future.



# Police, troops pour into PE

Port Elizabeth News

10 Aug. 1990

OWN Correspondent

Port Elizabeth

**POLICE and SADF reinforcements are pouring into PE's northern suburbs to curb looting.**

The area is once again aflame and terrified residents are trying to protect themselves from one of the

Eastern Cape's worst outbreaks of violence.

Unrest has also broken out in nearby Uitenhage.

The Port Elizabeth death toll since Monday reached 33 at 8 pm last night. Hundreds have been injured.

What started as an apparent expression of anger at police action taken when dispersing a march in Gelvandale on Monday to protest against rent increases has since deteriorated into near anarchy, sparking off further police reaction.

Livingstone Hospital's casualty ward last night was overflowing with unrest victims for the second night in a row.

Many people were being treated for birdshot wounds.

The heaviest hit area appeared to be Schauderville, although at least six other areas are reported to be affected to the same degree.

Violence also broke out in the Uitenhage suburb of Rose-dale last night.

Vigilante groups formed in some of the suburbs to defend themselves as more and more people demanded the army be called in to help restore order.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok has announced police reinforcements, additional SA Defence Force members and additional air support will be deployed in the troubled areas in an attempt to curb the violence.

Mr Vlok called on the warring parties to end the violence and said he believed the situation should and could be resolved through negotiations.

He said police would "strictly enforce law and order". "They will seek out criminals and act relentlessly against them and all perpetrators of violence. I have informed (African National Congress internal leader) Mr Walter Sisulu as such," he added.

Last night heavily-armed residents in Gelvandale screened cars and residents to ward off possible attacks.

ANC and community leaders have appealed for calm and asked people to return to work. At a meeting yesterday Cosatu vice-president Mr John Gomomo, ANC and SACP leader Mr Raymond Mhlaba, president of the Gelvandale branch

of the ANC Mr Danny Jordaan and others called for a return to normality. A march organised for Monday to again protest against rent increases has been called off.

Mr Mhlaba said bad elements were using the opportunity to steal and plunder and were exploiting the situation.

At Livingstone Hospital last night ambulances roared in bearing more victims allegedly shot by police.

Patient Mr Patrick Ncamiso said he was on his way home when he saw people running and then heard a sharp noise. "I just felt pain in my head and my legs and saw I was bleeding." He was treated for birdshot wounds.

Police spokesman Major Bill Dennis said by 8 pm last night 33 had been killed, 32 shops, six houses, a church and three schools were known to have been burnt down.

## 'Shopkeepers shooting to kill'

OWN Correspondent

Port Elizabeth

SEVERAL of the people killed in the Port Elizabeth violence were reportedly shot by shopowners attempting to protect their property.

Gelvandale shopowner Mr Mogamat Brown said he was driving past a shop on Wednesday when he saw a looter jump out of a broken window and rush at a shopowner.

"The shopowner pulled out a hand-gun, fired a few warning shots and then shot the man. I saw him fall."

The shop was later razed.

Meanwhile, residents in the upmarket section of Gelvandale have formed vigilante groups and said they were prepared to use any means at their disposal to protect their property, their lives and their families.

In Schauderville, where almost every shop has been gutted or looted, heavily armed police and SADF troops last night roved the business district, firing teargas and birdshot to prevent looting.



# We can act without blame

ALAN DUNN

Political Correspondent

THE government could now act strongly to maintain law and order in South Africa without being accused of oppression, President de Klerk said at the University of Pretoria.

"The violence, excessive protest and disruption must now end and I believe the agreement of August 6 will contribute to this," he told a crowd of about 3 000 students at a lunchtime meeting yesterday, hosted by the Forum committee of the Students' Representative Council.

There was no less violence in South Africa before government started its new initiatives. "If we had not taken certain initiatives, it would probably have been worse," he said.

The violence had before been attributed to government and its policy, he said. It had also been aimed mainly at gov-

ernment. These days the spotlight was increasingly, justly so, on those acting violently, and government was no longer getting all the blame.

Reflecting on the positive results of changes in the past year, he said there were still many events and actions which bothered, irritated and gave rise to concern. There was still too much unnecessary protest, stayaway action, demonstration, violence and intimidation.

Fortunately, progress was also being made in this area. The government-ANC commitment of August 6 to promote stability, contained in the accord known as the Pretoria Minute, "is an important development to which we will hold the ANC in the months ahead and to which we consider ourselves bound".

Mr de Klerk added that the untruths circulating about gov-

ernment policy and intentions also had to end. Government had not suddenly embraced the ANC's philosophy nor that of any other party. "We are also just as anti-communist as always."

It was not true that government had suddenly forsaken the interests of voters who had given it a mandate last year: "I look you in the eyes today and say to you that I and the government are not busy selling out whites and the Christian religion, and are not planning to do so.

"The government is prepared to negotiate, but not to agree to a new constitution which will undervalue the essential rights of whites or any other group. The government by no means intends to turn minorities over to domination and suppression."

Mr de Klerk reiterated his

assurance that government would not implement any constitution before it was approved by the present Parliament and white electorate.

Government was acting not only for the country's future, but also because it believed that it was right and fair. "It must be realised that white security, freedom and prosperity cannot be reconciled with injustice against other population groups."

Swiping at the Conservative Party, he said failure to recognise the permanence and citizenship of black South Africans who were born here and wanted to be nothing other than South Africans was an invitation to conflict.

Mr de Klerk vowed that government would not deviate from its course. It was determined to realise the goals it had set for the country.

FW



# Escalation in Violence

2000 LAND OBSERVER 10 AUGUST 1990

The Newcastle-based Reactionary Unit moved into Nseleni this week to assist local policemen maintain law and order after an escalation in violence which has seen a corresponding increase in firearm-related incidents.

One of these incidents in the continuing conflict between the UDF/AM and Inkatha has been the killing of an Nseleni Town Councilor's husband.

## Fatally Wounded

Mr Nyawo was shot and fatally wounded on Sunday afternoon at the robots near Pongol Centre in Empangeni. An unexploded petrol bomb was found nearby.

Subsequent investigations led to the discovery of five more petrol bombs - similar to the one found at the scene - at the local Council offices.

Four men were later arrested for the killing. Police found a collection of home-made weapons and pangas in their possession.

## Another Murder

The Ngwenya Lutheran Church was the scene of another murder - also on Sunday. A group of Inkatha supporters were going to a meeting when it is believed one man suddenly ran away from the group. A police officer

man said he was shot and killed by someone in the crowd. No reason could be given as to why the man decided to run or why he was killed.

On Wednesday last week, a man at Matshana

died of injuries sustained in a shooting incident. A murder docket has been opened but no arrests have been made.

## Walking in the Street

The victim of a shooting at Nseleni, who is still in hospital, was shot while walking in the street. He said he heard the firearm being discharged, felt a pain in his arm but saw nothing. This is one of two attempted murder cases being investigated in Nseleni. Another has been reported at Matshana. All involved the use of firearms.

An unnamed man at Ovondo - an area bordering Nseleni - was sitting in his home when a group of armed youths approached. He was shot when he tried to run away. He survived despite being shot twice in the back and once in the neck.

## Petrol-Bombed

Yet more problems were experienced at Nseleni

where three houses were petrol-bombed.

A car was also burnt in the Bhékani Reserve. The vehicle had registration plates from another area and it is believed that this prompted the burning. Arson is being investigated. A separate arson allegation is being investigated.

## Current Situation Discussed

\* Thousands of Nseleni residents (figures vary from 2 000 to 8 000 depending on the source) gathered in the town to discuss the current situation at Nseleni with the police and to air their dissatisfaction about police action.

One source said some residents thought the police were not arresting the culprits involved in criminal activities. One reliable source said a call was made for the police and defence force to leave the area completely. Residents said they wanted to 'clean up their

own town' and get rid of ANC influences. It was even suggested that the government give the ANC their own residential area in order to solve the problem.

Discussions between the SAP and Town Council took place in efforts to resolve the situation.

## Attempt to Discredit

One Police spokesman said the meeting could maybe be seen as an attempt to discredit the SAP since Inkatha supporters had been arrested in connection with a number of recent cases.



THE PRETORIA NEWS Friday August 10 1990

# Malan in support of Pretoria Minute

ALAN DUNN, Political Correspondent

**MINISTER of Defence General Magnus Malan today welcomed the Pretoria Minute and pledged the defence establishment's full support for it.**

Speaking on behalf of what he called the "defence family" — the SA Defence Force and Armscor — he said that if deed followed word, the government-African National Congress accord of Monday could be an important step in laying a solid base for building a stable and safe South Africa.

He was addressing a parade at Air Force Base Hoedspruit celebrating the 70th birthday of the SA Air Force.

Gen Malan was effectively dispelling lingering speculation of dissent in the military about recent reforms in South Africa.

He was also again rebutting talk and rightwing allegations that he might quit over changes during the past seven months, such as the unbanning of the SA Communist Party.

He said the country did not want a struggling, shaky democracy.

"What we seek is a prosperous democracy with stability and opportunities for people who work out their salvation together."

The defence family therefore welcomed the joint responsibility of dealing with those matters contained in the Pretoria Minute.

"We will throw in our full weight to help build the new South Africa in accordance with these principles," he said.

He said he believed that the political system which could be born out of this process would be better than that of the past. It was a system which would advance joint responsibility and interaction in South Africa.

The new system would try to see to and provide for the basic needs of all people. "It is a system which offers opportunities to people and wants to improve the quality of their lives," he noted.

Gen Malan said the defence family did not serve a particular political party. It was politically impartial, serving the country and its people.

The Defence Force and Armscor could say with pride they had had a share in making the present post-Angola phase possible. Military victories had paved the way for reconciliation and talks.

The SADF was a winner and, just as important, a democratic winner obedient to the government of the day.

That was why it was in Natal, for instance, to try and stabilise factions clashes, prevent fighting, and create conditions for political leaders to thrash out their differences.

The SADF was a realistic peace-seeker and peace protector. It knew also that peace itself was not a political system.

Gen Malan said peace had to be pampered and protected.



The  
**PRETORIA NEWS**

Established 1898

## Less shouting, more listening

THERE is none that holds freedom of speech more dear than this newspaper, as our yellowing files will show. In the gruelling years of emergency rule, we wrestled daily with official restrictions on what could be printed. That, in addition to more than 100 laws on the statute books which govern what is publishable. This qualifies us to offer a view on yesterday's unfortunate behaviour at the University of Pretoria's amphitheatre during a speech by President F W de Klerk.

Himself a university graduate, Mr de Klerk must have expected a barrage of heckling because universities are, after all, places of ideas and expression of those ideas as they incubate into theses and ripen to wisdom. That thinking, blended with natural student exuberance, was going to make for a lively, spirited meeting.

Of the 3 000 or so students crammed into the am-

phitheatre, perhaps 50 of various right wing persuasions clearly intended letting the world know of their dissent against Mr de Klerk. But their shouting and angry singing of patriotic Afrikaner anthems was excessive. Questions and interjections are part of the rough and tumble of politics, for debate is what it is all about. But these students were trying to stop the speaker.

Their actions were as sparse on reason as the argument of harried student leaders who said Mr de Klerk, an executive president and leader of the National Party, was there in his capacity as State President and not as a party political figure.

Little as rightists like it, a new South Africa is dawning. As important as making oneself heard as we enter uncharted constitutional waters, is the necessity of listening to all other points of view.



10 Aug. 1990

# LETTERS

The Citizen PO Box 7712  
Johannesburg 2000

## Black brutality

"AT this stage it was expected of White Christians to confess their sins of brutal Black oppression over the past three-and-a-half years, rather than pre-occupy themselves with 'rooi gevaar'." (Chikane: Whites should confess — The Citizen August 3).

Goodness me, Mr Chikane, when it comes to brutality, don't you think some Blacks have a lot of confessing to do? Who says so? I'll tell you:

All the Blacks necklaced by other Blacks;

All the Blacks shot, stabbed or hacked to death by other Blacks (some with limbs hacked off and eyes gouged out);

All the Blacks who have had their homes burnt down (sometimes with children inside) by other Blacks;

All the Black policemen who have been murdered

or their homes hand-grenaded;

All the innocent people killed or maimed in ANC bomb explosions;

All the Blacks being intimidated into supporting boycotts (some being forced to eat soap or other toxic substances);

All the White elderly and other "soft targets" murdered/assaulted/raped/robbed by Blacks.

All the Whites slaughtered by rioting Black mobs;

All the innocent people killed, injured or trampled on in bank and other robberies carried out by Black gangs.

My apologies to all the Black people who have done something constructive with their lives, doctors, nurses, teachers, charity workers etc. and, of course, there is a

wealth of musical and sporting talent amongst them.

By the same token, Mr Chikane should pay tribute to all the Whites, who, while Mr Mandela was jetting around overseas being feted and tickertaped as some kind of royalty, were back here stitching up the victims of Black violence: trying to feed hungry Blacks; clothe and supply blankets to cold Blacks; assist the twilight Kids, raise money for Black welfare, etc. etc. etc.

As most so-called "Christian" churches have been hijacked by politics and the SACC, BCC and WCC are nothing more than Communist political organisations, I have long since ceased calling myself a Christian.

**REBORN AGNOSTIC**  
Edenvale

## 'Pretoria Minute only binds govt, ANC'

HARARE. — The agreement reached on Monday between the ANC and the government was binding

only on the two parties, and was of no consequence to the strategies and fighting modes of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, said BCMA leader Mr Mosibudi Mangena.

In an interview from Harare, Mr Mangena said Black people had embarked on the struggle against apartheid to achieve freedom.

"What we have now in the form of the so-called Pretoria Minute is a declaration by the oppressor of his intent to talk about possible democracy.

"We fight for freedom and not just the so-called democracy. Democracy will be just a by-product of our freedom and liberation," he said.

The BCMA and its military wing, the Azanian National Liberation Army, would continue with its programmes as decided earlier because nothing has changed, Mr Mangena noted. — Sapa.

## Cabinet briefed on ANC talks

Citizen Reporter

THE full Cabinet was briefed in this week's talks with the ANC at the weekly meeting of the Cabinet in Pretoria yesterday.

The government team at the talks was limited to the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of

Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

The Cabinet was yesterday given insight into the talks themselves and the agreements which included the suspension of the armed struggle by the ANC, said informed sources.

The sources said there was satisfaction at the outcome of the deliberations which lasted for 15 hours.

## OAU welcomes ANC peace move

ADDIS ABABA. — The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) welcomed the African National Congress's suspension of its armed struggle against white rule in South Africa.

"Africa supports whatever steps the ANC takes, provided that the major objectives were to dismantle apartheid," an

OAU statement said yesterday.

"The OAU hopes the good intentions by the ANC would be reciprocated by Pretoria."

The landmark move announced on Tuesday after talks between the ANC and the SA Government cleared the way for formal negotiations. — Sapa-Reuter.



**W**HAT does freedom of speech mean to the man in the street? It means:

- \* He has the right to have opinions and beliefs without interference from anybody else, including the government.
- \* He has the right to express these opinions and beliefs without fear.
- \* He has the right to seek and receive information and ideas from whatever source and he can also impart his own information and ideas through any medium - word of mouth, printed matter, radio, television, demonstrations or rallies; and
- \* He has the right to choose whatever newspaper, magazine, book, pamphlet, radio or television station he prefers.

It means he has access to the body of information and ideas in society. With this information he can make the right choices about his life and the direction that his country should take.

There should be nothing to frighten him from exercising his right to free speech.

We are struggling out of an era of fear when information and ideas were suppressed by the Government.

Some political opinions have landed thousands in prison. The old Suppression of Communism Act outlawed the Communist Party and it became an offence to advocate communism.

People listed as communists by the Government became the walking dead because it was an offence to publish anything they said, even if it had nothing to do with communism.

### Banned

Later the Pan-Africanist Congress, the African National Congress, the Black People's Convention and scores of other organisations were banned.

In fact, the present Internal Security Act is a sad monument to suppression of freedom of speech in this country.

The Publications Act set up a machinery for censorship of publications and objects other than newspapers.

"Big Brother" decided, and still does, what magazines and books you could read, what films and theatre you could view, and what objects are "undesirable".

There is a host of other laws that the Government uses to suppress freedom of speech.

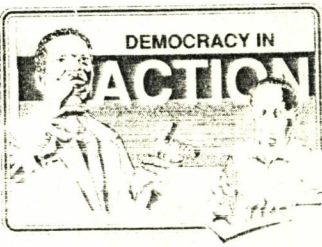
But as the Government intensified its repression, the more the banned material was circulated underground. The ANC and the PAC grew among the people against all the attempts to wipe them off the people's minds.

Thousands of people ended up in jail because they were found to hold the wrong ideas: they were promoting the aims of banned organisations.

For decades black politics has been a game of not getting found out.

There is a thawing now in Government circles. It started when the South African Law Commission said that a bill of rights is essential for this country.

Article 8 of the bill of rights the Commission proposed in their report to the Government was:



This is the fourth article in our series on freedom of speech and the need for independent media. Today we focus on Press freedom and the man in the street.

# The irony of our struggle

SOWETAN 10 AUGUST 1990



Individuals have the right to seek and receive information and ideas from whatever source and he can also impart his own information and ideas through any medium - word of mouth, printed matter, radio, television, demonstrations or rallies.

"The right to freedom of speech and to obtain and disseminate information."

Since the commission's report there have been other developments that show this thawing. Since February 2 when State President FW de Klerk made his historic speech in Cape Town, large chunks of the Internal Security Act are no longer being used.

Banned organisations are now free to operate again; listed people are now quoted by the media; and people are no longer being charged with furthering the aims of banned organisations.

Also, the Government has asked the Media Council to, investigate restrictions on the media and to

make recommendations on them.

It is tragic irony that when the Government is relenting, the people who were fighting it are now the ones who disregard freedom of speech.

The headlines in the newspapers these days tell the same stories: Cops recover burnt bodies of comrades; Vaal feud claims two more lives; and Marchers threatened - all from yesterday's *Sowetan*.

The leaders of the various political organisations always say their organisations believe in freedom of speech and in tolerance, but their followers simply ignore this as they slaughter one another.

**Monday: How the Sowetan and the other media contribute to freedom of speech in this country.**



10.09.90

## LETTERS

### Stayaways are losing credibility

SIR — I am not averse to appreciating the effectiveness of stayaways as a method of defiance against current political affairs, or as a means of highlighting the plight of the oppressed masses.

Indeed, executed efficiently and timeously, stayaways fulfil these abovementioned functions.

However, it is becoming increasingly evident that stayaways are losing their credibility, even among a great number of previous supporters — black, or otherwise.

Some of the reasons for this, are:

- ☐ Stayaways are seen by the general population as periods of instability and potential intimidation;

- ☐ The frequency of stayaways is increasing, while the reasons for organising them are becoming more trivial;

- ☐ With the exception of the leaders of stayaway groups, most of the supporting workers are not fully aware of their reason for staying away;

- ☐ Stayaways have recently been supported only by certain groups within the broader black population.

This division among groups sharing a common political position is thus viewed with suspicion by neutral observers.

Until such time, therefore, as stayaways can fulfil such conditions as necessity, efficiency and unanimity, its effectiveness is steadily being undermined by the opposing factors of redundancy, inefficiency and sectionalism.

CLIFFORD NEIL KAST  
Durban



# Toy-toying down to the City Hall

INDIGNATION has been rife in Durban this week.

There's the row over the proposed Snake Park Zola Budd taxi rank and the uproar over Napac's *Queen at the Opera*.

And it's a toss-up to decide which issue has raised the most ire. The real old moan bags have probably had a field day with both.

What has been missing in the Snake Park furore is the fact that the entire plan is but an experiment.

City Council officials have been saying so all along but nobody seems to be listening.

Okay, so there is reason to believe that it's not the wisest decision ever taken but surely it would be even wiser to wait and see.

If all hell does break loose, as the critics are suggesting, it goes with-

out saying that the City Council is going to have to rethink its proposal.

I don't believe anybody wants to see the Snake Park turned into a mini-Warwick Avenue — heaven forbid — even if only for three or four days a year.

I don't live in the area so I suppose those that do will argue that I'm sticking my nose where it doesn't belong. Fair enough. But I do have fond memories of the spot in question.

I clearly recall those beach bum days of my youth — not terribly long ago, mind you — when the Snake Park was the place, bro. Hell, I mean like, you know, you just didn't miss hitting out there on a Saturday arvie.

The okes parked their combis, turned up the sounds, took copious drags on their Consulates, *ek sé*, then hot-footed it down to the beach to catch the waves, man.

The chicks, meanwhile, parked their behinds, turned up the sun, pretended to take copious drags on their Special Milds and contemplated catching the man, man.

Or the boys strolled down to Dantes for a double-thick — in their black Lees, purchased for a 'special discount price' in Grey Street, psychedelic surf shirts and Tiger takkies — checking the talent along the way.

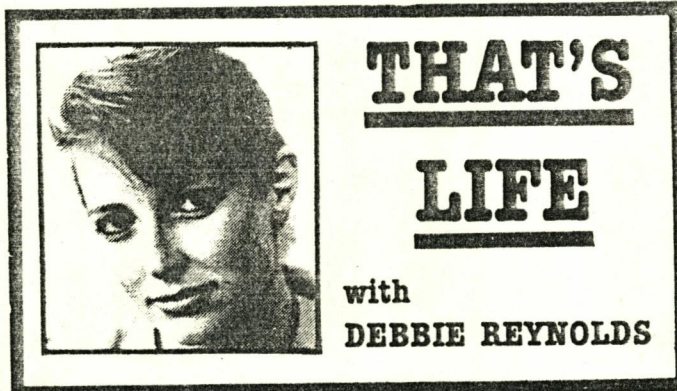
Having shrugged off the Snake Park culture some years ago, I'm not sure if it still exists, or if it took the same unceremonious dive as Newtons and Noddys.

What is known, though, is that the area is most definitely still a 'playground for the elderly' who live on Snell Parade. And they plan to say so in no uncertain terms when they have a protest march to the City Hall to present Mayor Watterson with a 'strongly worded letter in a few days'.

Maybe their concern is unfounded, but on second thoughts, maybe it isn't.

And anyway, I think it would be quite fun to see a pack of infuriated grannies and grandpas toy-toying to the City Hall.

Everyone else is doing it, why shouldn't they?



kramptes still went, crying *Skande!* at the drop of a dildo.

In a country where freedom of choice is already so limited, one would presume any enlightenment would be welcomed.

No one has been forced to attend the show. If they do, it is of their own free will. And if they don't like it, there are no chains shackling them to their seats or padlocks barring their exit.

But like it or not, almost everyone thrives on a little bit of scandal. And anyway, whatever is depicted on stage couldn't possibly be worse than what happens around us daily.

The more fuss that is made about the production the more people will go to see what it's all about.

So the critics are ironically doing their cause more harm than good. Perhaps, it's not too late for them to put a zip in it.

THE OUTCRY about *Queen at the Opera*, on the other hand, sounds typically hysterical with moralistic rhetoric.

Forewarned is forearmed, the saying goes, and Napac certainly went out of its way to emphasise that the production might not be everyone's cup of tea.

Warnings from 'Christian groups' followed thick and fast and yet the ver-

THIS new South Africa of ours is something of a minefield for journalists — especially those who aren't in the forefront of political reporting.

Take the launch this week of the ANC's Women's League in Durban, for instance, attended by some of my colleagues. Familiar names like Albertina Sisulu, Adelaide Tambo and Dorothy Nyembe were there but trying to put faces to the names was *nog n' storie*.

Just over six months ago the ANC was something you just whispered about, certainly not wrote too much about.

Now you get invited to their Press conferences quicker than you can say 'Amandla'. You get embraced by people who were either in exile, in prison, or on the run.

And you're expected to know exactly who they are. That it's probably the first time — especially for a young journalist — you've seen their faces is something of an embarrassing, but quite understandable problem.

One person nobody had any problem identifying, however, was Winnie Mandela, in her distinctive turban, complete with dangling earrings and Yves St Laurent handbag.

But how to greet her caused some consternation.

'I didn't know whether to stand, salute or cursey,' said a fellow reporter. 'So rather than put my foot in it, I just sat.'

Had Winnie known of this dilemma I'm sure she would have empathised. After all, she's no stranger to putting her foot in it.



10.8.90

POLICE, TROOPS POOR INTO PE



Self-protection: shopowners, who have not slept since Monday, guard their shop in Port Elizabeth's Korsten township.



10.8.90

## Tensions

Yesterday, an angry Dr Viljoen entered the row.

"This statement of Mrs Mandela's is a flagrant flouting of both the letter and the spirit of the Pretoria Accord," he said.

As tensions built up round Mrs Mandela, government officials said a decision by Mr Von Lieres was expected "shortly".

Jerry Richardson, 41-year-old leader of the "Mandela United Football Club" was sentenced to death on Wednesday.

Evidence accepted by the trial judge was that Mrs Mandela was present for at least part of the time when Stompie was assaulted in her home before his death in December 1989.

In February 1989 the Sowetan community was ordered by the MDM to ostracise Mrs Mandela because they were "outraged by the reign of terror carried out by the Mandela United Football Club".

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PAGE 2