

Gwala attacks plan for leaders' summit

Own Correspondent

4 JUNE 1993

DURBAN — A bid by the ANC in southern Natal to clear the way for an early meeting between Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has run into trouble with the more militant Midlands ANC region.

Midlands ANC leader Harry Gwala said on Wednesday night that a meeting between the two leaders could not happen until a number of issues were cleared.

These included the preconditions set by the ANC, including the banning of cultural weapons and fencing of hostels.

Gwala said he was unsure whether a meeting at this stage would achieve anything.

"I don't know what that meeting will achieve. We are fully behind the decision of the president (Mandela) that thorough preparations must be made before such a meeting and that this time, unlike before, we must achieve something. We don't want to them to meet just for the sake of it."

He said the Midlands would study the southern Natal document before coming to a final position.

The ANC southern Natal region said on Wednesday the three sectors of the ANC in southern Natal — ANC, ANC Women's League and ANC Youth League — had decided on the programme after extensive meetings with all the ANC branches in the region.

At a press conference in Durban on Wednesday, the organisation called on the ANC and IFP to "preach the right to free political activity and an end to the militarisation of politics".

The peace document was approved at the weekend by representatives from the organisation's 126 branches in southern Natal.

Regional chairman Jeff Radebe mooted joint rallies and said local organisers of both groups should "creatively involve themselves and their supporters" in nurturing tolerance.

The IFP said the proposals "might prove constructive" but it would "reserve judgment until we see more tangible signs of the ANC's commitment to peace".

IFP Natal organiser Senzo Mfayela said it was strange the ANC chose to announce its intentions via the media.

16/1/11



Letters

Concern over Buthelezi's position



SAMUEL JAMILE
Early release

SIR — Notwithstanding the untimely release of convicted murderer Samuel Jamile from prison, and the level of outrage it has so rightly caused, there is, on the other hand, reason to question the position of Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi in this matter.

This has come about as a result of three diverse news reports — and one of which clearly contradicted the others.

The first was Dr Buthelezi's stated concern when Jamile was initially released and the fact that he claimed to be very "worried" about its implications.

The second (as reported in The Daily News on May 20) reaffirmed that viewpoint when Dr Buthelezi proclaimed that the IFP had never condoned Jamile's criminal actions.

Yet the third (and last) — and which was also reported in The Daily News on May 20 — was the statement by Samuel Jamile himself when, in general expressing his thanks to those who assisted in his release, made special emphasis of Dr Buthelezi's part in this regard.

As the substance of these pub-

lished statements would hardly seem to gel, and since Jamile's premature release from a life-time prison sentence has probably been one of the most contentious yet allowed, it would, for the sake of clarity and veracity, be desirable to ascertain exactly where Dr Buthelezi's sentiments are spread and, as important, to establish if he was (and still is) in sympathy with Jamile or, at worst, did in fact help to obtain that criminal's release.

Indeed, suspicion will always cloud this issue until he has made himself clear.

RITA EASTON
Durban

■ **SIR** — The Natal Attorney-General opposed the release of convicted murderer and former KwaZulu Cabinet Minister Samuel Jamile.

The Attorney-General, Tim McNally, SC, said he sent a senior State advocate to oppose his release.

Some of the grounds of his opposition were:

"Jamile steadfastly maintained his innocence throughout the trial.

There was, therefore, no question of his having claimed to have committed a murder with a political motive.

"The court did not find the motive to have been political.

"Mr McNally said that the Jamile trial took a full court year to complete. The cost of preparation and of the trial itself must have been enormous."

Dr Buthelezi said on TV that he applied for the release of Jamile the murderer.

In view of the statement of the Attorney-General the public would like to know from Dr Buthelezi on what grounds did he apply for the release of Jamile.

Mr Adriaan Vlok must also explain to the public on what grounds he released Jamile.

Something is "terribly rotten" in this state.

Samuel Jamile's release has sent a shiver down the spine of Natalians.

Think a million times, Natalians, before you join Inkatha or Nats.

K. BADAL
Durban



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI
Where does he really stand?

Mandela in E Rand peace bid

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

The bloodshed on the East Rand continued yesterday, with an attack on the Mandela Park squatter camp in Katlehong just hours before the ANC announced that Nelson Mandela would address a major peace rally in Tokoza tomorrow.

At least one person was burnt to death when four shacks were set alight. The attackers also shot at squatters, injuring two people.

Police believe the attackers came from nearby Holomisa Park squatter camp. Peace monitors said that if this was the case, it was a bad omen for peace in the area. The two squatter

camps were at war before calling a truce last year.

In last week's violence, squatters from the two camps protected each other.

The ANC said yesterday Mandela would unveil a plan to end the violence when he addressed a rally at Tokoza stadium tomorrow.

Announcing the rally, the ANC PWV region said in a statement: "The violence is threatening to break the social fabric of the East Rand. Schools have ground to a halt, transport has been disrupted, families displaced, women turned into widows, and children left without parents."

The organisation condemned the "bloodletting" on

the East Rand, which has claimed more than 70 lives since the violence erupted at an ANC alliance march in Tokoza on May 22.

In another bid for peace on the East Rand, the area's IFP Youth Brigade deputy chairman, Thanani Dlamini, appealed for local ANC Youth League officials to meet their IFP counterparts "so that we can work hand in hand to defuse the anger of the people in our region".

He called for peace during Wednesday's mass burials of the victims of last week's violence.

"Let us show our respect for the dead by allowing them to be buried in dignity and peace," Dlamini said.

16/1/11

ANC's plan 'smoke screen for impending offensive'

THE ANC's programme for peace and political tolerance in Natal is a "smoke screen for an impending offensive" by hit squads of its armed wing against supporters of rival organisations, the IFP has alleged.

Earlier this week, the ANC's southern Natal region called on Mr Nelson Mandela and Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi to meet as soon as possible to put an end to the violence and for local and regional leaders of both organisations to work together for free political activity and an end to the militarisation of politics.

However, the IFP yesterday criticised the fact that it had released the proposals through the press without first consulting the IFP.

IFP Umlazi leader Reuben Mfeka said he found it strange

Political Staff

that the plan was made a "media event".

"This suggests a point-scoring exercise instead of an earnest endeavour to build peace," he said.

Mr Mfeka questioned how the ANC could present such a plan when it was "engaged in a campaign of serial assassination of our lower-ranking leadership".

"Moreover, we are convinced, on the basis of factual evidence, that this campaign against us is to be stepped up. Indeed, we anticipate that Umkhonto we Sizwe hit squads from Transkei and some already deployed in the region are about to embark on an offensive against us shortly," Mr Mfeka said.

● See Editorial Opinion

The Natal Mercury Thursday June 4, 1992

11

SA needs 'apolitical' work force

AFFIRMATIVE action is inherently discriminatory, the president of the Employer Confederation of Zimbabwe, Mr Shepherd Shonhiwa, told members of the business community in Durban yesterday.

He was addressing an NCI seminar on "The Changing Face of Industrial Relations: From Conflict of Interest Towards Community of Interest".

He said there was an urgent need for workers to be depoliticised and for management to encourage an "apolitical working environment".

It was imperative that white management in this country started to implement genuine affirmative action programmes now — before a new government imposed laws forcing them to do so.

By Siza Ntshakala

Mr Shonhiwa said business corporations, trade organisations and employers' associations should form an alliance to play a pro-active role in promoting affirmative action.

"The role of top management is critical. Discard the fallacies of a black being a born loser who cannot manage. Take the risk to effect true change which may even bring a white backlash from those who do not want to report to blacks.

"Give the appointees enough psychological and structural support to perform to the best of their abilities. These will be your best allies in managing change and ensuring the survival of the organisation they can identify with," he said.

SA growth rate 'far too low'

IF SOUTH Africa wants to rejoin an international economy, which is highly competitive, it must pursue economic strategies compatible with the world economy, Mr Raymond Parsons, director-general of the South African Chamber of Business (Sacob), said in Durban yesterday.

Delivering the keynote address at the Natal Chamber of Industries (NCI) seminar on labour and economy, Mr Parsons warned that South Africa has no room for "grandiose social experiments".

"If economic growth in South Africa were to be raised to 3.5% per year — or to the minimum rate required to reduce the level of unemployment given the rapid prospective growth of the labour force

Mercury Reporter

— investment would have to be substantially increased," he said.

He said it would not be possible to achieve higher growth rates without significant foreign investment.

"Without an inflow of long term capital, the ceiling on South Africa's economic growth rate on the most favourable assumptions is likely to be about 2% — far too low to meet the needs of our total population," he said.

He pointed out that there was potential for conflict in South Africa, but suggested that one single factor that could contribute to stability was to "widen and deepen the stake which people have in society".

SOWETAN 4/6/93

Buthelezi, Mandela meeting hits snags

A BID BY THE ANC Southern Natal region to clear the way for an early meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has run into trouble with the more militant Midlands ANC region.

Midlands ANC leader Mr Harry Gwala said on Wednesday night that a meeting between the two leaders could not happen until a number of issues had been cleared.

These included the preconditions set by the ANC, among them the banning of cultural weapons and fencing off of hostels.

Gwala said a document from the

■ PEACE PROGRAMME Natal Midlands

leader says time is not ripe for summit:

Southern Natal region outlining its eight-point peace programme had been presented to him but he needed time to study it.

He chastised the region for "rushing into peace" without thorough preparations, adding that his region found a number of the points "problematic".

Gwala said he was not sure whether a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi at this stage would achieve anything.

Gwala added that the preparations would ensure that peace was sustained.

He said the Midlands would study the Southern Natal document before taking a final position on whether it would support it or not.

The ANC Southern Natal region on Wednesday pointed out that a report that the three Natal ANC regions had committed themselves to the programme was incorrect.

Poll date deadlock

By Themba Molefe

THERE was tension at the World Trade Centre yesterday with negotiators wrangling over a proposal that elections should

take place in April next year. The parties were expected to postpone an announcement in order to consult more fully.

Speculation abounded that the 26-party negotiating council would announce the country's first nonracial elections for next April 29.

Indications were that the ANC and its allies would table the proposal. However, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Concerned South Africans Group indicated they would oppose the date.

The PAC objected to April 29 having been agreed on by the Government and ANC.

Cosag would object that the election could not be held before the "form of State and regional boundaries" were resolved.

The IFP's National Chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose yesterday said he did not think a date could be set.

"The issue of an election is a non-starter. That's a thing that will occur sometime next year," he said.

The meeting started with a strong presence of armed AWB men at the entrance to the World Trade Centre.

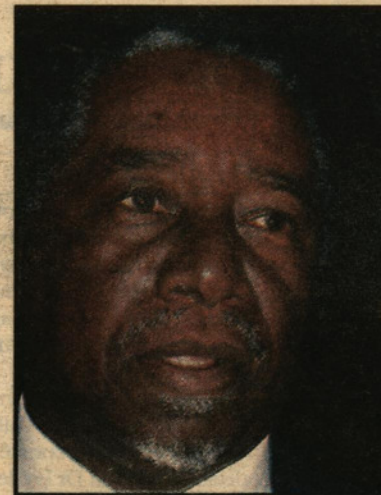
Uniformed AWB "generals" distributed documents in which they threatened "an open war" within six months if the negotiation process did not address the self-determination of the "Boerevolk".

Apart from the failure to reach a decision on announcing the election date, the negotiating council concentrated on constitutional principles, which sparked off lengthy debate, with the technical committee on constitutional issues being instructed to draft another report.

It is expected a new date for elections could be announced within two weeks.

Meanwhile, the Government and PAC met yesterday to resolve differences over last week's police raids on the organisation.

Alexander told negotiators that the matter had deadlocked because the Government had refused to return seized documents and was not budging over the release of PAC members.



Dr Frank Mdlalose

CAPE TIMES 4 JUNE 1993

THE MEDIA

James McClurg

THE government's handling of the crisis in black education created the impression of a distressingly inept administration that was unable to take its own decisions but could be forced by threats into taking them, said Beeld in a highly critical editorial.

It had been obvious for some time that the demands of black teachers and pupils — the creation of an education forum, the scrapping of examination fees, a moratorium on the rationalisation of teaching staff and bigger salary increases — could no longer be shelved indefinitely, said the newspaper. A decision was urgently necessary. In the end the government had been forced to give in to all the demands.

This latest example of ineptitude created the impression among the government's opponents on both the left and the right that it was nothing more than a bungling administration that yielded readily to pressure. This boded no good for the future.

Beeld was no less outspoken in warning the police that if their very serious accusations against members of the PAC and Apla could not be proved, they would be discredited to such an extent that they would simply not be able to continue as the guardians of law and order.

In the final analysis, added Beeld, it was the government that must take the responsibility for the actions of its security forces.

Watching those Freudian slips

NO close watcher of the media could fail to observe how the emphasis has gradually shifted from Parliament in Cape Town to the negotiating council in the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park.

One major sign was the way Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel, constitutionally responsible to Parliament, had to go to the World Trade Centre to account for his actions.

Then there were the Freudian slips by those more accustomed to parliamentary formalities than the easier style adopted by the negotiators. Among these slips were references to "this House", "honourable members" and even "Mr Speaker".

Chief government negotiator Roelf Meyer told Anne-Marie Mischke of Rapport the fact was that the negotiations were already moving in the direction of a transitional council. As Mr Kriel's attendance at Kempton Park had shown, one of the functions of the new council would be to keep an eye on ministers during the pre-election period.

Government 'distressingly inept', says Nationalist newspaper



"I said I didn't want soaps!"

— By Fred Mouton of Die Burger

Sayings of the Week

□ If you South Africans make a mess of things, you should know that the world has plenty of other things to do: other problems, other vexations — and other places to invest its money. — **Dr Chester Crocker**, former US assistant secretary for Africa, interviewed by Die Burger

□ □ □

□ If we resort to arms, it will result in a great catastrophe. Let us avoid that. — **General Constand Viljoen**, chairman of the Afrikaner-Volksfront.

□ □ □

□ One of the criticisms of the action against PAC leaders is that no action is taken against Wit Wolf Barend Strydom, who utters death threats left, right and centre. Why not? — **Beeld columnist Lood**.

Sowetan 4/6/93 focus on reconstruction

NEGOTIATIONS for a new democratic order in South Africa have reached the point of no return. At least this is what the negotiators representing 26 parties at the World Trade Centre ensured this week, albeit unconsciously or involuntarily.

Basically, several factors indicate that indeed the solution to the country's political crisis will be reached at Kempton Park or a similar venue eventually.

All except a few participants agree the date for the country's first nonracial elections must be announced as a matter of urgency. An announcement was thus awaited from the World Trade Centre yesterday.

And, contrary to expectations, the Multiparty Negotiating Process, as it is called while an agreeable name is being sought, is still on course despite last week's infamous police swoop on the leadership of the Pan Africanist Congress (a major negotiating partner).

Compromise

Also, compromise from across the left to the right prevailed when the majority of the parties on Tuesday agreed to negotiate a proposal for a two-phased transitional process and an elected constitution-making body bound by certain principles.

On the PAC raid debacle, Benny Alexander, secretary-general of the PAC, said pulling out of the process would be playing into the hands of the Government (and its notorious Military Intelligence) which "wants us out".

And in spite of their seemingly irreconcilable differences, the two parties continue to meet bilaterally until they reach agreement on the instructions of the negotiating council.

The PAC refuses to abandon the ballot before the ballot and the Government says you cannot simultaneously shoot and negotiate.

While these two parties strive agonisingly to reach agreement, negotiations on substantive issues move forward.

- Who are the major players?
- What are the issues at the negotiating table?
- What do the players want from the process which has "replaced" the Convention for a Democratic South Africa — depending, of course, on which side you are.

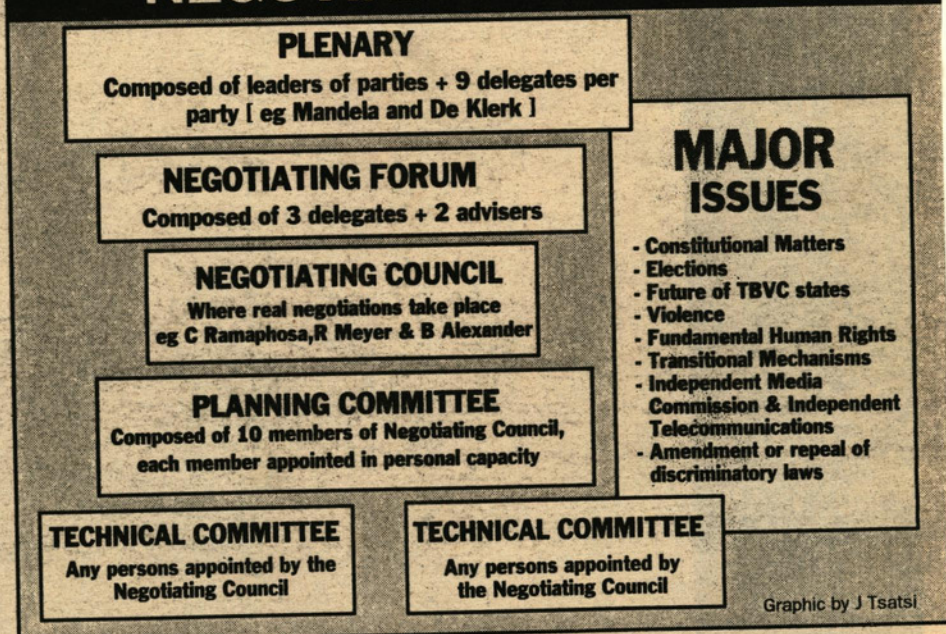
● The major players are: the National Party-South African Government, ANC-South African Communist Party alliance, Inkatha Freedom Party-KwaZulu government (the NP and Government are separate delegations as are the ANC and SACP and IFP and KwaZulu); PAC, Democratic Party and the two rightwing groups, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

While on "alliances" the Bophuthatswana government, Ciskei, CP, AVU and IFP belong

Themba Molefe, *Sowetan* Political Reporter, takes a look at the talks in Kempton Park, the topics at the heart of negotiations and what major players expect agreement on:



NEGOTIATION PROCESS



Graphic by J Tsatsi

to the Concerned South African Group which is opposed to bilateral decision-taking of FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela on issues they say are meant for the multiparty table.

The ANC enjoys "strong" allied support of several homelands and parties around the table such as the Transkei government, the Labour Party as well as the Transvaal Indian Congress and Natal Indian Congress.

Human Rights

● Seven topics are at the heart of negotiations: Constitutional matters; violence; fundamental human rights in transition; transitional executive council-transitional authority; independent media commission and independent telecommunications authority; independent electoral commission; and amendment or repeal of discriminatory laws.

Other constitutional matters are the form of state, transitional regional government, constituent assembly and the future of TBVC states.

● Instead of using the previous working groups of Codesa comprising large numbers of people, seven technical committees of experts

outside the MNP have been appointed. Consisting of between three and nine members each they produce reports for consideration by parties to speed up agreement.

These are the fundamental issues major players expect agreement on at the negotiating table: NP-Government: Power-sharing. Strong regional government to forego unitary state. Free market system and multiparty democracy.

ANC and allies: Multiparty democracy. Limited interim government of national unity. Equal vote. Bill of Rights. Proportional representation.

PAC: Elected constituent assembly to draw new constitution. Multiparty democracy. Bill of Rights. Proportional representation. International intervention.

DP: Democratic election and constitution. Proportional representation. Regionalism-federalism.

Cosag: Regionalism-federalism. Self-determination. Ethnic political aspirations.

Notably, therefore, the technical committee on constitutional matters is charged with the most tedious of tasks: to base recommendations on diverse perspectives to aid negotiators.

I HAVE felt recently that there was not a great deal else in this country which could shock me, which could make me want to hold my head in my hands and despair for this country. I was wrong. When I learned that the Indemnity Board had decided to release former kwaZulu cabinet minister Samuel Jamile from prison after serving less than two years of his life sentence for murder, I experienced a profound sense of disbelief and shock.

This man's sinister, dangerous and powerful presence dominated community life in Clermont for many years prior to his conviction for murder. He is the most senior political person in this country to have been jailed for murder, and he is deeply rooted in the Inkatha Freedom Party. In his own words, he is presently on a "holiday" from politics, and he is adamant that he will soon be back. The notion of a convicted murderer negotiating the future of this province is spine-chilling.

Why was he released, having been convicted of crimes which were not remotely political? Why was he released when the application for his release was not accompanied by a statement admitting that he had committed his crimes for political purposes? Why did Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Inkatha negotiator at the multi-party talks Frank

Mdlalose, put pressure on the state for his release?

What does this say to the few serious policemen that we have in this country, who investigated Jamile's crimes, who had obstacles put in their way by the security police, but who still managed to succeed in putting a docket together? What does it say to the supreme court prosecutor, who spent more time prosecuting the case than Jamile spent in jail and what does it say to the independence and authority of the judiciary as an arm of government? What does it say to the attorney general of Natal, who was so opposed to Jamile's release that he sent a senior advocate up to Pretoria to the Indemnity Board to argue against Jamile's release, in the interests of public order and safety?

But, more importantly, what does it say to the thousands of South Africans,

who have suffered at the hands of dangerous and violent men like Jamile, people who are admonished by the state to abide by the law and to accept the law's validity and fairness, people who face the full force of the law if they marginally breach its rules?

To them, it contemptuously says that there is no rule of law in South Africa, that the law is a thing to be manipulated to win friends with, and that the dividing line between criminality and political expedience is disappearing. — Richard Lyster, Legal Resources Centre, Durban

LETTERS

What law, what order if Jamile is released?

PEACE has dawned on the rolling brown hills of rural kwaXimba, between Durban and Pietermaritzburg, and a 1 000-strong crowd is celebrating the launch of a R10-million water project in an area once racked by sectarian strife.

After the traditional dancing and gospel singing, the local traditional leader, Zibuse Mlaba, addresses his subjects from a makeshift podium on a piece of land where African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party supporters waged fierce battles in 1990, leaving scores of people dead. "We have not come to mourn, but to celebrate. We have not come to protest, but to see things happen."

With his headmen, Mlaba has held negotiations over the past few years with the Umgeni Water Board, the Port Natal/Ebhodwe Joint Services Board (JSB), Telkom and the Independent Development Trust (IDT), with an eye to the development of kwaXimba.

The results have been remarkable: apart from the water scheme, other projects under way include an electrification scheme — Eskom has already provided 6 000 homes with electricity; a sanitation project, to be financed by the JSB to the tune of R1-million; the extension of the health clinic with the help of IDT funding; and the installation of telephone lines — Telkom has already installed 3 000 telephones in the community's homes.

The 33-year-old chief's achievements are even more extraordinary considering that he has received no help from Ulundi.

He is an ANC supporter — in fact, the only traditional leader serving on the regional executive committee of the ANC in the Natal Midlands. "Not having a relationship with Ulundi has been good for us. It has taught us self-reliance," he says.

During the 1990 violence, Inkatha supporters from nearby kwaNyavu — allegedly with the assistance of the South African Police — tried to force Mlaba out of the area.

The reason is clear: with a signed-up membership of 5 653, the ANC's kwaXimba branch is the second largest in the Midlands.

Despite his ANC links, Mlaba tries to practise tolerance: "We do not discourage anyone from joining Inkatha, but people here prefer the ANC. The South African Communist Party also launched a branch in kwaXimba about a month ago and has a signed-up membership of 300."

Significantly, the youth — often portrayed as opposed to the tribal system — idolise Mlaba. Says ANC Youth League organiser Jetro Msomi: "He is my political leader and my tribal chief. I fear him and I respect him. It comes automatically."

Mlaba has laid down strict guidelines for the ANC in the area: either he or his headmen must approve the agenda and resolutions adopted at meetings. The ANC cannot raise

Peace and progress in Natal? An ANC chief shows how

A remarkable young ANC-supporting traditional leader in the Natal Midlands achieves the near-impossible — and proves to his Inkatha counterparts that they can survive, and succeed, without Ulundi's backing.

By FAROUK CHOTHIA

funds from door to door in the district. "Elders object to the youth collecting money. There are bad elements among them. It is only the *induna* (headmen) who can do that," Mlaba explains.

He believes he commands more respect among his subjects than pro-Inkatha chiefs do among theirs. "Their position has been undermined. An Inkatha leader will come to an area and call a political meeting without the permission of the local chief. Such things never happen in kwaXimba."

He has set out to woo Inkatha members in kwaNyavu, some of whom attended the celebrations held last Sunday. "The past is forgotten. We want to live in peace with the people of kwaNyavu," he says.

As the ANC attempts to win over traditional leaders in Natal, Mlaba has become an essential cog in the organisation: a chief who is proving to his Inkatha counterparts that they can survive — and, more importantly, succeed — without Ulundi's backing.

He spends much of his time visiting fellow chiefs, urging them to throw their weight behind the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa).

And he believes he is winning: "The homeland system is collapsing. The chiefs are realising that their future lies with the ANC, not with (Inkatha president) Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who is using Zuluness and the chieftainship for his own interests."

He points out that 23 chiefs, most of them

aligned to Inkatha, had agreed to meet ANC president Nelson Mandela in the Natal Midlands last weekend, and that the talks were only called off because Buthelezi had ordered the chiefs to Ulundi. "It would have been the biggest meeting between the chiefs and Mandela in this region. It (Buthelezi's summons to the chiefs) is a sign that he is afraid."

Mlaba believes Buthelezi is increasingly antagonising traditional leaders, and that they are slowly beginning to stand up to him. He cites the unprecedented case involving 14 headmen from Babanango, in the Nquthu district in kwaZulu, who took the Inkatha leader to the Durban Supreme Court in a bid to prevent him from installing three foreign chiefs in the area.

In his recent budget speech, kwaZulu minister of justice CJ Mthethwa disclosed that only one tribal court was functioning in the homeland. "They are admitting that their system is collapsing. Chiefs are rejecting the bantustan," comments Mlaba.

The director of the Centre for Adult Education at the University of Natal, John Aitchison, believes the problem goes deeper. "In spite of all the fuss around traditionalism, tribal structures are not working," he says. "Mthethwa was unwittingly giving away the fact that real allegiance to the traditional past is, in fact, nonsense. It won't stand up to the changes in South Africa. The ANC, essentially a modern political party, will capitalise on this in an election."

While he is at odds with Buthelezi, Mlaba respects Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini: "I recognise the king as my superior by tradition and custom. I respect him. He is in a tight corner because of resources and housing — all of which happens through Buthelezi."

In the multi-party negotiating forum, traditional leaders from across the country, including those aligned to Ulundi, are represented. But chiefs aligned to Contralesa in Natal are not represented.

"We have made submissions to the negotiating council. We believe we can make a contribution," says Mlaba, who is Contralesa's Natal secretary.

On the future role of traditional leaders, he says: "There should be a house in parliament for chiefs. They should have observer status, but should be consulted on matters concerning them."

Mlaba is following in the footsteps of two of his heroes: his brother and predecessor, Msinga Mlaba; and the former president of Contralesa, Mhlabuzima Maphumulo.

Both were ANC sympathisers, and both were assassinated by unknown gunmen — Msinga Mlaba in 1988 and Maphumulo in 1991.

Is he afraid of death? "Fear doesn't solve anything," Mlaba replies. "I am only a slave of the people, and I am doing what I am expected to do. Killing me would only worsen the situation."

Sadtu, Ulundi talk recognition

Weekly Mail Reporters

THE South African Democratic Teachers' Union has accepted a public invitation from the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly to discuss recognition of the union.

This is seen as a breakthrough as tension has existed between the KwaZulu government and the union since 1991.

KwaZulu recognises the Natal African Teachers' Union (Natn), which has close links with the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Sadtu general secretary Randall van der Heever said the proposed meeting came after "tensions developed into a deadlock and broke into a chalk-down three weeks ago".

Just this week, KwaZulu minister of education Lionel Mtshali criticised teachers for striking and said he didn't know he was employing people "who would go out and bark".

Van den Heever expressed the hope that the meeting would put an

end to the strained relations between the union and Ulundi, saying that Sadtu in Natal saw the meeting as a "breakthrough that will bring a solution to their problems".

Problems between the KwaZulu government and Sadtu have rested largely on the perception that the union is aligned to the African National Congress. This issue is expected to be discussed at the meeting at Ulundi on Monday. Van den Heever and national president Shepherd Mdladlana will lead the union's delegation.

Meanwhile, Congress of South African Students' chairman Bonginkosi Majola said the organisation would embark on mass action if the KwaZulu government refused to give back the R48 matric examination fees pupils had paid earlier this year.

The pupils would also strike if the KwaZulu government refused to recognise Sadtu.

Twist in Boipatong trial

VANDERBIJLPARK policemen assaulted a key state witness in the Boipatong massacre trial and pushed a gun into his mouth to force him to implicate fellow hostel dwellers in the massacre, according to a statement by his brother, read out this week in the Delmas Circuit Court.

The state witness, who may not be named, has denied the alleged assault. But he admitted earlier this week that some of the accused in the trial had been beaten by the police.

His brother's statement was to have been a centrepiece of the defence case in the trial of 32 inmates of the kwa-Madala hostel, facing murder and attempted murder charges in relation to the massacre.

But the statement was not admitted as evidence by the judge because, in a bizarre twist in the case, the court was

Unknown assassins have effectively destroyed vital evidence in the Boipatong massacre trial.

JACQUIE GOLDING reports

informed on Wednesday that the brother had been murdered by unknown gunmen last week. This means that his statement cannot be verified in court.

Nonetheless, extracts from the statement are being used by the defence attorneys to "test" the state witness, in an attempt to prove that he did not voluntarily testify for the prosecution.

The witness, a former kwaMadala inmate, has given startling evidence implicating fellow hostel dwellers in the killing of 45 Boipatong residents on the night of June 17 last year.

He has also implicated senior Inkatha Freedom Party members as having told hostel dwellers immediately after the massacre to burn their bloodied clothes and looted goods.

The defence team argues that he was forced to make a false statement at the Vanderbijlpark police station after being beaten. It was this that prompted him to turn state witness, rather than standing trial.

Though the witness vehemently denied this, he conceded that some of the accused had been assaulted and forced to make statements to the police.

"Those that were beaten were taken to the doctor and I was left behind," he said. "I remember translating for one of the accused. He was badly beaten up and his lip was broken. It was this man who was assaulted, not me."

In his brother's statement, the witness is said to have feared a certain Colonel Griel, who was in charge of the interrogation of the accused. He allegedly told his brother that Griel had threatened to "feed" him to African National Congress supporters, who would "necklace" him if he did not reveal everything he knew about the massacre.

The witness admitted knowing Griel but denied fearing him, saying his decision to testify for the state was voluntary. "What happened at Boipatong was awful and I can't imagine how I would've felt if one of my children was one of the victims of the massacre," he said in dismissing the claims of coercion.

SAP raid aimed at illegal guns

Crime Reporter

Police confiscated weapons and arrested two people early today in a big anti-crime operation in Tokoza and the Phola Park squatter camp, on the East Rand.

Police swooped on Tokoza hostels 1, 2 and 3 — where last month's bloodbath occurred during a residents' march to the Alberton police

station — and arrested two hostel-dwellers.

SAP spokesman Colonel Ray Harrauld said police confiscated a Makarov pistol, AK-47 rifle, a shotgun, a .22 revolver and a .22 Luger from the hostels. The "crime prevention operation" was aimed at ridding the East Rand townships of unlicensed firearms.

Hundreds of security force

members surrounded Phola Park at about 6 am before searching shacks. Police confiscated two home-made pistols, a teargas grenade, two pangas, a .22 pistol and an AK-47. Five illegal immigrants were arrested for possessing dagga.

Tensions ran high for a while when residents tried to go to work. They were not allowed to leave, and police

gave out letters to their employers stating the reason for their being late.

Some residents complained that men claiming to be plainclothes policemen had stolen money and ransacked their shacks.

Yesterday, two people were killed in Mandela Park, Katlehong, when squatters from neighbouring Holomisa Park attacked them.

Crisis talks between Govt, PAC to continue

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

Crisis talks between the PAC and the Government are set to continue but a bitter row broke out between the two parties last night at the Negotiating Forum.

After two meetings yesterday, they were expected to be ready to report back to the Negotiating Council.

National Party negotiator Dr

Dawie de Villiers, on behalf of the Government, asked that a motion be tabled calling on the PAC to abandon or suspend its "policy of political violence".

After opposition from PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander, it was decided that the report-back would only take place at the next meeting of the council in 10 days.

At a press conference after the meeting, De Villiers said the

Government had no other option but to request the Negotiating Council to urge the PAC to abandon the armed struggle or to place a moratorium on armed activities.

At a separate conference, Alexander accused the Government of non-compliance with an earlier resolution by the council, which called on the Government to immediately charge or release PAC detainees and to

return confiscated documents.

He accused the Government of "deceit" and read out a joint statement drafted earlier.

In terms of this statement, the two parties had discussed a mutual cessation of hostilities by June 18 and the return of documents within 48 hours.

The PAC further accused the Government of killing a PAC member in detention.

The Government denied this.

Proposals to help curb violence in SA

By Chris Whittfield
and Esther Waugh

Movements to address the violence sweeping the country have been given fresh momentum with far-reaching proposals from a negotiations technical committee.

The committee proposed:

- The creation of a national peace force or youth corps, which sources said could effectively replace national service.
- A compromise recommendation on armed forces that could sharply reduce a main source of tension between the ANC and the IFP and,
- Ways to beef up the National Peace Accord.

The technical committee on violence's report was hailed by both the IFP and the ANC, but debate on it was curtailed when the Government said it wanted to consult on some issues.

IFP negotiator Walter Felgate said the report contained "a whole host of activities to bring about a reduction of hostilities" and paid tribute to the ANC's input to the committee.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa described it as an "historic document".

The report, tabled yesterday, suggests that the independent multiparty peacekeeping force should be established before the run-up to elections.

Sources said this could turn into one of the country's major post-apartheid projects and eventually become a new form of national service. The committee said there was an "urgent need to constructively channel the energies and anger of the youth."

The committee proposed that all parties submit views on the desirability of a peace corps.

The compromise proposal makes a distinction on the handling of "statutory and non-statutory armies on the one hand and police forces on the other", which would effectively end calls for Umkhonto we Sizwe and the KwaZulu Police (KZP) to be disbanded.

The report suggests a multiparty agency should formulate policy and oversee all armed formations, but this agency would be required to handle the armies and police forces separately.

Another implication appears to be a recognition that the KZP will form the basis for a future Natal/KwaZulu force and that MK will not be disbanded before it becomes part of SADF.

A major thrust of the report is a call for the strengthening of the Peace Accord.

Proposals for sanctions against parties transgressing the Accord's Code of Conduct and put before the committee include:

- Ordering the organisation to publicly repudiate the breach.
- Ordering the organisation to apologise to those affected by the breach.
- Ordering the organisation to suspend those guilty of a breach for a specified period of time.
- Ordering an organisation to expel those responsible for repeated breaches.
- Prohibiting those guilty of breaches from appearing on public platforms of their organisation for a specified time.

The committee recommended that "appropriate compulsory sanctions" should be developed by the committee for dealing with organisations which transgress the Code of Conduct.

April 27 is target day for election

By Chris Whitfield
and Esther Waugh

South Africa has a tentative date for its first democratic elections — April 27 1994.

But negotiators are still some way from agreeing that the nation will go to the polls on that day.

A dramatic 2½-hour debate on the issue in the Negotiating Council last night ended with the majority acceptance of a compromise resolution. It said the council would discuss the issue on June 15 and recommend to the negotiating forum meeting on June 25 that the date of an election should be April 27 next year.

However, the resolution left the final decision to the Negotiating Council meeting "with a view to maximise consensus".

And it left room for an even earlier date if a final settlement in talks allowed for it.

SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo had tabled a resolution calling for the fixing of the April 27 date after fierce debate on whether it should even come before the council.

He argued that sufficient progress had been made in talks to warrant the setting of a date. He also warned of growing expectations across the country and "unpredictable consequences" if setting a date was delayed.

IFP and CP not happy, but 17 give nod

After extended debate and objections from most delegates of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa proposed the compromise.

Most Cosag members continued to express opposition and Bophuthatswana government negotiator Rowan Cronje explained later that while he had no opposition to determining the date, he felt several fundamental issues should be resolved first.

The KwaZulu government flatly rejected the resolution due to what it called "manipulation of the process".

The Conservative Party reserved its position and must now be perilously close to walking out.

CP negotiator Fanie Jacobs told The Star he would have to report back to the party leadership, but warned that "the Afrikaner

people" could not go along indefinitely with a process that continually adopted positions it could not agree with.

In sharp contrast, the Government, the ANC and 15 other parties were upbeat about the progress. Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said it had been a long struggle but thought "the resolution is enough progress for now".

IFP negotiator Walter Felgate, who reserved his position because he did not have a mandate to accept a specific date, said the end of April target date should not have been adjusted.

The IFP had no objection to any election date, but felt this should be set only once "we can properly do so and be sure it is attainable".

Both the Democratic Party and the PAC suggested March 31 as their preference but did not get any other support.

They felt important issues had been deliberately skipped in an attempt to settle an election date. Earlier debate on constitutional principles that would be entrenched in a future constitution had been cut short, and debate on a technical committee report on violence would also have to be continued at the next meeting.

Other issues not addressed were the independent media commission and independent electoral commission.

● The talks — Page 3

UK paper sees decision as being politically expedient — and a threat to SA

Mandela's sentence 'an ill omen'

THE light sentence handed down to Winnie Mandela by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court is "an ill omen for South Africa", said The Times of London yesterday in a leading article headlined "Expediency or Justice".

Almost all national newspapers in Britain carry reports of Wednesday's sentence, with most describing it as soft and a political decision.

But The Times, in an unusually outspoken mood, said caustically the judges decided "the crime of kidnap merited nothing more than a slap on the wrist".

Referring to widespread fears among politicians that a tough sentence for the estranged wife of ANC leader Nelson Mandela could lead to riots and endanger consti-

tutional negotiations and the authority of the ANC's moderate leadership, the newspaper says "it is to be hoped that those fears did not similarly exercise the court."

"If they did, then a much greater fear should occupy those who care about South Africa's long-term future: that the rule of political expediency which so stained its past will similarly corrupt its future."

"South Africa's democratic traditions have long been traditions of style rather than substance. After more than 40 years of repression by apartheid, of ethnic government and patronage, not much more than the shell remains."

"During the dark years of apartheid, however, the often

lonely guardians of those traditions were an embattled press, the universities and, on occasions, the judiciary."

Although the lower courts were capable of notorious judgments, the Appellate Division had often proved itself stubbornly immune to political contagion. But it now seemed that "with a few honourable exceptions, the press and the universities, which stood up so valiantly to the illiberal attentions of the Nationalist Government, are proving less vigilant when vigilance is needed all the more."

"If a climate of tolerance is to grow in the new South Africa, their continued rigour is essential." Instead, intimidation of journalists and of university councils by the mob, and a confusion about liberal principles, had helped to

weaken the spine of these lesser guardians of liberty.

"The main custodian of freedom remains the judiciary — and its role will be even more important under a new constitution in which the freedom of the individual will be enshrined and guarded by a justiciable Bill of Rights. Chief among them is the right to dissent without the fear of persecution by either the State or the mob."

The Times concludes that the sentence passed on Mrs Mandela was passed by "the judges who will be charged with guarding the rights of the individual in the new South Africa. The spirit of intolerance which today has South Africa on the rack will smile. Individual South Africans will have much to ponder — and to fear."

— Star Bureau □

SA's rulers face an uphill battle to the nonracial election, reports Patrick Laurence

Warning lights flash for Nats

WITH less than a year to go before South Africa's first nonracial election, warning lights are flashing ominously for President F W de Klerk's ruling National Party.

According to a recent poll conducted by Research Surveys, support for the NP in the 5 million-strong white community is at its lowest ebb ever. The survey of 800 white women and 500 white men in the main urban areas shows that hardly more than 25 percent of whites will vote for the NP.

The findings point to an alarming drop in white support for the NP since last October, when it was a relatively low 40 percent.

In the intervening months, many disillusioned male NP supporters have switched allegiance to the right-wing Conservative Party, to give it a slight edge over the NP. Disgruntled female NP supporters have been more circumspect, joining the growing number of undecided voters.

It is, of course, easy to dismiss these findings as either inaccurate or temporary. They are, however, reflected in more than one poll.

A Markinor survey shows that De Klerk's rating in the white

community is the lowest of any premier or president for the last 15 years. Lawrence Schlemmer, of the Human Science Research Council, reports that his researchers are picking up similarly negative indications for De Klerk and the NP.

But it is important to note that the findings confirm a longer trend of steadily declining support for the NP in the white community, dating back to the 1977 general election — a highwater mark for the NP.

The NP's decline is chronicled in its dwindling percentage of the white vote in general elections from Prime Minister B J Vorster's November 1977 victory onwards: 1977 — 66 percent; 1981 — 58 percent; 1987 — 52.5 percent; 1989 — 48 percent.

Seen in broader context, the surge of support for the NP after last year's pro-reform referendum vote is an interruption, not a reversal, of its long-term decline — a slump that has been confirmed in a string of by-election results since De Klerk came to power in September 1989.

Another recent development is distinctly inauspicious for the NP:

In previous elections it has been able to rely on State television and radio to punt its case but, with the selection of a new independent board for the South African Broadcasting Corporation, the NP has lost a powerful auxiliary to its propaganda machine.

While there is debate about the extent to which De Klerk "meddled" in the selection of the new board by a panel of jurists, there is no doubt that the new board will not allow the SABC to become an adjunct to the NP in the pending election.

There is another factor which will certainly not help the NP. Only a small proportion of its present MPs are likely to make it back to Parliament in the pending nonracial elections.

The incentive for them to remain loyal is greatly diminished. Already NP MPs are starting to look around for an alternative way back to Parliament.

In retrospect, a remark by Henrie Bekker, the NP parliamentarian who defected to Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party, seems to be prescient.

A white-led party like the NP has very little chance of stopping

the African National Congress juggernaut in an election where black voters will account for 17 million of the estimated 22 million voters, Bekker reckons.

A black-led party, meaning the IFP, will have to fulfil that task, he concludes.

The thinking of Bekker and his co-defector, Jurie Mentz, may be influenced by a more cynical calculation as well. They are likely to be placed fairly high up on the IFP list of candidates and will have a better chance of being returned.

Part of De Klerk's problem with the white community is that he is now perceived as an appeaser of Nelson Mandela's ANC rather than a bulwark against it. The Record of Understanding, which he signed with Mandela in September 26 last year, is partly to blame because it created the impression that De Klerk had lost the initiative to the ANC.

A major factor in the decline of the NP has been De Klerk's inability to stop the violence, which increasingly impacts on the lives of whites instead of being a plague confined to the black townships.

Figures collated by the Institute

of Race Relations show that the level of political violence rose last year despite the signing of the Peace Accord in September 1991: the daily average death toll rose from seven in 1991 to eight in 1992.

A similar increase in criminal violence is reflected. The number of murders in South Africa, excluding the 10 black "homelands," rose from just under 14 700 in 1991 to 20 135 in 1992.

As Ken Andrew of the Democratic Party has pointed out, the combined effect has been to destroy the NP's image as a protector and patron of its white supporters, who increasingly are looking for an alternative defender in the current turbulence.

The right wing has been a major beneficiary so far, as is manifest in the formation of the Afrikaner Volksfront under the leadership of retired security force generals.

The generals as a whole, and General Constand Viljoen in particular, project the strong-man image that De Klerk has lost.

Some observers think the IFP may gain increased white support. The Research Surveys poll does

not reflect a current surge for the IFP but its leader, Mangosuthu Buthefezi, is a strong man and mass defections from the NP to the IFP cannot be ruled out in the months ahead.

The NP's decline in the white community has serious repercussions for its hopes of garnering major backing among South Africa's 4 million coloured and Indian people.

Their preference for the NP has been largely premised on the belief that it will protect them against the threat of "black domination". The NP, however, looks increasingly bewildered and confused.

Apparently unable to win significant black support, it no longer even dares face its white detractors — the Casual Vacancies of Parliament Act was conveniently passed to avoid by-elections — let alone a rampant ANC.

Without the support of a clear majority of whites, the NP's hopes of winning a third of the vote in next year's scheduled nonracial election are remote. Short of a major reversal in fortunes, it will be lucky to win a fifth of the vote. □

Insurance for monitors

By Helen Grange

The National Peace Secretariat (NPS) executive will meet today to discuss insurance cover for peace committee members and volunteers whose lives are at risk in township violence.

The matter has become urgent since last month's outbreak of violence on the East Rand, where monitors have been stoned and frequently threatened with firearms.

Speaking at a meeting of NPS chairmen yesterday, Rupert Lorimer of the Wits-Vaal Peace Secretariat said peace committee officials were going into dangerous situations and needed insurance.



In an evaluation of the situation on the Witwatersrand, Lorimer said the joint operational centre set up at Natal-spruit Hospital to deal with the latest violence in the area was not succeeding as well as it should because there was not enough co-operation from political parties.

Natal-KwaZulu Regional
Peace Committee chairman

MC Pretorius told the meeting that one of the key issues of concern was the traditional leaders, whose positions had to be established because the IFP insisted on consulting them.

NPS chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys said in his opening address that "tremendous progress" had been made in the 18 months since the signing of the National Peace Accord.

Eleven regional peace committees had been set up, under which there were 85 local peace committees (LPCs) and 30 more, including one in Venda, were in the process of being established.

● The number of new LPCs being formed and maintained was disappointing, United Nations Observer Mission head Angela King told the meeting.

"However, we have seen some positive development and commend those LPCs which are reaching out to involve non-signatories (of the Peace Accord) such as the PAC, the CP and Transkei in its structures," she said.

Some of the regional peace committees, however, continued to function erratically in the discharge of their broad mandate. To compound this situation, the secretariat of the peace committees was severely understaffed.

Inadequacies at the regional and local levels sometimes led to a tendency to rely heavily on the international observer missions' solo attendance at events.

"Our role is to support and assist, not substitute or replace," said King.

1993

Accountability is Cosatu's aim

Cosatu, seeking to ensure that the next government will respond to its socio-economic proposals, is planning a new drive that could be to reconstruction in the '90s what the United Democratic Front was to resistance in the '80s. Labour Correspondent PAUL BELL interviewed general secretary Jay Naidoo.

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions, concerned that the progress of political change remains too slow, is mooting the establishment of a major new civil society forum that would set a broad agenda for the next government and hold it accountable for delivery.

The forum, which Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo alternatively describes as "a broad social movement" and "a mass movement for peace and democracy", would include representatives of labour, the civic movement, business, the churches, educational institutions, and even sports bodies.

Such a forum would embrace the work of the other forums that have been established, in housing, local government, electricity and education, for example.

It would assist in extending the types of agreements Cosatu has hammered out with business, for example, the Charter for Peace and Democracy negotiated with the SA Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Saccola) last July, although this remains unsigned.

The forum would agree on a reconstruction programme and link it to the national peace structures.

"We can't leave it to police to keep the peace," says Naidoo. "This has to be the task of ordinary men and women."

The initiative is part of Cosatu's growing awareness of the need to assert its strength and its independence from the new government.

"Setting an election date is important, it focuses the mind and suggests a break with the past. But this in itself is not sufficient."

"We face the urgent task of rebuilding this country; this is being held up by a lack of political progress. We need to constitute a broad social movement to ensure that the agreements reached at the World Trade Centre are implemented, that a new government delivers the goods."

To this end, Cosatu proposes a Conference of Civil Society within the next few months at

which a set of common political and socio-economic objectives would be agreed.

Appropriate vehicles would then be identified and a programme for delivery determined.

"Our notion of democracy does not mean that we cast a ballot every five years," says Naidoo.

"A democratic government must be accountable to civil society, and civil society must be involved in decision-making. To us, this is a deepening of democracy."

Cosatu is also considering limits on the number of terms its senior office-bearers, principally the president and general secretary, can serve. Both offices presently carry three-year terms.

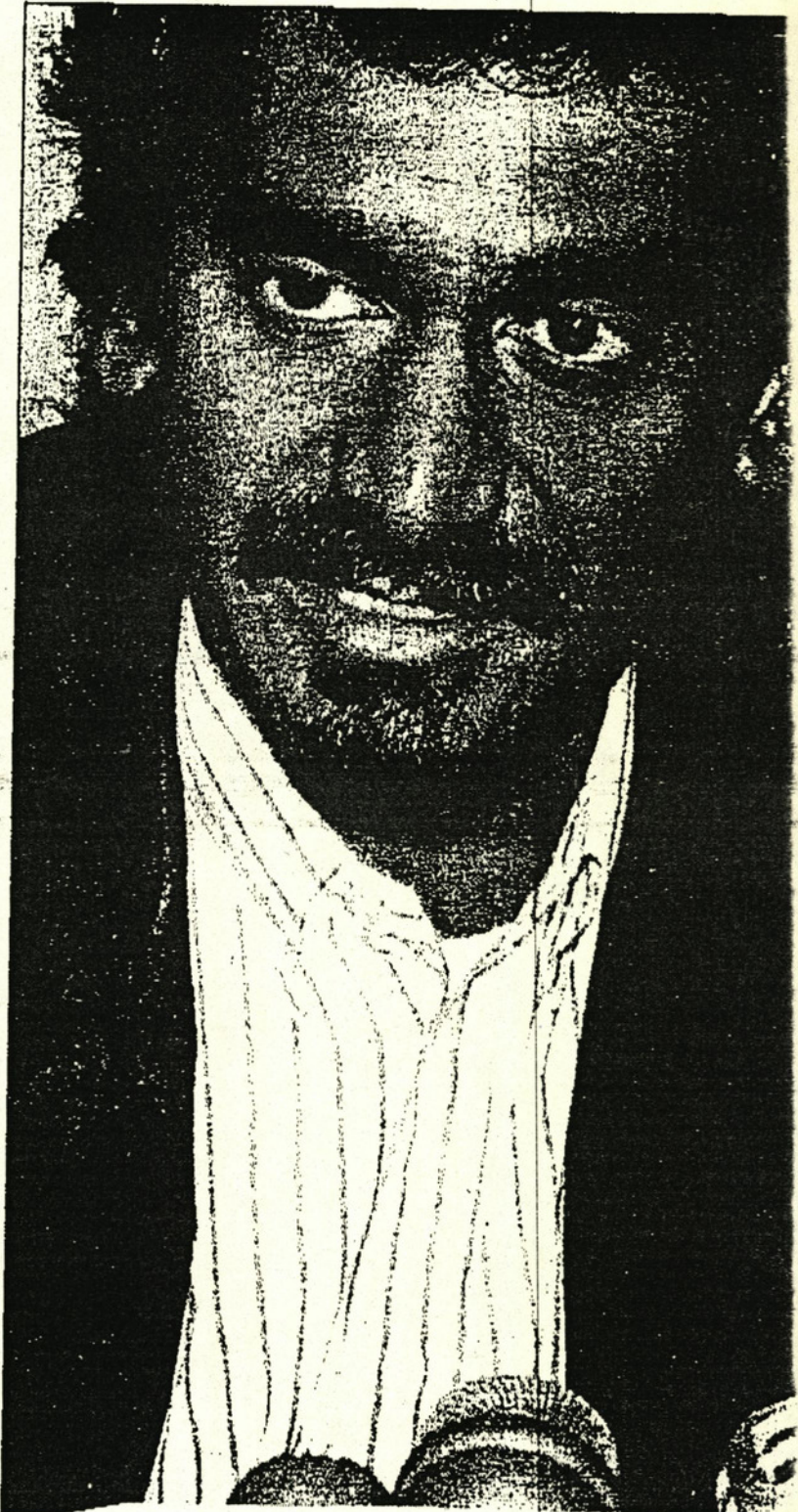
This, says Naidoo, is in line with a view expressed at its last congress, that in the political arena a two-term national presidency should be constitutionally prescribed. In other words, what's good for the country is good for Cosatu.

"Even if people are subject to recall and popular re-election, they can come to think they are irreplaceable. I, and a substantial part of Cosatu, think there should be limits on the period people can serve."

Cosatu and its office bearers will be under more immediate pressure, however, in regard to the drawing up of party electoral lists for the general election.

"Cosatu," says Naidoo, "has some of the most experienced personnel in the country, and some will have to be allowed to enter government. For us, there are two principles: that Cosatu stays strong and independent, and that the ANC wins the election and has the resources that enable it to govern."

"In regard to office-bearers like myself, or Sam Shilowa (assistant general secretary and a Communist Party delegate at the World Trade Centre) for example, Cosatu has resolved that, before a person could accept nomination to either the national or regional lists, there has to be full discussion inside Cosatu about whether this is appropriate." □



The IPI comes to South Africa

At its recent General Assembly in Venice, the International Press Institute was paid a heartfelt tribute by the celebrated Polish dissident and editor, Adam Michnik. It was the IPI, said Michnik, that had opened his eyes to the global nature of the struggle for freedom, and had sensitised him to the struggles of others to defend the free flow of information. Other editors from behind the former Iron Curtain echo these sentiments.

The IPI is a body of more than 2000 editors and publishers who subscribe to the belief that world peace depends on a better understanding among people. Essential to such understanding is the free exchange of accurate and balanced news and opinion among nations.

It came into being to promote the free flow of information, improve standards of journalism and defend press freedom wherever it is threatened. Membership of the organisation has always been open to individual editors who support the IPI's ideals, no matter how restrictive the environment in which they work.

For many years the IPI

was one of the very few international organisations that stood up for the rights of South African members to attend its assemblies, wherever they were held. Under long-time director Peter Galliner, a firm principle was laid down that the IPI would meet in conclave only where all its members were welcome: if South Africans, Taiwanese or Israelis were excluded, the IPI would go elsewhere.

On one famous occasion it cancelled a conference in Nigeria because South Africans were barred; on another, after Egypt changed its mind about admitting Taiwanese and South Africans less than a week before an assembly was due to begin, director Galliner deliberately left press releases scattered around his hotel room announcing a last-minute switch of the IPI General Assembly from Cairo to Zurich

Press freedom in South Africa will come under the spotlight when the International Press Institute (IPI) holds its annual conference here next year, writes RICHARD STEYN, The Star's Editor-in-Chief and IPI executive board member.

— and predicting a severe loss of prestige and tourist dollars to Egypt. The Egyptian security services did the rest. Hoping at the time for a loan from the United States, the Egyptian government backed down and President Mubarak went on to open the full Assembly a few days later.

Between its annual assemblies, which tend to be held in countries where press freedom has been or is under strain, the IPI acts as a watchdog over media freedom and defends the rights and interests of journalists in countries as diverse as Turkey, Colombia, Israel, Kenya, Korea and Hungary.

In recent years it has been particularly active in Latin America, where the drug barons have made life hell for journalists. In Turkey where many supposedly pro-Kurdish journalists have been

killed, and in Hungary, whose post-communist government has reneged on many of its good intentions.

Other areas of special focus are Russia, where a conference is soon to be held on the role of the media in the transition to democracy, and Asia, where countries such as South Korea and Taiwan are enjoying the new experience of free newspapers.

One of the IPI's proudest achievements has been its principled and effective opposition to Unesco's New World Information Order — an attempt by the socialist and non-aligned bloc in the UN to counter Western news agencies and control the flow of information from Second and Third World countries.

Thanks in large measure to IPI's resistance, NWICO never came into existence and, following the fall of com-

munist, ought not to be heard of again.

As a country which has hovered between restricting and allowing some freedom to its media, South Africa has always been of special interest to the IPI.

Many South African editors have drawn support from the organisation and spoken at its assemblies. So have a few select personalities including Nelson Mandela, whose ringing endorsement of press freedom under an ANC government in Kyoto, Japan, two years ago will be the benchmark against which future ANC media policies will always be measured.

Evidence of the regard in which the IPI is held is the calibre of speaker attracted to its conferences. Its general assemblies are usually opened by the head of state of the host country, among them in recent times Mitterrand of France, Ozal of Turkey, Alfonsín of Argentina and Von Weizsäcker of federal Germany.

Main speakers at its 1993 conference in Venice earlier this month were Nato secretary general Manfred Woerner, who made a strong pitch for Nato's continued existence as a force for stability in an increasingly unstable world, and Holocaust survivor and Nobel Peace Prize winner, Elie Wiesel, who made an impassioned plea for a co-operative effort to end the suffering in Bosnia.

Many notable editors and publishers from the US, Europe and Asia will be coming to Cape Town in mid-February 1994 to see for themselves what South Africa is like and to assess prospects in the run up to the country's first democratic elections.

For our political parties, as well as our media and tourist industries, it will be an opportunity to perform upon a truly international stage. □

Batman's mission: Buy Modise shoes

UMKHONTO WESIZWE commander Joe Modise was the "ANC prisons architect", according to a witness at the Motsuenyane Commission of Inquiry into human rights abuses in African National Congress detention camps.

The witness, former MK member Samuel Mngqibisa, made his accusations during an appearance before the commission in which he read from a prepared statement.

The accusations are the most damning indictment of Modise to come out of the hearings so far. Modise is due to testify before the commission.

Mngqibisa, who claims to have been one of Modise's batmen, said he was bitter about the way he was treated by his "boss" and would like to see him justify his actions in exile to the nation.

As early as 1978, claimed the former cadre, Modise threatened MK men with detention camps in Angola if they were undisciplined. He said MK soldiers were ordered to undertake difficult missions and, if they refused to obey, they were labelled agents and sent to Angola.

Worse still, said the witness, was that cadres were forced to risk their lives to satisfy Modise's personal whims. Men who knew they were wanted in South Africa were forced to infiltrate the country to buy expensive shoes and clothes in Johannesburg for Modise.

Mngqibisa said his problems started because of his open criticism of the tactics and maladministration of the camps by Mbokodo, MK's security wing. He told the commission he was detained in 1978 on specific orders from Modise and served "a slavery sentence" of 14 months' hard labour in a Zapu prison in Lusaka. He was released in 1980 when Zapu members were repatriated after the Lancaster House agreement.

The same year, he said, Modise dispatched him to Livingstone in Zambia. He and three other MK men were to cross the crocodile-infested Zambezi river into Botswana and Zimbabwe. According to Mngqibisa, this was a test of his loyalty to the ANC. His unit was called back to Lusaka in 1983.

In July 1984, an angry Modise ordered him to go to Tanzania, because he continued "being a

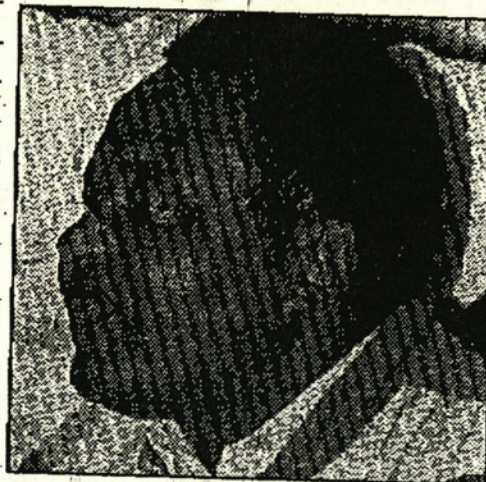
Allegations that MK cadres were subjected to the personal whims of the ANC's 'prisons architect', Joe Modise, were heard in the inquiry into the organisation's camps.

By WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER

nuisance in his sight". Mngqibisa said Modise lied to him about a vocational training centre in Dakawa, where he was to further his studies. When he arrived in Dakawa, there was no centre.

In 1989, he claims, Modise's continued statements that there were agents infiltrating MK in Dakawa led to the construction of a prison there. He was also behind the conversion of former girls dormitories in Ruth First Camp, Dakawa, into cells, where Mngqibisa was detained.

Mngqibisa also made allegations of sexual abuse in the camps, claiming that he was part of a group which exposed Mbokodo's harassment of young girls fresh from South Africa. He said it



Joe Modise ... Expensive tastes?

(Photo: PATRICK EKLOFF)

was tradition in the ANC, especially in Mbokodo, to sexually abuse young girls. The promise of scholarships was used to elicit sexual favours and, if the girls resisted, they were detained and

labelled agents of the government.

Mngqibisa further told the commission that Modise's son was given preferential treatment. He smoked dagga and stole property, but was not arrested. Instead, he was sent abroad to a military academy to further his training.

In a letter to the International Committee of the Red Cross, Mngqibisa accuses former Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere, Zambia's ex-leader Kenneth Kaunda and Angola's Marcellino dos Santos of being accomplices to ANC atrocities in exile because they authorised ANC kangaroo courts and prisons in their countries.

Speaking to *The Weekly Mail* after the hearings, Mngqibisa said: "If the commission's resolutions are not implemented, I am taking further steps. I will seek assistance from Judge Goldstone."

"Some ANC leaders in exile thought we wouldn't come back. They enslaved us. We thank Dr Mandela for negotiating our return. His initiatives caught the exile leadership with their pants down. What Mbokodo did to me has caused me much pain and suffering. The hatred and grudges are at a high degree. Something has to be done."

Outcry over Gqozo's CPM

By CHRIS MABUYA: East London
THE new Christian People's Movement in the Ciskei has been strongly attacked by organisations in the Border region.

Military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo launched the Christian People's Movement (CPM), a new government-aligned organisation, at his farm over the weekend, to replace the defunct African Democratic Movement (ADM).

Border African National Congress media officer Mcebisi Bata described the move as Gqozo's final admission of defeat in trying to present the ADM as a genuine political party.

Bata said the formation of the CPM was a trick to present the new movement as one rooted in religion. "The ANC is convinced that Christians as well as people of other religions will see through this ploy and reject Gqozo's scheme," he said.

The ANC warned that "such shadowy parties" would emerge as the country prepares for the election campaign as in Namibia.

Bata said that it was not the time "for shadowy organisations. Now is the time for real movements that have fought for decades to end injustice and oppression in our country". — Elnews

By IDEN WETHERELL

MAJOR questions have been raised about accountability for donor funding in a range of companies belonging to the African National Congress' business arm, Thebe Investment Corporation.

Companies that have been cited as less than transparent in their administration of external funding include Thebe's tourism wing, Oriole Travel.

This follows disclosures last week that Thebe had concluded a deal with Macmillan Boleswa, giving the publishing giant privileged access to a future ANC government in return for shares in a joint publishing venture. That deal, described by Thebe and Macmillan as exploratory, has been criticised by other publishers and by the ANC's education department.

In a letter to the press, Thebe managing director Vusi Khanyile has refuted "suggestions of corruption or potential corruption" in the proposed joint venture. While no allegations of corruption have been made in regard to the Macmillan deal, irregularities

'Irregularities' in ANC firms

and sloppy accounting procedures appear to be plaguing various Thebe concerns. "Thebe is so busy setting up new companies that it is ignoring the need to consolidate existing ones," a former Thebe executive said.

Oriole Travel has been the recipient of funds donated to the ANC by European and American donors. It is believed that casual ticketing and poor record-keeping at Oriole has led auditors to insist on tighter procedures. "They were losing money hand over fist," said one business consultant.

Part of the problem at Oriole and other Thebe companies is the random selection of directors, many with little hands-on experience, and a lack of accountability.

Thebe appears to have little capital of its own and depends upon ANC transfusions. Although over \$5-million (R15-million) raised by Nelson Mandela in the United States in recent

years on behalf of the ANC is routinely channelled through Thebe, the company says that as an independent concern it is not accountable to the wider ANC membership.

This may explain certain policy inconsistencies. While the ANC has been calling for sanctions to remain in place until the establishment of a transitional government, individuals in the ANC treasury department were negotiating for foreign investors to enter the South African market. Digital Equipment Corporation of the US has just announced a deal whereby Thebe-related company BCS will market its equipment in South Africa.

When Khanyile was head of the ANC finance department auditors Coopers Theron Du Toit are believed to have withdrawn from a 1990 audit of the ANC's accounts because they were such a mess.

Accusations about lack of trans-

parency surfaced at last year's Durban congress, when Khanyile claimed that, because ANC headquarters Shell House was not owned by the ANC, its ownership was not the concern of members. There has also been controversy surrounding the receipt of gifts by individuals in the ANC leadership.

Controversy also surrounds Thebe's catering company, Pitseng, which has reached an agreement with established caterers Feedem Catering Services to enter the mines' canteen business. The mining houses are anxious to sub-contract their catering divisions and Thebe has expressed a keen interest.

Pitseng MD Jeremy Webb believes that "structured partnerships" leading to black economic empowerment is the way to go in the catering industry.

But National Union of Mineworkers' spokesman Marcel Golding said his union would oppose any proposal to sub-contract in respect of hostels

and catering, which he regards as prejudicing the welfare of NUM members and causing problems in future negotiations with the mining companies. "Health care, housing, transport and catering are management's responsibility," he said.

There appears to be some concern in the ANC that, as in the Cape fishing-contracts saga, white business concerns see Thebe as a useful conduit to new opportunities. Black businessmen have complained that Thebe employs white banks, auditors and other established service-sector companies instead of emergent organisations.

One ANC insider familiar with Thebe's operations said the most frequently expressed criticism is that "in promoting black empowerment, Thebe rides roughshod over the sensibilities of local communities, the unions and other interests with which the ANC is closely affiliated".

Khanyile was reported to have been in Ghana, exploring the possibility of a partnership with a bank there.

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