

# Trust Feed massacre inquest: cops under suspicion

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

AN inquest magistrate inquiring into the Trust Feed massacre of 11 people at 3am on December 3 last year has concluded that there was circumstantial evidence placing suspicion on two special policemen.

The policemen named are Special Sergeant Du misani Ndwalana and Special Constable David Khambule.

There was also possible complicity on the part of Lieutenant Brian Mitchell, the former New Hanover station commander, he said after a three-day inquest.

The magistrate, Mr A. Freese of New Hanover said that the evidence was not enough to conclude that the policemen had murdered the people.

He would refer the inquest papers to the Attorney-General, who initially declined to prosecute.

But he might again read the papers and, in the light of the inquest verdict, reconsider.

The 11 Trust Feed victims, including six women and two children of four and nine, were killed while they were holding a wake for a person who died of natural causes.

Just before the massacre a voice outside the door said: "You, Shangase, have left us and gone to the other side." Mr Dudu Shangase (36) went to open the door, but before opening it he asked who was there. The person outside said he was a member of the police.

Before he could open the door Mr Shangase heard another voice saying that Mr Shangase had "gone to the other side", the Durban attorneys who investigated the massacre and the events surrounding it, said.

They said it was strange that the initial reports blamed Inkatha vigilantes as most of the people killed were members of Inkatha.

The Trust Feed area, between Wartburg and New Hanover, does not fall in KwaZulu, but is administered by the Natal Provincial Administration. Between 5 000 and 6 000 people live there.

Certain people have title to land and others live on black landowners' land as tenants. There have been disputes over the land and clashes over the wishes of people for several years.

The people killed were: Mr Mselani Ntuli, Mr Dudu Shangase (36), Mrs Sethu Shangase (29), Mkondeni Shangase (9), Musi Shangase (4), Mrs Filda Ntuli (40), Mrs Fikile Zondi (29), Mrs

Maritha Xaba (45), Mrs Sarah Nyoka (65), Mr Alfred Zita (66) and Mrs Dedewu Sithole (60).

During March, 1987 a crisis committee was set up at Trust Feed and there is also a Landowners' Association, with about 50 members. There are also white landowners.

Members of the crisis committee did not want to be incorporated into KwaZulu, but wanted to remain under the NPA.

The black Landowners' Association resolved to approach the KwaZulu Government to have Trust Feed incorporated into KwaZulu. However, the youth in Trust Feed were dissatisfied with their parents' decision to approach KwaZulu.

In April, 1987 a demonstration took place and youths shouted African National Congress slogans, insulted the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and stripped other youths who would not join their

organisation.

In October, 1987 homes belonging to Inkatha people and certain land owners were attacked, allegedly by youths.

Inkatha members were told to leave the area and some were chased in the streets. Some Inkatha youths were killed, the attorneys said.

The Daily News political reporter reports that Democratic Party MP Mr Pierre Cronjé has repeated his call for an independent commission of inquiry into the murder after the magistrate's findings.

Mr Cronjé, who closely monitors the political violence in Natal and KwaZulu and has been involved in efforts to end the fighting, said the New Hanover inquest was an informal one. As such, people were not represented nor was there cross examination.

In this "fairly complex case", he said, it was difficult to pin down guilt by "simply comparing statements from various sources".

"Cross-questioning is needed to ascertain guilt or not.

"I asked for a judicial commission of inquiry at the time because it was just an isolated incident in an area that had no long history of violence and there were allegations of police complicity.

"I had warned the police before the incident took place and I had reports of police being present right up to the incident.

"In the light of all of that, I then asked for a commission," Mr Cronjé said.

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THE DAILY NEWS

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For Chief Minister's information

## Sanctions destroying S A's future, Commonwealth told

### African Affairs Correspondent

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has told leaders of the Commonwealth in a letter that sanctions are robbing South Africa of the 'seed corn of the future'.

In the letter, addressed to Sir Shridath Ramphal, outgoing Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, the KwaZulu

leader says sanctions against South Africa only make sense if a powerful white government adopts recalcitrant stances and remains intransigent, relying on total white domination which is achieved through the abuse of the power of the State.

Dr Buthelezi says sanctions do not make sense in the face of possible rethinking by whites.

He said that, even if apart-

heid was removed in its entirety immediately and all sanctions were lifted, the prospects of a meaningful economic recovery in South Africa would remain extremely daunting.

South Africa would still have a population growth rate which exceeded the capacity of the economy to pull in the backlog and make headway against population development.

hatal Mercury 24/10/89



*For Chief Minister's information*

## Deplorable incident

TRYING TO produce a newspaper that keeps its readers properly informed about black political rivalry and communal strife in Natal, a province now not far behind Sri Lanka and the Lebanon in the world ranking of hot-spots of daily death and violence, is a difficult and sometimes dangerous task.

For more than three years the Government's emergency regulations have restricted what the media can report about certain events largely to what is contained in police 'unrest' reports, unless official permission is granted to include other material.

In spite of these difficulties, we believe that the Mercury and

other newspapers have succeeded in conveying the seriousness of the situation and contributing something towards efforts to find peaceful negotiated solutions.

Newspapers can do this only if their duty to report as fairly and impartially as possible in good faith is respected by both sides.

We therefore strongly deplore the incident in which five journalists, including a reporter and a photographer from the Mercury, were verbally abused, threatened and forced to leave an Inkatha Women's Brigade peace rally in KwaMashu at the weekend, apparently because they had earlier attended a Cosatu/UDF peace rally in Ntuzuma.

*Natal Mercury Editorial comment*

*24/10/89*



# Zambian jubilee finds economy in doldrums

STAR 24 OCTOBER 1989

LUSAKA — There will be no grand celebrations of Zambia's 25th independence anniversary today as the government has announced that the country needs to save all the money it can to face its economic problems.

Zambia is faced with declining standards of living, rising unemployment, a sky-high inflation rate, shortages of consumer goods and increasing crime.

The collapse of the country's economy has been blamed by the government on the fall of the copper price on which Zambia so heavily depends for its foreign exchange earnings.

In an effort to correct the imbalances in the economy, and to seek balance of payments support, the Zambian government turned to the International Monetary Fund for the negotiation of an unconditional stand-by arrangement. The IMF agreed, but on condition that Zambia accepted a number of clauses and adjustment measures.

## Measures

The succession of IMF adjustment programmes undertaken by the Zambian government since 1983 called for the adoption of specific macro-economic policy measures such as the imposition of credit ceilings, reduction in public expenditure, reductions in the overall budget deficit, imposition of ceilings on wage increases, and the rescheduling of repayment of external debt.

In 1987, however, President Kenneth Kaunda decided to pull the country out of the IMF economic recovery project after signs of growing unrest among the country's impoverished population.

Mr Kaunda said that between 1983 and 1987 "a situation where escalating unemployment is becoming a permanent feature of our country" had developed.

Zambia celebrates 25 years of independence today. But, as THE STAR'S AFRICA NEWS SERVICE reports, the silver jubilee of independence will be low key with no end in sight for the economic problems facing the country.



President Kenneth Kaunda . . . pulled Zambia out of IMF economic recovery project after signs of growing unrest among the poor.

In addition, per capita income continued to fall from the equivalent of US\$630 (about R1 760) in 1981 to less than \$200 in 1987.

"Since we adopted the IMF economic recovery programme we have become poorer," Mr Kaunda said.

Although his scrapping of the IMF programmes was received as a popular gesture by many suffering Zambians, it did not last. Within a year, Zambia started reinstituting some of the macro-economic measures, thus resulting in the IMF and the World Bank unblocking development aid from Western countries that suspended it when Lusaka turned its back on the IMF in 1987.

Zambia is today desperately hoping to clinch a stand-by facility by

the end of 1991. It is expected that by that time Zambia will have shown a commitment to pursue an austerity programme that would induce Western countries to raise funds and help the struggling country pay off the hundreds of millions of rands she owes the IMF — before fresh funding from this body could be considered.

Like other sub-saharan African countries, Zambia's economic ills stem from the dependent nature of its economy. During the past 25 years of independence the country has failed to diversify the economy from its colonial copper base.

The agricultural sector remains largely underdeveloped. Zambia remains a net importer of wheat, oil-

seeds, cotton, milk, tea, coffee and rice, and is only self-sufficient in maize, beef and fish when the weather is favourable.

The manufacturing sector has been hard hit by inadequate foreign exchange earnings. Like many other African countries, Zambia also embarked on an import substitution brand of industrialisation, despite the failure of this strategy in other underdeveloped parts of the world.

President Kaunda has ruled his country since independence, and established a one party political system in 1972, eight years after independence.

## Emergency

A nationwide state of emergency was declared in 1976, and is still being implemented, and several laws allow the government to detain people without trial.

Last year, several people, including top military leaders, were arrested on charges of planning to overthrow the government.

Despite its economic failures and its repressive internal policies, Zambia continues to play an important role in regional politics, and President Kaunda is regarded as an elder statesman of Africa.

He has twice served as chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, and is chairman of the six Frontline states.

The African National Congress has its headquarters in Lusaka, although a few months ago there were signs of increasing tensions between the ANC and the Zambian government.

President Kaunda is the African leader who has had the most public contacts with South African leaders — he met the late Prime Minister Mr John Vorster in 1975, former President P W Botha in 1982, and President de Klerk in August this year.



# Progs' tenet of true liberalism

NATAL WITNESS

24 OCTOBER 1989

THE old Houghton crowd in the Democratic Party — the *Angel-Jode* as one Afrikaans newspaper has dubbed them — have been feeling a bit bruised after the slaughter of their leaders at the Durban congress. Even Waterkloof Progs like Tertius Spies, feeling unloved, are throwing in the towel.

There is no need for such gloom. The *Angel-Jode* — the use of Angle as in Angles and Saxons, is a clever Afrikaans pun on the word "sting" — have had a narrow escape. Their attempt to have Zach de Beer elected in Durban as the single party leader not only failed; it showed beyond much doubt that, had the matter come to a vote, Denis Worrall would probably have won.

That would have cost the Progs their last remaining power base in Parliament where Zach remains the leader, and they run the show.

They have been lucky. The prevailing sentiment in the DP is that, whatever happens, the old Houghton crowd must not put their stamp on the party. "Houghton", in this sense, is a metaphor for many old prejudices: middle-class distrust of the Rand barons, hostility to capitalism, Afrikaner dislike of the toffee-nosed English upper classes, and a deep, deep resentment of Helen Suzman's 30-year display of actual — not pretended — moral superiority.

## Prejudice

This prejudice finds its victims randomly. Tony Leon, now identified as the arch-Houghton Prog actually overturned the Houghton Establishment to win his nomination, and his strength lies not in Houghton itself (a suburb half-populated these days by rich Afrikaners and successful immigrants) but in the adjacent middle-class suburbs. But the facts don't save him.

Similarly, Harry Schwarz, whose ties to his Yeoville community which are more folksy-Yiddish than Houghton toffee-nose, lost the chairmanship to Tian van der Merwe as the new DPs made a clean sweep. Executive va-

cancies went to Sampie Terreblanche, to Pieter Schoeman, to Esther Lategan and Pat Rogers from the Eastern Cape.

For the old Progs, it was liberation. The party, I was told last week, is now firmly in the hands of people who know how to win Afrikaner votes and capture governments.

## Party machine

The Prog crowd, freed of the cares and responsibilities of tending the party machine, still have a platform in Parliament from which to proclaim liberal ideas. The *troika* is intended (to paraphrase Mao) to let a thousand blossoms bloom, a hundred schools of thought contend. All DPs even the madly liberal ones, are free to speak their minds, and no leader can say them nay.

This is good fortune indeed. South Africa's greatest need, as it goes into the final, uncertain choice between democracy and socialism, is to fill an intellectual void: we have no James Madison, no Thomas Jefferson, no John Adams to teach us the basic concepts of a liberal democracy. We make do with a handful of dreary constitution-makers, the same faces at every conference.

The liberal ideas which are our best hope of freedom and prosperity have almost died out. On the one hand, because liberals from Olive Schreiner onwards have automatically come up against the race barriers, there is a tendency to confuse liberalism with non-racialism. On the other hand, the liberals have been savaged from the left for a generation.

That, presumably, is why even senior members of the DP can say idiotic things like "Wynand Malan is more liberal than the Houghton Progs." In fact, Malan's faction in the party seems to me to shudder with distaste whenever the concept of individual liberty (they tend to refer to it pejoratively as "naked individualism" or "selfish individualism") comes up for discussion.

They are locked instead into a concept of

government as authority — as *overheld* — which is inimical to liberty. They hope to re-organise government to function more justly, not to tame power so that free men and women can fulfil their own destinies, and that is a crucial distinction.

Nor, indeed, would it be fair — given the history of Afrikaner struggle against deprivation — to expect Malan's faction to wrestle with the ideas of Friedrich Hayek, Isaiah Berlin, E.P. Thompson, Norman Podhoretz, Irving Kristol or any of the other Western thinkers who have fallen foul of "the left."

Malan's ideas on "process politics", though I don't understand them, may be original and important; but even he would not pose as an authority on the issues that have pitted Western liberals and socialists against each other in London, New York and Paris ever since Stalinism's true character began to emerge. That is to say, he knows very little about modern liberalism.

## Afrikaner liberals

This is not to denigrate Afrikaner liberals. Perhaps the major recent contribution to local liberal thought has in fact come from Mr Justice Olivier in his draft report for the Law Commission on human rights. But, in the main, the attention of Afrikaans leaders rests elsewhere.

On the other hand, the dispossessed and despised "Houghton crowd" — speaking metaphorically — are uniquely fitted to expound modern liberal ideas.

For one thing, they have now been eliminated permanently from any prospect of power, and can speak without self-interest. One or two might find a foothold in a future black government, but Van Zyl Slabbert and Alex Boraine of Idasa have a prior claim, so does Joe Slovo. One or two might find a foothold with the Nats, but Kent Durr and George Bartlett have a prior claim; so does Glen Babb.

Even in the DP they are the *agterryers* (as

those whose children emigrate in large numbers deserve to be). They can neither expect to wield much power in the party which thinks they drive away new voters nor, if that party ever comes to power, in the government. They can claim a unique credibility.

## Intellectual endeavour

In any event, it leaves them free to indulge, as the powerless often do, in intellectual endeavour: they can teach their countrymen the alternative to the doomed socialist mythology which, if nothing better is put forward, will take South Africa into the next century as a seedy, doomed socialist slum — Romania with a race problem.

The need for such teaching is great. Even intelligent, educated South Africans confuse the rule of law with mere law; many of them harbour astounding ideas about capitalism — for example, that it is hostile to education, or health; some actually think private bureaucracies are necessarily more efficient than state bureaucracies, and say so in public places, without shame.

If the liberal Progs want to make a last useful contribution, they can use the next five years trying to eradicate such nonsense, and to clarify concepts such as federalism, or proportional representation, or devolution of power, or the division of powers, or wealth creation, none of which is much understood.

Perhaps, if they try really hard, the Houghton liberals will give us a South African equivalent of the marvellous Federalist Papers, written more than 200 years ago by some of the founding fathers of modern America to teach a rather backward rural nation the basic principles of a free society.

That might win them a small place in history which, when you come to think of it, is better than a small place on the executive of the Democratic Party.

• Ken Owen is the editor of *Business Day*, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.



Inquest magistrate finds policemen may have been involved

NATAL WITNESS

24 OCTOBER 1989

# Trust Feed deaths referred to A-G

by FRED KOCKOTT

POLICE might have been involved in the massacre of 11 people, including six women and two children, in Trust Feed near New Hanover last year, an inquest magistrate ruled yesterday.

New Hanover magistrate Mr A Freese said he would be referring the inquest papers to the Attorney-General, who "initially declined to prosecute".

"But he might once again peruse the papers and in the light of my verdict, reconsider," the magistrate said.

In his judgment Mr Freese said there was circumstantial evidence placing suspicion on Special Sergeant Dumisane Ndwalana and Special Constable David Khambule, and "possible complicity" on the part of Lieutenant Brian Mitchell, the former station commander of New Hanover.

However, Mr Freese said the evidence was not sufficient to conclude that the policemen had murdered the 11 people.

The eleven were Mr Mselani Ntuli, Mr Dudu Shangase (36), Mrs Zethu Shangase (29), Mkondeni Shangase (9), Musi Shangase (4), Mrs Filda Ntuli (40), Mrs Fikile Zondi (29), Mrs Maritha Xaba (45), Mrs Sarah Nyoka (65), Mr Alfred Zita (66), Mrs Dedewu Sithole (60).

The Trust Feed massacre occurred at about 3 am on Saturday, December 3, last year. The people killed were holding a wake at the Sithole home for a child who had died of natural causes.

The attack came soon after police had declared the area an operational zone. Journalists had been prevented from interviewing people in Trust Feed, many of whom had predicted the weekend's violence.

In the week prior to the massacre, scores of residents had fled the area in the wake of an aggressive recruitment drive by Inkatha supporters.

On the night of the massacre, several homes belonging to the Trust Feed Crisis Committee were also attacked.

Greytown MP Mr Pierre Cronje had also warned the police of possible Inkatha vigilante attacks that day.

Survivors of the attack told how gunmen had opened fire on all present after knocking on the door.

The next day police reported in their unrest bulletin that an "unknown number of blacks fired on a house after the door had been opened to somebody knocking."

"Three black men and six black women over 18 years, one black man and one black woman under 18 years were killed and two black women over 18 years were wounded. A short distance from the residence the body of a black man with stab wounds was found."

Police prevented journalists from attending the funerals of eight of the victims.



# Five-year timetable for political change

DAILY NEWS 24-10-1989

Daily News  
Correspondent

**BLOEMFONTEIN:** President F.W. de Klerk has given some idea of the way the South African Government itself sees the pace of change over the next five years.

Amid growing international demands for a six-month deadline for drastic changes, Mr de Klerk told the National Party congress these were the goals which the Government hoped to achieve over the next five years:

- To get negotiations "off the ground";
- To "make progress" with the scrapping of discrimination;
- "At least to lay firm foundations for a new constitutional dispensation" — which protected group and individual rights without domination;
- To "open the door" to economic restoration and progress;
- "To place the country firmly on the road" back to international involvement.

President de Klerk forecast that the next five years would be a period of "orderly but still

## ORDERLY BUT DRAMATIC REFORM, DE KLERK PROMISES

rather dramatic change" for South Africa.

He could not promise a "tranquil term of calm consolidation".

He said the NP's election mandate presented it with tremendous challenges.

The next five years would have to be a dynamic period of action. The Government would have to translate its words into deeds.

He urged the NP to prepare itself for the challenge of implementing its mandate.

Mr de Klerk shrugged off the NP's election losses — including six seats in the Free State — and said the next five years would not be determined by analyses of the elections but by NP thoughts and deeds.

In addition, Mr de Klerk proposed that a representative delegation of South African leaders should put the case against sanctions to the Commonwealth.

He said this in response to the Commonwealth heads of governments' decision to give SA six months to intro-

duce further reforms before imposing tough new sanctions.

Mr de Klerk strongly rejected the arguments by the Commonwealth leaders — excluding British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher — that sanctions had brought changes in SA.

"Far from having had a positive impact on political change and movement towards negotiation, sanctions have had the opposite effect.

"Among white voters sanctions create an angry response, which psychologically benefits the radicals who fight against fundamental political change.

"Among the black population it contributes to unemployment, poverty and misery.

"This benefits the radicals who practise a policy of terror and violence, because it contributes to a revolutionary climate.

"Thus sanctions contribute to further polarisation which constitutes an important stumbling block to meaningful negotiations."

Mr de Klerk welcomed

the "firm and principled stand" taken by Mrs Thatcher against further sanctions.

He said the SA Government had been given a mandate to negotiate a new constitution which would give full political rights to all.

International encouragement would help this process and further sanctions would harm it by causing further tension and conflict.

The overwhelming majority of South Africans, including blacks, rejected sanctions, he said.

He said the Commonwealth conference had allowed pro-sanctions spokesmen to put their case.

"Are the heads of state and/or the foreign ministers prepared to afford the same opportunity to a representative delegation of South African leaders to put the case against sanctions?"

In an apparent reference to the Harare Declaration backing an ANC negotiation plan, Mr de Klerk said there was no question of an internationally-sponsored transition to a new government in SA or an interim government.



Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi

## Sanctions could mean right-wing takeover: Buthelezi

**ULUNDI:** Sanctions against South Africa could lead to a right-wing takeover and a government that adopted a scorched earth policy, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, warned yesterday.

In a statement on economic sanctions against South Africa, he said the debate on the issue could not be carried any further, and little could be gained by repeating and elaborating on the same arguments.

He did not expect that British premier Margaret Thatcher would move on her opposition to sanctions and that Commonwealth countries would rest with the present position for a short while.

"There is, therefore, pos-

sibly time to talk about sanctions under two assumptions — the first being that the bite of sanctions is helping to drive the South African Government to a point where it is more inclined to bring about reform and abolish apartheid, and the second being that the bite of sanctions will give rise to deepening white right-wing backlashes and the stultification of the reform programme to the point where it has to be abandoned in the face of a right-wing and probably a military takeover.

"I argue that sanctions will have one of these two effects, and I am inclined to believe that the more sanctions bite, the more stringently they are applied and the wider the sanctions net becomes, the more likely it is that the second scenario of white backlash politics will become the reality of the day." — Sapa



# Mass rally can't be ANC event — official

By Tony Stirling

THE provisions of the Internal Security Act still apply to the African National Congress (ANC) as a banned organisation.

Thus any attempt to hold meetings in the name of the ANC or promote its aims and objects remained illegal in South Africa.

This was stated yesterday by a spokesman for the Department of Justice in Pretoria.

The spokesman was commenting on reports quoting the organisers of a mass rally planned for Sunday at Bob City in Soweto as the "first official ANC rally in 30 years" in South Africa. The rally is being organised by the National Reception Committee.

Other reports referred to yesterday's closed meeting of recently released ANC leaders in Johannesburg, including Govan Mbeki, who was released last October, as a meeting of the ANC

"High Command" in South Africa.

A temporary lifting of restrictions imposed on Mr Mbeki shortly after his release was granted to enable him to attend the gatherings. He is the father of ANC secretary

for foreign affairs, Thabo Mbeki.

It was confirmed that police are under instructions to carry out investigations in the normal way where suspected contraventions of the Internal Security Act have

taken place in respect of ANC activities.

Top level sources said there appeared to be a move afoot to afford the ANC a de facto legal status in South Africa, judging from the tenor of a number of reports.

However, the Department of Justice spokesman said the ANC remained a banned organisation.

It had been made clear on the release of the seven ANC leaders and a leader of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) that although they were being freed without restriction, the provisions of the law as they applied to members of the public in general applied to them.

Sources said the recent statements by the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, indicating that the ANC would be unbanned if they supported peaceful, democratic processes did not alter the legal position of the ANC.

It was noted that in respect of actual meetings

taking place — as with Sunday's planned welcoming rally for the seven released leaders in Soweto — the organisers had been careful to state that such meetings were organised by another body, such as the MDM, or, in the case in question, by the NRC.

The raising of a flag with the ANC colours or display of a symbol did not in itself constitute an offence, because of the similarities between the flag of the ANC and other organisations, such as Inkatha.

Some additional action, such as the shouting of an ANC slogan for example, was required in order for such an act to be regarded as an offence.

However, the Internal Security Act was quite specific in regard to other aspects.

Provisions contained in Section 13 of the Act made it an offence to participate in any activities of a banned organisation or to promote its aims or objects.

The Department of Justice spokesman confirmed that the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg had granted permission for Sunday's rally to be held at Bob City, after considering an application on Friday. The request to hold the meeting was made through an attorney representing the NRC.

Brigadier Leon Mellet, media secretary to the Minister of Law and Order, confirmed that the restrictions imposed on Mr Govan Mbeki to enable him to attend yesterday's meeting of released ANC leaders, as well as Sunday's gathering, had been granted for a week, following a request by his attorney.

Despite the official assurances now being given on the legal position of the ANC, there is concern in certain official quarters that the present handling of the situation vis-a-vis the ANC could lead to de facto legalisation of the ANC.

It is also being said the government will have to very carefully weigh the effects that its more open attitude on public rallies and protests is likely to have on the mass mobilisation strategy of the ANC, in which there were inherent dangers.

What is being widely expected in official circles is that the government will formally lift its ban on at least a section of the ANC — that which commits itself to the terms outlined by Mr De Klerk — upon the release of Nelson Mandela.

ANC experts do not expect the organisation as a whole to follow the path of peaceful negotiations

proposed by Mr De Klerk.

It is being stated, however, that there were indications that the Soviet Union favoured the option of peaceful negotiation, and any move by significant elements within the ANC to opt for such a course could see a move by the Soviets to halt support to those elements supporting armed struggle and revolutionary change by violent means.

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, was quoted at the Transvaal Congress of the National Party in Pretoria at the weekend as having said South Africa was prepared to come forward "in a new ordering of Southern Africa", together with partners, including the Soviet Union.

16/1/11



16/1/11

## Sisulu calls for mixed economy to benefit all people

ECONOMIC crises generated by capitalism and unrealistic socialism could be overcome by the pragmatic approach of a mixed economy which put the interests of the people before ideological fanaticism, freed ANC leader Walter Sisulu, 77, said at the weekend.

"In its constitutional guidelines the ANC has said it will implement a mixed economy which allows for a public sector, private enterprise, co-operatives and one which favours small scale businesses rather than monopolies," Sisulu said.

He said the challenges in the future would determine the economic policy, not fashionable rhetoric.

Sisulu hit out at absentee landlords who, he said, deprived those who could make use of the land the right to earn a livelihood.

"Fears about the confiscation of land are exaggerated. But it is surely reasonable to effect the transfer of title deeds to people who have for many years constructively occupied a particular piece of land," said Sisulu.

Of the other ANC leaders who were recently freed, Ahmed Kathrada, 60, said the creation of large-scale job programmes for semi-skilled workers, and the parallel training of workers to acquire the necessary skills were urgently necessary.

Andrew Mhlangeni, 61, said what was needed was not so much a redistribution of current resources but better use made of these resources.

"For example, if all educational and medical facilities were open to everyone this would cut duplication, offer equal opportunities to everyone without significantly increasing the cost of these services," said Mhlangeni.

### Productivity

Wilton Mkwayi, 66, said apartheid had created a situation whereby the conflict between labour and people who provide the capital had increased.

"Productivity will not improve until the political system enables workers and managers to work as partners and not opponents," said Mkwayi.

Elias Motsoaledi, 65, said trade unions were a legitimate forum for workers' grievances and it kept managers in touch with reality.

"But apartheid policies backed by the state of emergency are continually being used to prop up the evils of an oppressive political system which has isolated the workers from the benefits of their productivity," he said.

Reacting to some of the statements, DP co-leader Zach de Beer said: "In one sense of the word every economy in the world is mixed whether one is talking about the US, the Soviet Union or SA as each of them allows for public and private enterprise.

"However I think Mr Sisulu leans in the direction of the public sector whereas I lean in the direction of the private sector.

"The DP would welcome whatever favours equal opportunity and economic development. If a mixed economy, as envisaged by the ANC, can effect this process then it is to be welcomed," said De Beer.

De Beer agreed with Mkwayi's point that better utilisation of resources was essential to maintain the necessary growth rate, provided there was not too much government control in this respect. — Sapa.



'During the past 20 years the execution rate averaged about 95 persons a year but in 1987 the figure reached an all-time high of 164.

Last year the number of executions dropped to 117, partly because the number of reprieves rose to 49.'



Chanting youths march outside the Rand Supreme Court . . . will the present common law be a stabilising influence in a post-apartheid future?

# 1990s will usher in new era in which all will have voice

*SOWETAN 24 OCTOBER 1989*

THE law, as it stands, could constitute a valuable stabilising influence in a new South Africa, the Chief Justice, Mr Justice Corbett, said at the annual general meeting of the Cape Law Society in Port Alfred yesterday.

He said there was an air of expectancy in South Africa today that the 1990s would usher in a new era in which all South Africans would have a voice in how the

## FOCUS

country was run.

Some people spoke about a post-apartheid South Africa. Unquestionably the South Africa of the 1990s would be very different from the South Africa of today.

The law could be a stabilising influence, but in order for it to do so the

By PAT CANDIDO  
Port Elizabeth Bureau

new generation of South Africans had to be convinced that the law - "and here I refer mainly to the common law and expressly exclude discriminatory statute law" - and the system which administers it must be worthy of retention, preservation and development.

"From the lawyers' point of view this will be one of the great challenges in the decade to come."





tenuating circumstances could be found.

The Government was not in favour of the total abolition of the death sentence but was receptive to ideas for the reform of the law in this sphere.

There were no easy solutions. The high number of death sentences was due to the large number of murders, which had no political overtones whatsoever.

Over the past six years there had been on average of 8 300 persons charged with homicidal crimes a year. Of these, 40 percent had been acquitted or found guilty of a lesser offence. Of the remainder about 48 percent had been found guilty of culpable homicide and about 50 percent of murder.

Law reform was thus only part of the answer. For the rest some solution had to be found to the very high rate of homicide and often senseless violence which produced it. Law reform had to be accompanied by social and political reform.

Corbett said during the past few years there had been increasing criticism

both in and outside the country of the legal system.

Critics had every right to have their say but he was often shocked at the unfair criticism which appeared in overseas publications.

He said that to suggest that some black anti-apartheid activists were sentenced to death for "convictions ranging from subversion to treason" were totally false.

He said he was unaware of a single instance during the past few years where any accused received the death sentence for a political crime unless there was murder, and often a gruesome murder, involved.

## Remedy

He had recently seen a statement by a lawyer in the United States expressing concern at the growing number of South Africans being executed for political activity.

"I find these misrepresentations and distortions a matter for real concern. There is, as far as I can see, no simple remedy other than for the courts to administer criminal justice fairly, even-handedly and with a proper understanding of the problems and tensions within our society.

"I believe that in the past this is, by and large, what the courts have done (of course to claim perfection would obviously be incorrect and foolish). I have every confidence that this is what the courts will continue to do with increasing success in the future."

## Executions

Corbett said South Africa was often criticised for the number of convicted criminals executed every year.

During the past 20 years the execution rate had averaged about 95 persons a year but in 1987 the figure reached an all-time high of 164.

Last year the number of executions dropped to 117, partly because the number of reprieves rose to 49.

He said the vast majority of death sentences arose from convictions for murder where no ex-

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