

Worried Buthelezi rushes home



CHIEF BUTHELEZI

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, cut short his tour of the US and returned to South Africa last night because of the mass action planned by the ANC.

"The IFP and I are very concerned about the ANC's decision. There is already so much violence that we cannot defuse, and the ANC's decision will only exacerbate the ongoing violence.

"Why are they taking issues away from the conference tables and into the streets? This seems to me a very irresponsible decision.

"Mass action can only mean more violence, more intimidation and more people being threatened and losing their homes. It is all very worrying.

"Members of the IFP have been sucked into

the violence but I have stated repeatedly that violence isn't our policy.

"I have always pursued a course of non-violence. The ANC is often seen as saintly knights on white horses warding off attacks from Inkatha, but there are two sides to every conflict. All of us, including Mr Mandela, have failed to defuse the violence," he said.

Asked whether the IFP intended counter-acting the violence, Buthelezi replied that he was not a dictator and

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Arms cache in Sebokeng

POLICE yesterday seized a large amount of ammunition, two firearms and hand-grenades at a house in Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle.

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said the raid had followed after information about arms hidden in a house in District Six.

No-one was at home and police forced open the door of the house.

Two Stechkin machine pistols with almost 1 000 rounds and 12 magazines, 20 hand grenades, four detonators and an AK-47 magazine with about 500 rounds were seized.

Police said arrests were expected soon. — Sapa.

Buthelezi

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would not take radical action.

"I feel a lot of pain about the mass action because I know that many people may lose their lives. Many people will be forced to take part in the mass action whether they want to or not."

Buthelezi had just returned from touring the US, where he spoke on black education in South

Africa.

He visited Los Angeles and Washington, among other cities, and had a private discussion with Dr Chester Crocker, the former United States secretary of state for Africa, as well as influential black Americans.

"Our slogan has always been 'education for liberation'," Buthelezi said. Another reason for cutting short his trip was because he was meeting President de Klerk in Ulundi on Tuesday.

Workers assassinated — Nehawu

BRENDAN TEMPLETON

STRIKE-HIT State hospitals may well become battle zones following the deaths this week of three health workers that union leaders believe were assassinated.

National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union (Nehawu) member Vuyo Mtshekeshe was gunned down as he was leaving Natalspruit Hospital on Tuesday evening.

On Thursday night, Nehawu shop stewards Victoria Mazibuko and Grisell Marubelela were shot dead in cold blood while they were holding a small union meeting at a private house.

An undisclosed number of gunmen burst into the house, killing them and a unidentified family member who was also present. Last night Nehawu organisers expressed fears that the deaths marked the beginning of a brutal crackdown on the strike by "vigilante" forces supporting the Government.

General secretary Phillip Dexter believed the Government had mistakenly identified the strike, which has hit 11 hospitals in the Transvaal, as part of the ANC's mass action campaign. Apart from the three "assassinations", union officials said that work-ers had been sjambokked and teargassed.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) have alleged that a nurse at Boksburg/Benoni Hospital was also assaulted, her vehicle damaged and the building itself damaged by strikers.

Hospital staff at Baragwanath also accused union members of intimidation. Police arrested 13 people at the hospital on Thursday, one of whom was a visitor, after a court interdict had been brought against workers being on the premises. A similar interdict was brought against Natalspruit workers as well.

Action threatened

The TPA has threatened to institute disciplinary action against striking workers because public sector workers are not allowed to strike under South African legislation. Most can be fired within 24 hours because they are classified as "temporary workers".

The five-day strike has begun to make itself felt and the TPA yesterday made an appeal to the public for volunteers to help at the Dunswart laundry which serves 12 Reef hospitals. Medical staff at Baragwanath Hospital are treating emergency cases only. Patients at the hospital described conditions as "filthy".

The strike was sparked by a breakdown in wage negotiations. The Commission for Administration has offered a 9.2 percent increase and the union is demanding 15 percent.

Meanwhile a war of words has erupted between health authorities and trade unions over working conditions in Transvaal State hospitals — but patients are likely to be the hardest hit.

The conflict follows the release of the Cillie Com-missions report into the disastrous strike at GaRan-kua Hospital in 1990 in which 23 babies died — 10 as a direct result of the strike. Neither the unions nor the authorities emerged from the findings unscathed. The report also highlights what it calls the public sector's archaic labour legislation.

The report is particularly important given the present dispute — which could escalate into life-threatening conditions — between striking health workers and provincial

authorities.

Ten babies died as a direct result of the 1990 strike while the treatment of a further four toddlers who later died was sub-standard due to strikers' actions, the Commission found. It slammed "inaccessible, inadequate and discriminatory" labour legislation in the public sector as one of the main causes of the strike. It found that Nehawu had manipulated the situation.

Protests: troops on alert

June 16

THE CITIZEN

13-06-92

Country braces for launch of 'unprecedented' mass action on

'The only way to go'

DOES political democracy require or depend upon a market economy? Here is possibly one question where caution is not called for.

The answer is "yes". The evidence overwhelmingly suggests it. That evidence makes possible three simple but far-reaching propositions.

One: There has been no case of political democracy that has not been a market economy. Or, if one prefers a sharper formulation, there has been no case of democratic socialism.

Two: There have been numerous cases of non-democratic market economies.

Three: When market economies are successful over a period of time, democratising pressures are generated.

Later, I will look at some possible explanations of these empirical findings but, clearly, one cannot discuss any of this unless one is clear about the terms one is using. Thus, someone will propose Sweden as a case of democratic socialism. It is no such thing.

It seems to me that one most usefully discusses capitalism and socialism if one understands them quite narrowly as two alternative modern systems of production (as, indeed, the Marxists have always done) — the one based on market forces and private ownership of at least the "commanding heights" of the economy; the other based on political control mechanisms and on public ownership of the "commanding heights".

By these definitions, Sweden (even in the heyday of Social Democratic governance) cannot be called socialist. The confusion here is between production and distribution.

Sweden, like most of the other northern European democracies, developed generous welfare states — that is, very elaborate systems of distribution and redistribution.

But the welfare state, even in its Scandinavian apotheosis, continued to rest on a capitalist system of production and, indeed, only the affluence created by the latter made this welfare state possible.

Sweden was not, as its proponents kept saying, a "third way"; rather, it was a particular version of the "first way". Actually, under modern conditions, there is no "third way"; there are only different versions and modifications of the two alternative models.

Does political democracy require private property, and if so, how much of it? The answer to the first question is almost certainly "yes". The answer to the second question: no one knows for sure.

The question here is whether there could be a market economy without private property; the question of whether political democracy requires a market economy having already been answered positively.

Put differently, the question is whether there could be such a thing as "market socialism" — the important enterprises remaining in public ownership but competing with each other under market forces. Theoretically, such a system can be imagined. Two societies that

ran experiments with "market socialism" for 30 years were Yugoslavia and Hungary. Both failed. Can one explain the failure? Probably.

The entrepreneurial risk-taking and the financial controls over these risks (say, the businessman who starts an enterprise and the banker who loans him the start-up capital) depend on the motives of private owners — not so much because of the joys of ownership as such, but because of the control that ownership bestows when it is legally secure.

Improbable

The manager of a socialist enterprise who is told by the economic command centres — which own his firm and which in a real sense own him (since, outside the command/structure, there are no worthwhile jobs) — to go out and act as an entrepreneur is in fact told to do the impossible or at least the highly improbable: to stimulate capitalist entrepreneurship.

In practice, it seems, this simply doesn't work. What does work, up to a point, is releasing sectors of a socialist economy to private enterprise.

This occurred in both Yugoslavia and Hungary, and it has been happening quite successfully in China. What also happens in such cases, though, is that the capitalist sector develops a dynamism that will increasingly threaten the much less productive socialist sector — the development that keeps the Beijing gerontocracy awake at night.

Political democracy requires

a market economy, and a market economy requires private property. But how much of it? In other words, what segments of the economy may be held in public ownership before democracy is threatened?

It stands to reason that there

must be a threshold somewhere which, if crossed, threatens democracy. But it seems to me that present knowledge does not permit us to mark the spot.

Comparison between existing capitalist democracies (say, between countries like Austria and Switzerland, with quite different levels of public ownership) suggests that there is a good deal of leeway.

The libertarian view that each step in the direction of public ownership is a step towards despotism is not borne out by the evidence.

On the other hand, given the empirical linkage between democracy and capitalism, policymakers would be well-advised to be cautious if moved to expand public ownership.

This leads logically to the more general question, about the limitations on the State and its role in the economy required by democracy.

On a basic level, the notion of democracy depends on a limitation of State power. The commonsensical definition of democracy defines democracy in terms of two institutions — regular (and real) elections, and a body of (real) civil rights and liberties. Both institutions serve to limit State power.

Put in elegant philosophical language, the first institution makes sure that periodically the bastards can be thrown out

of office, and the other makes sure that there are some things the bastards cannot do while they are in office. However, when it comes to the question of limiting the role of the State in the economy, we are back to the insight that there must be a threshold somewhere, but that we are not sure just where it is.

We do know the extremes. Socialism, the maximal role of the State in the economy, makes democracy impossible and ruins the economy. At the other pole, at least under modern conditions, a minimalist, *laissez-faire* role of the State is empirically impossible, and there is no such case.

Someone will certainly mention Hong Kong. It is no such thing, but rather an efficient, if thoroughly undemocratic conspiracy of Chinese businessmen and British civil servants.

In between, once more, there seems to be a good deal of leeway — say, between the United States, a relatively modest case of State intervention, and much more statist cases like Japan or

THE STAR 13-05-92

Currently in SA under the auspices of the Urban Foundation, PROFESSOR PETER BERGER, director of the Institute for the Study of Economic Culture, Boston University, gave a speech last night in Johannesburg in which he argued that democratic capitalism was the route to go. The following is an edited version of his speech.



Professor Peter Berger ... socialism — the maximal role of the State in the economy — makes democracy impossible and ruins the economy.

even France — all market economies, all democracies.

Probably it is important to ask about, not so much the degree of State intervention, as the nature of it. More specifically: does State intervention in the economy move with market forces or against them?

Thus, arguably, the Japanese State intervenes in the economy without undermining the dynamics of the market; by contrast, the argument has been made that the evolving bureaucracy of the European Community (the "Brussels syndrome") will damage the workings of the market economy. One way to describe the relation between democracy and capitalism is to say that is asymmetrical.

Put simply: capitalism is a

precondition for democracy (put more precisely, a necessary but not sufficient condition); but democracy is not a precondition for capitalism. This, it seems, is what the empirical evidence indicates.

I regret this; I would much prefer a symmetrical relation, where the two institutional arrangements could be seen as the two sides of the same coin of liberty. Alas, they are not.

The major contemporary falsification of the symmetrical view (the classical libertarian one) is constituted by the east Asian economic success stories.

Here we have a vigorous capitalist dynamic, still far from its apex, in some ways more successful than the Western case. Every one of the post-

World-War 2 success stories — notably South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore — unfolded under non-democratic regimes.

As to Japan, it has been a democracy since World War 2, but the period when it first established a successful capitalism, the Meiji period, was anything but democratic in its political system. One might ask how many of the Western societies could be called democracies in our sense at the time they took off into modern capitalism — hardly England in the 18th century, the country where it all started. The United States, in this as in many other matters, may be exceptional.

In view of this evidence, an intelligent argument has even

been made to the effect that democracy is not the regime best suited for the period when capitalism is first established, though it is the regime most likely to emerge after a time of successful capitalist development. There is no great mystery as to why capitalism is necessary for democracy.

It provides the social space within which individuals, groups and entire institutional complexes can develop independently of State control.

Conversely, the empirical correlation between socialism and dictatorship can be explained, precisely, by the absence of such social space in a socialist system. The anti-democratic effect of socialism is structural in origin, and not just the result of some variety of totalitarian ideology (such as Marxism-Leninism).

Inspire

To be sure, totalitarian ideas, such as that of society as an all-embracing fraternity or of the party as the infallible embodiment of the force of history, have served to legitimate socialist dictatorships and to inspire their cadres. But socialism would make democracy highly unlikely even in the absence of such ideas.

The explanation for this is simple: While there have been socialist Utopias envisaging the control of the economy by independent association of producers (such as the syndicalist vision), these have remained just that — Utopias, empirically unrealisable, except perhaps in small communities (such as the kibbutz or the "intentional communities" of American sectarianism) or over short periods of time (as in the Soviets right after the Bolshevik revolution).

Under modern conditions, given the complexity of a modern or even a modernising economy, socialism invariably means control of the economy by the State. In other words, the State is the only "available" control mechanism other than the market.

But because of technology, the State is already a fearsome agglomeration of power. Even the most restrained, democratic State today has more power at its disposal than the most efficient despotisms of pre-modern times.

Imagine Caligula with an empire-wide computer network, or

SADF call-up

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Col Rolt declined to divulge any information relating to call-up areas or troop strengths.

Telegrams were sent to thousands of Citizen Force and Commando members yesterday ordering them on stand by next week.

"You should regard this as a possible emergency . . . your contribution will be in service to your country," the Air Force said in a telegram to a man on the reserve list after two years of full-time military service.

"As you are aware, mass disrupting actions are planned in the Republic of South Africa. These actions can result in major disruption of essential services," the telegram said.

A Defence Force spokesman said some reservists would be called up for active duty from Monday and others were

told to be on stand-by for rotating periods of 72 hours each.

About 500 000 Whites were on the reserve lists of the Army, Air Force and Navy, he said.

A senior Cabinet source said the government would tolerate some mass pressure from the ANC, but would not allow illegal actions likely to inflame township violence that has already killed over 1 000 people this year.

"The government has its own constituency to think about. We can't let ourselves be made to look like clay in the hands of the ANC," the source said.

"We are worried, well, let's say concerned, about what will happen. If things turn bad, it could seriously delay a negotiated settlement," he said.

A Ministry of Law and Order spokesman said the police would launch an advertising campaign tomorrow and Monday calling on people taking part in mass actions to do so in a peaceful and responsible manner.

"The police are geared

to cope with any situation which might arise and will maintain law and order."

He called on those taking part in, and organising mass action to respect the rights of others who did not want to participate.

The police would ensure that services such as public transport, were not disrupted.

"While the SAP recognises the right of those wanting to participate in mass action, it is aware of the potential such actions could have, causing disruptions, violence and death.

"Not only have organisations planned mass action for next week, but there are a number of strikes, and potential strikes — such as the strike at Transvaal hospitals — which are based on political demands which could further fuel a volatile situation."

The police pointed out, however, that mass actions which took place last November over VAT, although not of the size of the actions, expected on Tuesday, were in general peaceful and without intimidation.

Response to mass action

SADF CALLS UP MEN ON STANDBY

By Sapa-Reuter and
Citizen Reporter

THE South African Defence Force yesterday confirmed Citizen Force and Commando Force members have been placed on standby in time for the African National Congress mass action plans next week.

"Citizen Force and Commando elements are being called up, or are being placed on standby in certain specific areas," SADF spokesman, Col John Roli said.

He explained that the step had been taken to put the SADF in a position to support the police where and when necessary during the coming

weeks in maintaining peace, stability and law and order.

The call-up decision followed ANC-Cosatu threats of imminent mass action to protest against the failure of Codesa II to install an interim government.

"For security reasons"

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Protest

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al executive committee at a secret venue in Johannesburg this week.

The sources said the leadership of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance had met on Thursday to consider possible courses of action if no progress was made in negotiations by the end of June, and Mandela would announce the decisions taken.

The SAP's newly formed 7500-man Internal Stability Unit, especially established to counter political unrest and violence, is expected to be the core of the SAP's standby force.

Advertisements will appear in black newspapers tomorrow and thousands of pamphlets will be distributed in townships over the next few days showing graphic photographs of the victim of a necklace murder and a peaceful march led by American civil rights leader Dr Martin Luther King.

The caption is "Mass action, what is it to be?"

This (the necklacing) or ... (the peaceful protest)?"

The message of the advertisements and pamphlets is that "the SAP stands for legal, peaceful and non-disruptive actions". They read: "Should you choose mass action, please:

- Make sure it is legal and peaceful.
- Exercise your democratic rights responsibly.
- Do not violate the rights of others.
- Avoid all actions which could result in violence."

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Major-General Leon Mellet yesterday said the message was non-political. The SAP, he said, was not opposed to peaceful protest, but felt it had a duty to try to ensure that if it happened, it remained peaceful. "If not, it is the police who have to step in to try to restore peace."

Pamphlets will also be distributed appealing to township residents to report intimidation to the police. Key distribution points will include railway stations.

Mass action

THE ANC and its affiliates are set for mass action.

The ANC Youth League says that an unprecedented campaign is to be launched on Tuesday, including mass stayaways.

More than 70 rallies — expected to involve a million people — will be held on that day, the “launching pad” for a further programme of action.

On Tuesday the “will of the people” will be tested in a people’s referendum at all the mass gatherings.

The question to be put to the “masses” would be hilarious if it were not so serious, being calculated to achieve a total No response.

The question will be: “Do you agree that a democratically elected constitution-making body would be undermined by:

- “An undemocratically constituted Senate of losers;
- “Predetermined regional powers, functions and borders, which are designed to perpetuate White privilege, racism and tribalism;
- “A 75 percent majority which will give the minority veto powers?”

The ANC, Cosatu and other affiliates have not yet detailed the mass action that is to be taken but, in the main, it is going to consist of mass street protests, stayaways, strikes and possibly a general strike as well.

State President De Klerk, while in Japan, said the government had contingency plans to deal with the campaign.

We hope his plans are effective, since clearly the ANC intends to hold the government to ransom to achieve its aims at Codesa.

If the government weakens, it may as well hand the country over to the ANC immediately, since this would mean total capitulation.

It is a sad development since so much had been achieved at Codesa that it looked as if it was all over bar the shouting.

Instead, the deadlock over the constitution-making body and one or two other issues has been used by the ANC not only to whip up support among the “masses” for itself, but to create such instability that the government will buckle under and agree to the ANC’s demands.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday the African National Congress regretted that mass action would have a detrimental effect on the economy, but the organisation had no alternative but to adopt this strategy because the government had not responded to the ANC’s compromises during negotiations.

“We regret that method (mass action) will impact on the economy, but the economy is so mismanaged, it can’t be damaged further,” he said.

“They haven’t responded at all to our compromises and we have no alternative but to resort to the power we have — mass action.”

Mr Mandela was, however, optimistic that problems at Codesa could ultimately be overcome.

If Mr Mandela is really so confident, why stage mass action?

The answer is that he is confident not that there will be a democratic solution that will appeal to all reasonable people, but one that will favour the ANC.

However, Mr Mandela should understand one thing — that the economy is in such a poor state that any stayaways, strikes and disruptions caused by mass protests will add to the general lack of confidence not only about what the present holds for us, but in a future involving the ANC.

People, White and Black, desperately want an end to the turmoil, the violence, the hatred, and the economic hardships.

Any backlash will only make this country’s chances of peaceful change even more difficult.

We cannot expect the ANC to abandon mass action, since it is the kind of organisation that won’t take its chances under a fair democratic process, but must rely on coercion and intimidation.

But it should do nothing that will lead to further economic hardships and further violence.

Are you listening, Mr Mandela?

Mandela: ANC regrets impact on economy

DURBAN. — The African National Congress regretted that mass action would have a detrimental effect on the economy, but the organisation had no alternative but to adopt this strategy because the government had not responded to the ANC's compromises during negotiations.

This was said yesterday by ANC president Nelson Mandela at a news conference in Durban marking his arrival for a week-end visit to the southern Natal region.

"We regret that method (mass action) will impact on the economy, but the economy is so mismanaged, it can't be damaged further," he said.

"They haven't responded to all our compromises and we have no alternative but to resort to the power we have — mass action."

Mr Mandela said the ANC would have preferred to negotiate solutions to problems encountered at Codesa, but negotiations had reached a dead end and mass action was the only option.

"We're using pressure to ensure democracy

comes during our lifetime."

The ANC, however, said at Codesa "the progress so far gives us confidence and hope that the problems will ultimately be overcome".

Despite the current

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Mandela's 'regret'

FROM PAGE 1

conflict, tremendous progress had been made in negotiations so far as Blacks were taking part in the shaping of South Africa for the first time.

"We're confident we have the capacity to push the government forward," he added.

Mr Mandela explained that "in its simplest form", the problems being encountered at Codesa involved a clash between a minority of less than 15 percent of the

population which wanted to cling to monopoly power over a majority of 85 percent which wanted to break this monopoly.

"That's the essence of the deadlock. If we're not able to resolve it through negotiations, then we have no alternative but to use pressure."

Mr Mandela said the ANC was not concerned that the Pan Africanist Congress was not going to support the mass action campaign.

"Whether they support us or not is totally irrelevant. Progress has been made so far despite the PAC."

Mr Mandela explained that there was no established agenda for mass action, but the forms of protest would depend on the circumstances on the ground at the time.

The ANC would also review its situation regarding mass action from time to time.

Questioned on a time frame for the establishment of an interim government, Mr Mandela said: "We demand the installation of an interim

government immediately. But we've set time frames because of the recognition that to introduce a democratic government is a process. We're keen it should take place almost immediately."

He reiterated the ANC's demand for elections for a Constituent Assembly to take place by December.

Responding to questions on violence, Mr Mandela said the issue was being discussed by a number of structures, specifically those established in terms of the Peace Accord.

Questioned on the ANC's response to a recent call by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi that there should be joint IFP/ANC rallies addressed by leaders of the groups, Mr Mandela said the IFP leader was merely reiterating a call he (Mr Mandela) had made at a rally in Natal soon after his release from prison.

"We're in favour of peace with all political organisations, without exception." — Sapa. * * * *

Political elements 'hijacked' hospitals strike: SAP

By Tony Stirling,
Hugo Hagen and
Brian Stuart

POLICE said yesterday that criminal and political elements appeared to have hijacked the Transvaal hospitals strike, following the deaths of two hospital workers and the wounding of a third — as well as widespread evidence of intimidation.

Two Natalspruit Hospital workers were shot dead on Thursday night in a house in the East Rand township of Katlehong in an attack on a house, and a third — who works at the Boksburg-Benoni Hospital — was wounded in the same incident.

A nurse from the Boksburg-Benoni Hospital was assaulted and her vehicle damaged in an incident yesterday morning.

The strike, called by the National Education, Health and Administrative Workers' Union (Nehawu), has spread to 10 hospitals on the Reef, and was yesterday having serious effects. At the 10 hospitals only emergency

cases were being treated and less serious cases were being referred to other hospitals not yet affected by strike action.

Spokesmen at the various hospitals yesterday confirmed that men who threatened "ali and sundry" with violence forced workers away from their jobs.

A Johannesburg Hospital spokesman said yesterday that only about one third of their general assistants belonged to Nehawu, but the other two thirds were being kept away from their work.

"The hospital management have repeatedly pointed out the consequences of the strike, which would be totally illegal due to a Supreme Court Order still applicable against the union at the Johannesburg Hospital.

The Johannesburg Hospital issued an urgent appeal for voluntary workers yesterday.

Anyone willing to assist can phone (011) 488-4123 or 488-4130 from 7 am to

10 pm.

A spokesman for the TPA yesterday said any volunteers wishing to assist at other hospitals elsewhere could phone that hospital's switchboard, and information would be provided about the type of assistance which is required.

"The TPA laundry at Dunsward on the East Rand, serving 12 hospitals for instance, has an enormous crisis and volunteers are desperately needed," a TPA spokesman said.

The hospitals which were yesterday hit by the strikes were Johannesburg, Hillbrow, Natalspruit, Medunsa Dental Hospital, GaRankuwa, HF Verwoerd, Pretoria, Willem Cruywagen in Germiston, Baragwanath in Soweto, AG Visser in Heidelberg and Tembisa near Midrand.

• Nehawu general secretary Mr Neil Thobejane yesterday described the union's demands as "rea-

sonable", as negotiations for better wages and benefits have been going on for more than two years.

"We went on strike as a last resort," he said.

He said they wanted a minimum wage of R1 100 and an across-the-board increase of R400 a month. They also want six months' paid maternity leave and a 40-hour work-week, while temporary appointments are to be made permanent.

The union was yesterday locked in negotiations with TPA representatives.

• Health workers cannot be permitted "the luxury" of striking because of the danger to patients, the Conservative Party and Democratic Party said in separate statements yesterday.

Dr FH Pauw, CP spokesman on health, said the CP had warned the government of the consequences earlier this year when it accepted legislation which made it no longer illegal for nurses to strike.

"The CP demands that the strikers should be dismissed and that the ring-leaders be prosecuted. Unemployed people can then be taken into service in their place."

Mr Douglas Gibson, DP spokesman on Transvaal provincial affairs, said he had watched with increasing alarm the deadlock between Nehawu and the TPA.

"While each side may have some good arguments supporting its own position, I am more concerned about the hospital patients whose lives are at risk because of the dispute."

Buthelezi slams mass action

INKATHA Freedom Party president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday condemned mass action planned by the African National Congress and warned the campaign would exacerbate the violence.

Addressing a news conference at Johannesburg's Jan Smuts Airport on his return from the United States, Chief Buthelezi said mass action would be accompanied by intimidation and was an irresponsible and ill-timed move.

He had cut short his American trip because of the "mass mobilisation" planned by the ANC. State President De Klerk was to address the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi on Tuesday, he added.

He was "very disturbed" with the ANC's planned mass action and believed the organisation's demands should be negotiated.

"I foresee our members clashing with those who are organising the mass action," he said.

"People will lose their lives, they will be threatened and lose their homes."

Chief Buthelezi said the portrayal of the ANC as a "saintly knight in shining armour" was "farcical abuse of what was going on".

No free democratic elections could take place in South Africa until the violence in Black townships was defused. — Sapa.

Youths 'necklaced' by people's court

DURBAN. — Three youths were "necklaced" by members of a people's court in KwaMashu, Durban, on Thursday, KwaZulu police reported.

Li-Col Moses Khanyile said a group of unknown people forced four youths living in KwaMashu's H Section to accompany them.

The four were allegedly tried by a people's court and sentenced to death. Police later found three of them dead behind a church in H Section, KwaMashu.

Tyres doused with petrol had been placed around their necks and set alight. They had also been stabbed.

One of the youths managed to escape and he was taken to hospital for treatment. Those killed were Zimele Mathonsi (17), Mthuzuzeli Mhayivane (17) and Mlungisi Hadebe (17).

Police are investigating. No arrests have been made. — Sapa.

Saturday News 13-06-92

IFP branch withdraws from Peace Accord

THE Natal Midlands branch of the Inkatha Freedom Party pulled out of the National Peace Accord this week because of an increase of attacks on its members in the region.

In a confidential letter to the Regional Dispute Resolution Committee meeting in Durban this week, the IFP's Midlands region said it had resolved to suspend all further participation in Local Dispute Resolution Committees or their formation in the Midlands.

The letter was drafted and presented by IFP Midland's leader David Ntombela, who said there had been an escalation of attacks against IFP members in the Midlands recently.

Mr Ntombela added that the IFP regarded statements and actions by the ANC, in particular Midlands leader Harry Gwala, as incompatible with the National Peace Accord.

The structures of the Accord had also failed to bring suitable preventive action against the Midlands' ANC leadership for statements and actions which threatened peace.

This had "undermined confidence in the (peace) process to the point where further participation is useless at this point".

"The IFP will not participate further in these structures in the Natal Midlands until Harry Gwala is called before the National Peace Committee to personally sign a commitment to the process and to end the attacks on the IFP and its leaders."

Mr Ntombela also blasted the Executive Committee of Natal/KwaZulu's Regional Dispute Resolution Committee, of which he is a member, for failing to consult the IFP in its call for the removal of 32 Battalion and the SA Police's Internal Stability Unit from Imbali recently.

"This unilateral decision was taken with no regard for the safety of the lives and property of IFP members in Imbali and has had direct and tragic consequences."

He said since the removal of these forces, the home of KwaZulu deputy Minister of Works, Velaphi Ndlovu had been attacked five times in a week.

Make your choice, police tell mass action campaigners

CAPE TOWN: A police publicity drive to appeal for order during next week's mass action campaign will feature pictures of a necklace victim and of Martin Luther King — and the people will be asked which form of mass action they would rather see.

Martin Luther King, American civil rights leader, was assassinated on April 4, 1968.

The adverts will appear in newspapers tomorrow and Monday, and policemen will distribute the same advert in pamphlet form in townships on Monday, focusing on trains, taxis and buses.

Members and supporters of the ANC are expected to em-

bark on mass action on Soweto Day, Tuesday, June 16. They hope by staying away from work and demonstrating to put pressure on the Government to reach agreement quicker in the Codesa negotiations.

Police fear that, as has happened in the past, the mass action could turn ugly.

Unlike the successful mass action and stayaway aimed at protesting against Value Added Tax, this time the ANC has fewer allies in yet another confrontation with the Government. The PAC and Azapo have come out against the mass action, while the Inkatha Freedom Party is opposed to mass action.

—Political Correspondent

'Gauntlet' zone secured

Saturday News 13-06-92

Camp set up between rival factions in Imbali

TERRY McELLIGOTT Saturday News Reporter

THE security forces have taken new steps to safeguard vehicles "running the gauntlet" between zones occupied by supporters of the African National Congress and Inkatha in the troubled Imbali township, in the Pietermaritzburg area.

They have set up a camp on a high vantage point overlooking strongholds of the two rival groups, located on opposite sides of the busy Sinkwazi Road. And in the past two days the army and police staged a major show of force in an effort to stamp out ambushes and shootings of vehicles, particularly taxis and public transport on the road.

Exercise

Colonel Johan Swanepoel, officer commanding the Army's Group 9, told a party of media representatives who were taken into the township on Thursday that his troops were taking part in a two-day exercise code-named Operation Checkpoint in Imbali and elsewhere "in support of the police and with the aim of creating an atmosphere in which evolutionary and orderly change can take place".

He said the camp between the two rival political factions had been established about a week ago at the request of the community.

The mayor of Imbali and the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry had wanted the police and army to establish a continuous presence on the Sinkwazi Road to allow vehicles, particularly taxis and public transport, to travel there in safety.

"The history of Imbali is that most of the ambushes and shootings have taken place in that area."

The colonel disclosed that on the eve of Operation Checkpoint there was drama when

shots were fired at troops in the area. Thereafter troops took part in a "high-density operation" in which a shotgun and pistol were recovered.

The police confirmed later that one man, who was in possession of the shotgun, was arrested. The gun was identified as having been stolen from a police station in the Pietermaritzburg district a week ago.

A convoy of military vehicles drove through central Pietermaritzburg on Thursday as part of the show of force which is, evidently, partially intended to show that the security forces are prepared for any eventuality despite the recent withdrawal of the controversial 32 Battalion and the Riot Unit from Imbali.

The army has denied that 32 Battalion was withdrawn as a result of pressure by any organisations. However, the move followed widescale stayaway actions and sit-ins last month by the ANC, whose demands included the withdrawal of the battalion and other security forces accused of displaying partiality in the political conflict in the township.

Prepared

Colonel Swanepoel, in announcing Operation Checkpoint yesterday, said: "We are an apolitical force, here to maintain law and order in support of the police."

He said: "The operation is to test the military potential and ability to react to demands and situations in the Natal Midlands. We are doing this purely to be prepared for the role of supporting the police in maintaining law and order, whatever that may entail."

Roadblocks were mounted into Imbali to check for weapons and stolen vehicles.

MPs get set for marathon week in Parliament

MARTIN CHALLENGOR
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN: MPs are in for a marathon closing week to this year's session of Parliament next week in a bid to push vital legislation through, and even National Party MPs are annoyed with Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee for flooding them at the end.

MPs were told there were 41 pieces of legislation in the pipeline still to go through. Parliament is due to close on Friday.

Mr Coetsee has to pilot six major Bills through in five days, including the Internal Peace Institutions Bill which sets up the structures agreed on at the National Peace Accord in September last year, the controversial Interception and Monitoring Prohibition Bill, the Drug and Drug Trafficking Bill and the Gambling Amendment Bill.

The gambling Bill has run into a lot of problems within the NP ranks where it has been dubbed by dissident NP MPs as the Sol Kerzner amendment as it closes down all competition to his casinos.



ON patrol in troubled Imbali during the two-day Operation Checkpoint, which ended yesterday. **Pictures: Richard Shorey**



A HIGH-POWERED searchlight, which can be beamed on to trouble spots at night, is among the equipment at this security force camp, set up in Imbali township to help keep the peace between rival political factions.

THE DAILY NEWS, FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1992

Insight



70 ANC rallies

MERCURY 13-06-92

Angry IFP pulls out of National Peace Accord

THE ANC will hold more than 70 rallies throughout the country as part of its mass action programme which begins next week.

And in a shock move the Inkatha Freedom Party has pulled out of the National Peace Accord in the Natal Midlands because of an increase of attacks on its members.

Mr Peter Mokaba, national president of the ANC youth league, told of the rallies when he spoke at a press conference of the organisation's southern Natal region yesterday.

Mr Mokaba said the ANC felt it needed to involve the people in the negotiation process, and to ensure that Codesa should reflect the actual demands of the people on the ground.

Mr Cyril Xaba, president of the ANC's youth league in southern Natal, said members of the national executive committee would address a Soweto Day rally at Curries Fountain in Durban on Tuesday, starting at 10am.

The IFP said it had pulled out of the National Peace Accord in Natal's Midlands because it claimed there had been an increase in attacks on its members in the region.

In a confidential letter to the Regional Dispute Resolution Committee meeting in Durban this week,

Political Staff

the IFP's Midlands region said it had resolved to suspend all further participation in Local Dispute Resolution Committees or their formation in the Midlands.

The letter was drafted and presented by IFP Midland's leader David Ntombela.

He said there had been an escalation of attacks against IFP members in the Midlands recently.

Mr Ntombela added that the IFP regarded statements and actions by the ANC, in particular Midlands leader Harry Gwala, as incompatible with the National Peace Accord.

The structures of the Accord had also failed to bring suitable preventive action against the Midlands' ANC leadership for statements and actions which allegedly threatened peace.

This had "undermined confidence in the (peace) process to the point where further participation is useless at this point".

"The IFP will not participate further in these structures in the Natal Midlands until Harry Gwala is called before the National Peace Committee to personally sign a commitment to the process and to end the attacks on the IFP and its leaders."



ANC president Nelson Mandela greets Natal Newspapers staff during a visit to the company's headquarters in Durban yesterday. Picture by Anthony McMillan.

Mandela woos business

THERE was very little reason why business should not throw its weight behind the mass action campaign of the African National Congress, the president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, said in Durban last night.

Speaking at an ANC dinner to hundreds of leading businessmen, Mr Mandela said the

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campaign was not targeted at the private sector.

He said the campaign would contribute far more to bringing peace and democracy to South Africa than had the referendum in March.

Mr Mandela said some had charged that the campaign

would reflect negatively on business confidence.

The ANC, however, was of the view that the long political transition period proposed by the Government would be far more damaging to business confidence because investors would not be attracted by the protracted uncertainty.

MERCURY 13-06-92

Reports by PATRICK LEEMAN and SIZA NTSHAKALA

Bigger mass action, says Mandela

THE ANC-organised mass action next week is aimed at bringing more of the masses out of the workplace and onto the streets for a longer time than ever before, the organisation's president Nelson Mandela said in Durban yesterday.

Addressing newspaper editors at the Natal Newspapers building, Mr Mandela said the ANC was fully aware that this would harm the already battered South African economy but it was a price the organisation was prepared to pay to bring the Government to its senses.

"We have not gone into these negotiations because we lack power. We do have power.

"Last year in November when the government refused to meet our demands for the zero-rating of basic foodstuffs, we called out 3 million people into the streets for the two days. We are determined this time to call more people for a longer period," the ANC president said.

Mr Mandela said the ANC believed mass action was legitimate because the majority "of our people are voteless and ... cannot go to their respective members of parliament to lodge complaints.

"And we the know the implications to our economy. I am asking you what could we have done, what must we do, when our most earnest persuasions failed to bring the Government to its senses.

"There is only one lesson we get from history and that is if a particular method fails, you use the other.

"If negotiations in this case have failed, the only other form of action is the power that we command. That is why we are going to adopt mass action. We are very much concerned about the economy of the country."

He said President FW de Klerk and Mr Pik Botha could "trudge the world" but any meaningful improvement in relations with other countries would depend on the speed with which this country moved towards democracy.

Mr Mandela argued that the ANC's concern about South African economy was shown in the organisation's phased approach to the sanctions debate.

He said he had invited the international business community to immediately invest in this country once an interim government was in power.

Earlier he said at a Press

conference in Durban that the organisation was insisting on elections for a constituent assembly by December this year.

Replying to a question on the current impasse at Codesa, the ANC president said the problem was that of a fundamental clash between a minority of less than 15% which wanted to cling to a monopoly of power and a majority of 85% which wanted to break that monopoly.

He said that, on the night of May 15, which was the opening night of Codesa 11, he had spoken to State President FW de Klerk to persuade him to see reason on the question of its intransigence. He had been unsuccessful.

Mr Mandela said the ANC had initiated the Codesa path. It had called upon the Government to sit down and discuss a peaceful solution.

In spite of the current conflict between the Government and the ANC, everyone was aware that blacks were taking part in shaping their own future in determining what sort of South Africa the country should have.

"We are confident that we have the capacity to push the Government forward," he

said.

On the question of a Bill of Rights, Mr Mandela said the ANC had readily agreed at Codesa that such a mechanism should be adopted by 75% of the voters in a national assembly.

He said such a bill represented the very foundation of democracy and security to all population groups, especially where there were three population groups concerned about the majority of a certain ethnic group.

Mr Mandela said two constitutions had been adopted in South Africa, one in 1910 and the second in 1983, and both by a simple majority of voters.

"That is what we would have been entitled to," he said.

Mr Mandela said that, to allay the fears of the minority, the ANC had agreed that the bill should be passed by a two-thirds majority, eventually going up to 75%. The "regime" would not compromise.

"We have decided to go back to a two-thirds majority as far as a Bill of Rights and the constitution are concerned.

"We did this because we wanted to ensure that the way forward was on track".

Braced for mass action

CAPE TOWN—Tens of thousands of citizen force members and commandos have been called-up or placed on 72-hour standby as the country braces itself for an unprecedented mass action campaign.

Police also announced yesterday they were launching an R80 000 advertising campaign designed to ensure that the protests — beginning on Tuesday with 70 rallies around South Africa — are peaceful.

Last night a Defence Force spokesman confirmed that "elements of the citizen force and commandos are being called up or placed on standby in certain areas".

"This is being done so that the Defence Force is in a position to support the South African Police where necessary in the coming weeks in maintaining peace, stability and law and order," he said.

Defence Force spokesmen declined to indicate how many men would be called up, but it is known that 10 000 SADF personnel are employed on a daily basis in support of the police at present. This figure is likely to increase dramatically.

The mass action will start on Soweto Day — Tuesday — while another "high point" of the campaign would be June 26 when the ANC celebrates the day on which the Freedom Charter was adopted.

Municipal services, including transport, in Durban will be severely disrupted on Tuesday following acceptance by the City Council that their employees will not be penalised in any way for staying off work on that day.

Speaking in Durban yesterday,

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

day, ANC leader Nelson Mandela said the organisation believed mass action was legitimate because the majority "of our people are voteless . . . cannot go to their respective members of Parliament to lodge complaints".

Mr Velaphi Ndlovu, IFP central committee member, said his party did not endorse the campaign and called for a strong security force presence in Natal.

The Durban City Council has agreed to suspend its policy of no-work, no-pay in respect of June 16 following negotiations with the Durban Integrated Employees' Society (DIMES) yesterday.

The police's R80 000 advertising campaign will be launched with advertisements in some newspapers tomorrow.

The advert, headed "Mass Action: What is it to be?" contains a photograph of a necklace murder victim with one of Martin Luther King beneath it and his statement "I have a dream".

It asks, in effect, whether the mass action programme will amount to a violent or peaceful campaign and appeals to its supporters to:

- Make sure it is legal and peaceful;
- Not violate the rights of others; and
- Avoid all actions which could result in violence.

Last night ANC MP for Pietermaritzburg South, Rob Haswell, who participated in several of Dr King's rallies in the US, said: "This is scandalous and a cynical abuse of what King stood for."

● See also Pages 3 & 6

A question of motives hangs over new lottery

STAR 13 JUNE 1992

WHAT do the South African Broadcasting Corporation, Israeli gold-dealers with close ties to Barend du Plessis, an Inkatha heavyweight turned businessman and the African National Congress have in common?

They are potential partners in a televised scratchcard game started by Ithuba, which feasibility studies say could generate some R1 000 million a year.

This venture, with the persuasive powers of television behind it, could in effect become South Africa's national lottery.

As such, it should be a god-send for cash-strapped health and welfare organisations. But it could also provide individuals with handsome profits. Should this be allowed, or should charity lotteries be under welfare control?

This question is being asked in a number of quarters.

Existing games of chance have been tolerated despite strict gambling laws because charities have been the beneficiaries — game operators take an administration fee which the law limits to a certain percentage. The proposed Ithuba Game however, tests this to the

A NATIONAL lottery could help many cash-strapped charities. But there are questions about whether some of the key players are as interested in welfare as they are in profit. Chief Reporter JOHN PERLMAN investigates.

limit — many of its investors have no connection at all with charities.

The Scratch Watch and Win game — a scratchcard game linked to a weekly television show — prompted a furious row in March when a number of organisations wrote to the SABC saying Ithuba lacked credibility in the welfare com-

munity. The charities expressed concern that a televised lottery would blow out of the water existing games under Welfare control.

Since then, the launch of the Ithuba Game has been delayed. But key players in the lottery have taken to preparing themselves. They are a mixed bunch.

The initial big investment — start-up costs are estimated at R13 million — is likely to come from two Israeli businessmen, Shalom Shpilman and Eytan Rechter.

They initially set up in South Africa as gold and diamond jewellery exporters — and were given important assis-

tance by former Finance Minister Barend du Plessis (report on this page).

They began concentrating on the local market in 1991 when key export concessions were withdrawn. While they have set up companies here, the ultimate holding company is based on the Isle of Man, a tax haven off the coast of Britain.

Since 1991, Rechter in particular has been involved in negotiating a stake in the lottery scheme. Ithuba managing director Gareth Pyne-James confirmed that Rechter was an investor but not "a major shareholder".

But this is contradicted by the fact that a new company

called Games Africa has been registered to run the lottery. Pyne-James confirmed this was to be the operating company, which named Rechter as one of only three directors. The other two are Richard Biesheuvel, a Johannesburg chartered accountant, and black businessman Gibson Thula.

Despite having friends in the highest levels of government,

Rechter deemed it necessary to win influence in the black community, possibly because Pyne-James has said foreign investment will be limited to 25 per cent.

Thula, who used to be Inkatha's chief representative on the Reef, was offered R400 000

to act as Rechter's facilitator. R100 000 would be "direct consulting fees" for his company Vela International — of which he is the sole director — and a further R300 000 to be paid out to "key associate consultants" used by Thula.

Part of Thula's brief would be to "assist in sourcing black investors in the Ithuba Game Project" and "countering vicious and vitriolic efforts" against Ithuba in South Africa.

When asked this year about his ties with the Israelis, Thula denied he was acting for Rechter and said that he saw the Ithuba Game as a vehicle for "black advancement and empowerment".

The Saturday Star's information about Thula's deal with

Rechter, however, was based on correspondence from Thula himself and is confirmed by the setting up of Games Africa, a company whose main object is "to conduct games and systems of whatsoever nature".

It is not yet clear which "black investors" Thula has succeeded in sourcing since he is the only black director in Games Africa. He has, however, been invited by Ithuba to key negotiations with the SABC and he is also said to have some influence in the ANC.

Last month, a meeting was held in the ANC offices at which the potential benefits of

the lottery were outlined by Pyne-James. Reports that the ANC had been offered a 25 per cent stake in the Ithuba game have been denied on both sides. However, it can be confirmed that the ANC is considering a lottery venture to raise funds, and has met others involved in the business.

When the Ithuba row first boiled over, the ANC called for a thorough investigation of Ithuba and Pyne-James. The ANC has also demanded a thorough shake-up of the SABC, clearly a central player in the proposed lottery.

In the past Auckland Park has reaped considerable financial benefit from its relationship with Ithuba. According to Pyne-James, 60 per cent of all sponsorships were immediately

paid to the SABC — last year that meant R1,2 million up front. The SABC, in response to questions, has refused to "make available its contracts to third parties except with the express permission of the other contracting party".

Other state-linked bodies involved with Ithuba in the past include the Post Office, which issued scratchcards, and Eskom whose R1-million sponsorship — which resulted in extensive TV advertising — was immediately repayed to them in the form of business. Ithuba's disbursement that year included R1 million in electrification contracts.

Conspicuously absent in this cast is any established welfare body, although Ithuba insists that this is its role. Opposition to Scratch Watch and Win in welfare quarters has not diminished, however, and another row is brewing.

From PG 1.

A QUESTION OF MOTIVES.

THE STAR 13 JUNE 1992

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL may have skimmed over some aspects of violence, but then so has the Ministry of Law and Order

Killing and culpability

IT'S not just that the jury is still out — but that the jury, in many cases, never got a chance to sit. That is the biggest problem in trying to understand the causes of violence in South Africa, writes Chief Reporter JOHN PERLMAN.

AS EVEN the most casual tennis player will know, it's not too difficult to put away a smash when your opponent's lob is dropped a bit short.

So it was no surprise this week when Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel — through his mouthpiece in the ministry, Captain Craig Kotze — took a confident swipe at an Amnesty International report released this week which

charged the police with complicity in attacks on African National Congress supporters.

"A one-dimensional view and a critical lack of balance," Kotze thundered, "a complete whitewash of the ANC". The report, compiled after a visit to South Africa in December by researchers from the London-based human rights organisation, alludes to violent conduct by ANC members but does not detail it.

It virtually ignores the Inkatha casualties and the mounting toll in the police ranks. Most important, it fails to point out that some of the casualties, caught as they were in crossfire, cannot simply be placed in a party-political body-bag.

In one sense, then, Kriel and Kotze had a point. But putting away a smash and scoring a point is one thing — clinching game, set and match is another. Amnesty, by skimming over undeniable aspects of the violence, left some sizeable holes that the police, Inkatha and others were only too happy to push them into.

Even so, the document is still an important chronicle of business that is both bloody and unfinished, a record of conflict

that must inevitably act as a seedbed for more of the same for as long as the wounds remain open.

How one allocates blame for events like the Swanville massacre — when 1000 hostel dwellers attacked a western Transvaal squatter camp in May 1991, leaving 29 dead — or the grinding civil war in Natal is not the immediate point. The fact is there are scores of incidents involving murder and mayhem that have not yet been properly investigated. It isn't just that the jury is still out — the jury, in many cases, never got a chance to sit.

Now this suggestion could easily prompt Kriel and Kotze

into another flurry of words. But one can't help wondering if they might measure their reactions just a little if they had sat in on this week's proceedings at the Goldstone Commission.

The commission has been investigating a massacre two years ago in Wesseltown township, near Ermelo, where two men were shot dead and others wounded after clashes between the ANC and Inkatha. Both organisations were that day holding funerals for members killed in a previous round of clashes.

focus of the commission's attention this week was on the police investigation into the incident, and why it produced nothing.

The Amnesty International report details other investigations which came to nought. In Mphophomeni, Natal, for instance, an inquest court found nine men responsible for the abduction and murder of three trade unionists, but the Attorney-General declined to prosecute. Six years later, a Natal court heard that one of those nine men had killed again.

THAT at least was a case that came to court. But many of the other incidents dealt with by the

Amnesty report have had to be pieced together from affidavits gathered by human rights monitoring groups, from lawyers, newspaper investigations and eyewitness accounts. Most of this material never got a chance to be tested in the full glare of a judicial process. Does this undermine the credibility of the report? Or is it an indictment of the process of law and order and its unwillingness to settle this unfinished business, one way or another?

The Goldstone Commission, by contrast, this week used blades of great sharpness to

dissect police conduct in Wesseltown and assess whether they had in fact taken sides. For perhaps the first time ever, advocates and commissioners had access to the dockets that po-

lice opened after the shootings — dockets, normally, are protected by privilege.

Now before Kriel and Kotze jump in and say — as both have frequently done — that this, and the very existence of the commission, is proof of police openness, one point should be made. These dockets were handed over with great reluctance, and probably because refusing to do so in open court would have been more embarrassing in the long term.

Armed with this kind of cutting edge, the hearing was able to probe deep into what happened in the months that followed the Wesseltown shootings. Advocate for the commission JJ du Toit, Judge Richard Goldstone himself and advocate David Soggott — acting

To Pg 2

for The Weekly Mail, the ANC and others — could not have delved so far without the raw material from the policemen's own files.

This process revealed a number of things. An investigation into the shootings was opened soon after they occurred, but within a couple of months it had been closed. Pressure on the Government at high level forced a reopening of the case in July 1991, after ANC complaints that police were protecting Inkatha people involved in the shootings.

When the case was again put before the prosecutor for a decision, three crucial pieces of evidence from the first investigation were left out. The first was the *ondersoek dagboek* (investigation diary) of Sergeant Anton Botha, who had conducted the initial inquiries. The second was a warrant for the arrest of two men, both

KwaZulu policemen, which had never been carried out.

The third was a statement about the incident by Amos Mthungwa, a KwaZulu MP who had come to Wesseltown that day to attend the Inkatha funeral. Mthungwa, under oath, said four members of the KwaZulu security branch would be in Wesseltown to ensure his safety. During the funeral he heard shooting, he says, and saw two of the four. Constable Zweli Dlamini and Warrant Officer Nhlanhla Khawula, run into the street. "They began shooting back at the ANC members who were also holding a funeral," Mthungwa testified. It was for Dlamini and Khawula that warrants of arrest were issued.

When the investigation was reopened nearly a year later,

Mthungwa made a second statement to Sergeant Dawid Hall, who told the commission he was never informed of the existence of the first testimony. This time Mthungwa said that when the shooting began, "I had no idea of where the security guards were at that time".

The prosecutor told Du Toit that she never received the first statement. After outlining this to a Warrant Officer Geldenhuys, who took over the investigation in 1991, Soggott put it to him that the investigators had buried the three pieces of evidence that would have implicated the KwaZulu Police in the shooting. Geldenhuys replied that he had not intended this. Goldstone then cut in: Even if this wasn't your intention, was this not the effect?

The police had some more explaining to do. Despite the fact that there were close on a thousand people at the funeral,

statements were only taken from four — Mthungwa; a member of the Black Cats, who were the ANC's foe in Wesseltown; an ANC official from Witbank who said he was at the back of the procession; and a woman who was injured while running away.

On the night of the shooting, police found hand grenades, pistols and an Uzi machine-gun in a house occupied by members of the Black Cats. Sergeant Botha said fingerprinting was done, but there were no records of this in either docket.

Also found in the house was Dlamini's police ID. Yet Captain Andre Marais and two senior officers went to Ulundi with the warrants and returned to Ermelo without the suspects. Marais said they were told the men could not be traced as there were "so many Dlaminis" in the town.

That, at least, was Marais's version. Goldstone sent Louis Visser, counsel for Inkatha in the hearing, to phone General Jac Buchner, head of KwaZulu Police, to ask him what he had to say. Buchner denied saying that the men could not be found. He says one of them was actually brought in and questioned at length. It took five more visits to the KwaZulu capital and nearly a year before Dlamini and Khawula were eventually brought to Ermelo for questioning.

This entire investigation was under the command of Major Patrick John Otto, then district head of criminal investigation in Ermelo. He has since been promoted to colonel.

This particular commission hearing resumes in August. If Judge Goldstone finally recommends that steps be taken against anyone, he is unlikely to tolerate any dragging of heels. This week he issued what was, in effect, a public reproach to the police for failing to act more promptly on evidence regarding the murder of an ANC official in the western Transvaal.

Last December, the commis-

sion heard evidence "relating to an alleged conspiracy to murder the chairman of the civic association in Schweizer-Reneke". The commission, Goldstone said, had found prima facie evidence that members of the SAP had been involved in the conspiracy. It had, however, become "concerned at the time which it was taking to report progress in the ensuing police investigation". The investigating officer was this week brought before the commission to explain.

This, and the evidence the commission heard this week, may well add weight to the claims that the police are soft on certain kinds of violence. But the value of these disclo-

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sures goes much further than just the settling of arguments and the allocation of blame. The violence has become a vicious circle, and attacks on policemen and Inkatha members are undeniably part of it. But that circle has to be broken somewhere, and the wider implications of Goldstone's work is that restoring respect for the processes of law is a good place to start.

TWO examples reinforce that belief. Earlier this month, a Sebokeng police constable, Skuta Marumo, was necklaced. Marumo was accused of shooting a young Vaal Triangle activist, and soon afterwards a key witness to that shooting was himself murdered. Repeated requests for the suspension of Marumo, pending settlement of the case, were refused. Someone decided to take the law into his own hands.

And this week in the Goldstone hearings, one of the Ermelo officers was asked why he hadn't tried to get statements straight after the shootings occurred. It was impossible, he said. "Soon after we got there, the crowd drove us back with a shower of stones." As he spoke, it was hard not to think that he too was a victim of all this unfinished business.

FROM PG 1

KILLING AND CULPABILITY

III



**MR JUSTICE
GOLDSTONE:**
His
commission
this week
incisively
dissected
police
conduct.

FROM Pg 2
KILLING

SATURDAY STAR 13-06-92

'Vaal Monster' takes over teenage gang

A YOUNG man, a school dropout born and bred in Sebokeng, is now being called "The Vaal Monster".

He leads what residents believe to be a vicious hit squad. And many parents in this Vaal Triangle township fear their children might begin hero-worshipping "The Monster".

He is said to "commandeer" young girls to extract information and sex. Apparently many respond willingly.

William Mabaso, whose house in Zone 7 was set on fire last month and who knows "The Monster" well, swears that he has a link with the police.

He remembers "Victor" (not his real name) well. "He was an intelligent boy at

school but dropped out when his father left his family. He was soon into robbery and stealing cars, and took over the leadership of a gang of vicious little thugs who were already terrorising the neighbourhood.

"Soon he was arrested for car theft and convicted. But soon afterwards he was released and announced he was a member of Inkhata.

"Many of his neighbours began to notice police cars arriving at his home. The back part of the house would go dark and there would be activities. I believe guns were being off-loaded, then the police would leave.

"The boy I had known had changed. He organised others in the neighbourhood. And his

gang boasted openly about being a hit squad."

Last month "V" and his friends suddenly turned on Mabaso. At 2 am they knocked on his windows and pointed guns at him. They ordered him and his children under the beds and proceeded to rob his house.

"They took everything from my kitchen stove, blankets, even the food and groceries. They took our TV and two radios and, after that, they poured petrol on to the house and set it on fire."

The next day Mabaso reported the incident to the Sebokeng police and laid a charge of arson and robbery. Asked what had happened since, he replied: "Nothing."

A striking tale of two townships

In Alex, marigolds now grow where mayhem was rife

PEACE, or at least peace of a kind, has descended on strife-torn Alexandra like a warm blanket on a cold winter's night.

The usually harried doctors and nurses at the Alex Clinic have been rediscovering what it is like to take a coffee break. There are times when nobody talks about violence, gunshots, stabbings and assaults — there have been so few violence-related injuries in the past two weeks that the clinic has stopped counting.

The price of this peace, however, has been a massive police and army presence, daily street-to-street searches for weapons, and a strictly enforced 9pm-to-4am curfew that has many community leaders complaining about police methods.

But residents are happy. Since the SADF and police moved into the township last week, the violence that has claimed more than 100 lives in the past three months has subsided. When this reporter visited the township, residents were relaxed and seemed relatively happy, although some are still sceptical about the new-found peace. Children were back on the streets playing with balls. Older folk were sitting on their stoeps having a quiet beer.

At one end of Third Avenue — the scene of murderous gunfire a few weeks ago — a squad of municipal workers was cleaning up debris left by barricades. There I found Walter Makheta tending his tiny garden, not far from Madala hostel and, until recently, in the middle of the "war" zone.

"I tend my marigolds now," he said with a smile, "but I keep my tomahawk nearby."

Last week Witwatersrand police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman declared the exercise a tremendous success: "Since we moved in there has not been a single incident of political violence."

In the first few days the police conducted door-to-door searches and confiscated dozens of dangerous weapons from hostel dwellers and residents alike.

The ANC has always maintained that the Government had it in its power to end political violence countrywide, but

Opperman would not be drawn on the possibility of police action in other areas racked by violence.

Despite the apparent success of the action, Richard Mdakane of the Alex Civic Organisation is not impressed. He condemns it wholesale as a public relations ploy to improve the police image.

"What they should be doing is retraining these police instead of polishing their image. People who have witnessed them condoning violence will take a long time being impressed," he said.

Obed Bapela of the Alex branch of the ANC admits that police action did help to restore peace, but says that after the first few nights of "raids by police" the ANC negotiated for a change of methods.

Bapela reports that the police did respond positively to some suggestions. "For example, they agreed to allow peace monitors to accompany them while conducting searches. They agreed to only conduct searches during daylight hours unless absolutely necessary."

Francois Bill, chief administrator at the Alex Clinic, said: "But there can be no lasting peace in Alex unless the root causes of violence are eliminated. In Alex, that means first of all cleaning out the hostels and shacks."

When Joe Louw visited Alexandra township this week he got a shock: it was a picture of peace and tranquillity. He set out to find out how it happened.

'Beirut' battleground the target of Alex peace bid

A TECHNICAL study is under way to assess the damage in the Alexandra's "Beirut" area.

The idea is to have it declared a disaster area and to formally apply for funds for its reconstruction and rehabilitation, says Dr Liz Carmichael of the Interim Crisis Committee.

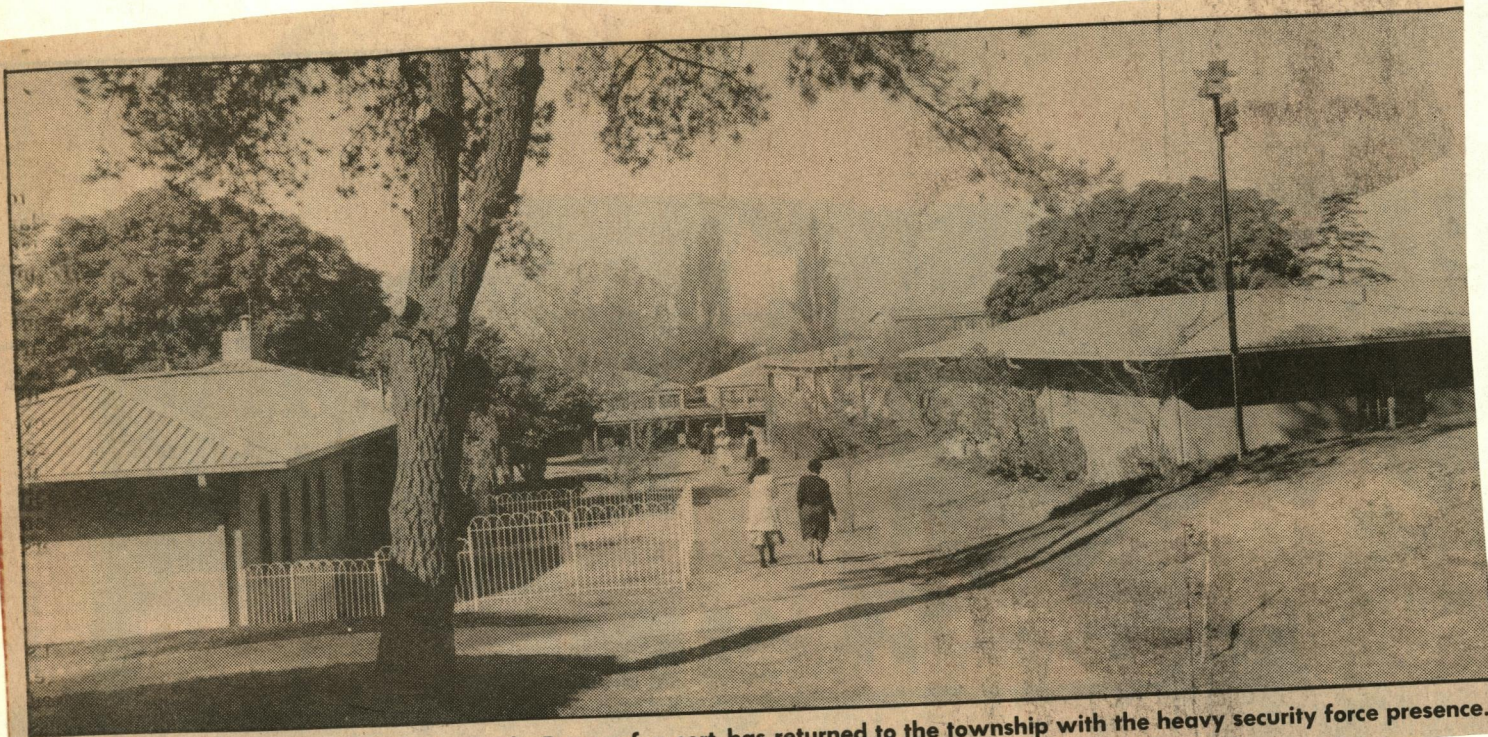
"The effort includes all parties involved in the peace process — the political organisations and the administration," she says.

"We are also undertaking a survey of all hostels in the township to find out exactly who is there and how many people live in them."

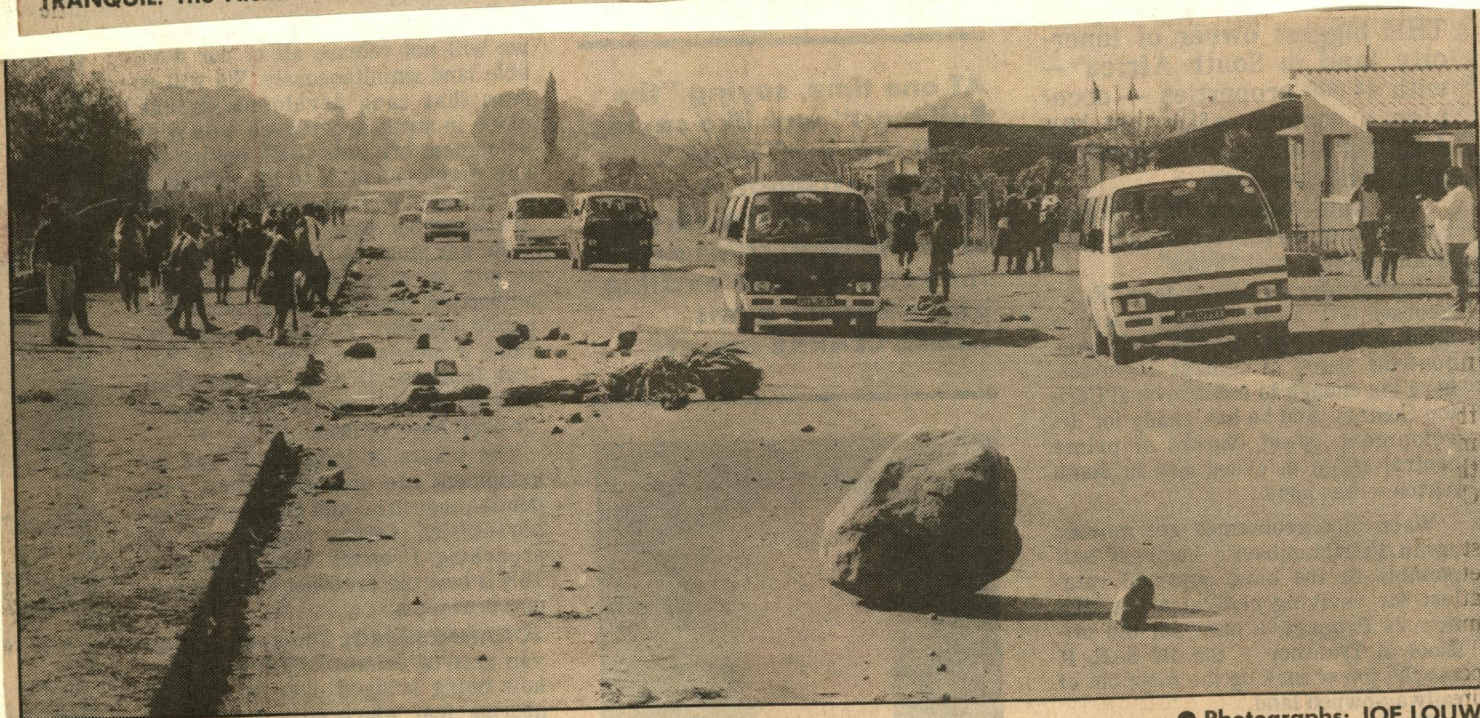
Carmichael says the move to have "Beirut" declared a disaster area will also be taken up with the relevant committees of the Goldstone Commission, which can make recommendations for the release of departmental funds to help in rehabilitation.

Other efforts to stabilise the community include getting the Alexandra Town Council working again and finding ways to repair destroyed buildings.

"This will take a lot of time. Meanwhile, we have to do a lot of work to change people's attitudes at the grassroots," Carmichael says.



TRANQUIL: The Alexandra Clinic this week. Peace of a sort has returned to the township with the heavy security force presence.



ANARCHY: The streets of Sebokeng bear the signs of recent violence.

● Photographs: JOE LOUW

STAR 13-06-92

In Sebokeng, getting killed is a simple matter

AS DUSK falls shortly after 5.30 pm, passengers in the combi speeding along the main road towards Sebokeng Township began to get edgy.

A curtain of smoke had descended on the pall of dust left by the taxis as they zig-zag among the boulders and barricades. The yells of the drivers and their banging add to the tangible aura of fear.

To be caught on the streets at night is to court disaster. Sebokeng has entered a state of anarchy and getting killed is a simple matter — political affiliation is not important, nor does it matter whether you are a man, woman or a child.

A woman was stabbed taking her washing from the line. A man was shot on his way to an

SEBOKENG is one of the Vaal's most gruesome killing fields. Its rock-strewn streets and gutted houses give it the atmosphere of a movie-set war zone — a backdrop for clusters of youths many people describe as the "lost generation" but whose activities no adult dares to question. JOE LOUW went there to see for himself.

outside toilet. A child (4) perished in a shoot-out between comrades and the police.

Zone 7 in Sebokeng is among the most notorious districts of the Vaal region. Its rock-strewn streets and gutted houses give it the atmosphere of a movie-set war zone — a backdrop for clusters of rowdy boys, often accompanied by girls in school uniforms, who many people describe as the "lost generation"

but whose activities no adult dares to question.

They are the products of a long-standing tradition of violence in the township. It has instilled a fear into its victims that will last a lifetime. Starting in 1991 with what became known as "The Sebokeng Vigil Massacre" — 27 mourners murdered and 50 injured by AK-47 bullets at a funeral of a slain community leader — Sebokeng is one of the Vaal's most gruesome

some killing fields.

The entire family of Vaal Civic Organisation and ANC leader Ernest Sostu was killed in one night while he was attending a meeting last year. Only last month a notorious policeman, "Skuta" Marumo, a Sebokeng cop was found mutilated and burned with his neck-laced torso dragged about the township and then displayed on the chimney of a local house.

Zone 7 has seen fighting not

only between residents and the nearby hostel dwellers and between residents and the police, gangs of youths against each other and recently, factional fighting between union leaders of the National Union of Mines and local ANC leaders commanding dissident factions of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

"The situation is very complicated," Sam Ntuli of the Evaton/Sebokeng Civic Association told the Saturday Star. "While the nightly attacks by hit squads are going on, we are face rival fighting between sections of the 'alliance' leadership. We have appealed to the national leaders of both the unions and the ANC as well as the SACP to intervene and restore peace and order."

THE STAR 13-06-92

More questions than answers from founder

THROW any accusation you like the way of Ithuba founder Gareth Pyne-James and he'll counter it, usually quite persuasively. His critics say that's because he has had quite a bit of practice.

When the row over the Ithuba game first blew up in April, questions were asked about his salary — R17 000 a month — about the fact that a cancer charity he headed in Britain collapsed owing thousands and about whether the money spent on Ithuba activities was really justified by the returns.

Pyne-James answered that his salary was paid by sponsors, not public donation, that the charity Search 88 collapsed because he left — not the other way round — and that Ithuba

had generated R11 million for welfare sport and education since its inception.

This simply prompted further questions. It emerged that Pyne-James had spent liberally on entertainment — including a bill of nearly R1 500 at Sun City — using the Ithuba credit card. He had also spent over R900 in four days on restaurant bills.

It also emerged that R2,5 million of the total he said Ithuba had raised was never actually paid. It was a donation announced on Ithuba day last October by the KwaZulu Development Corporation, thus boosting the year's total to R7 million. By April it was "still in the pipeline".

Closer scrutiny of the memo-



PERSUASIVE: Ithuba founder Gareth Pyne-James.

randum of association of Ithuba Promotions — registered as a section 21 company (that is not for gain) — shows that these were amended to allow for employees of the company and its directors to benefit from "profit sharing plans or other incentive schemes".

Pyne-James says he is unaware of this and that "it has certainly never been applied".

Now further details of Pyne-James's activities with British cancer charity Search 88 have come to light through the photographic company, Fuji, which in 1987 agreed to sponsor various fund-raising efforts to the tune of R1,6 million. Fuji was especially involved with a book, called "One Day For Life", which asked everyone in Britain to take a photograph and send it in with a donation. The best pictures would be published. Fuji's complaints — outlined in documents sent from London — in effect accused Pyne-James of misleading them. They included:

- That the Duchess of York,

patron of Search 88, never turned up as promised at most functions, in one instance because she was in Canada. "This must have been known prior to the presentation by Search 88," Fuji's representatives wrote, "as palace diaries are put to bed many months in advance."

- That the Charity Shield soccer match would not be in aid of Search 88 as promised. Search 88's involvement was limited to a banner.
- That large numbers of leaflets advertising the photographic competition — Search 88 had promised every house in Britain would get one — were found on a rubbish dump.

Search 88 eventually collapsed, owing hundreds of thousands of pounds.

Violence 'a problem' for SA's super salesman

Saturday Star 13 - 06 - 92

CAPE TOWN — Apartheid reform has enabled President F W de Klerk to talk business in 33 countries since 1990, but violence and stalled democracy negotiations have made it hard for him to deliver any deals.

De Klerk got back on Monday from Russia, Japan and Singapore, his 14th safari to barter political change for a return to the world economy. He told reporters on his return he had no guarantees of new economic ties, but expected an improvement in trade with Japan and Singapore.

"Our goals were not to go

back to South Africa with signed agreements of any nature (but) to explore and lay foundations for long-term mutually beneficial agreements. "The continuing violence is ... a problem."

Western diplomats, speaking on condition of anonymity, said in Cape Town that little had actually happened as a result of De Klerk's travels to boost South Africa's flagging econ-

BRENDAN BOYLE

omy. De Klerk has visited countries as diverse as Poland, Taiwan, Ireland and France since South Africa's diplomatic isolation began to ease two years ago.

One European envoy called him a consummate salesman and said his travels since he began to dismantle apartheid in Feb-

ruary 1990 had increased the potential for trade. "But if you ask me, has he brought home new deals, new business? Well, I have to say, no, not directly."

The South African economy, skewed by 40 years of apartheid, is battling to break out of its longest post-war recession.

"There is a lot of sniffing around, a lot of research is being done in South Africa, but President de Klerk cannot pre-

tend the violence is subsiding or that agreement on an interim government is near," said one diplomat.

About 1 000 people have been killed this year alone in fighting, mainly between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party. One diplomat said Western leaders probably accepted that De Klerk was doing all he could to end the violence, although the

ANC accused white-led security forces of fanning the conflict.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha played down the effects of the violence on De Klerk's credibility abroad — and the slow progress in talks on transition to democracy. "There is great admiration for him out there and a firm belief that this Government must not be ousted, that it must be part of the decision-

making process."

Pretoria has opened 15 new embassies in the 28 months since De Klerk freed Mandela. But ANC spokesman Saki Mazozoma is sceptical about the benefits of the welcome given to De Klerk in world capitals.

"They over-estimate him. The red carpet rolled out for him abroad is likely to be translated into increasing intransigence at the negotiating

table."

Deputy Foreign Minister Renier Schoeman concedes that violence and instability are also delaying South Africa's entry to Middle-East markets.

"It is understandable that the often-heated rhetoric of the political debate ... contributes to an atmosphere of uncertainty," he said.

"There are still constraints inhibiting the expansion and consolidation of economic and political relations between South Africa and the Arab world." — Sapa-Reuter.

ANC to bid for the support of minority groups

■ ANC president Nelson Mandela says the organisation will try to woo whites, coloured people and Indians.

DURBAN. — The African National Congress was concerned it could lose elections to the National Party because of the NP's experience in the electoral process, its organisational ability and its resources, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said here.

Opening the southern Natal ANC Women's League conference yesterday, Mr Mandela said despite the atrocities committed by the NP, many South Africans feared the ANC and would rather vote against it.

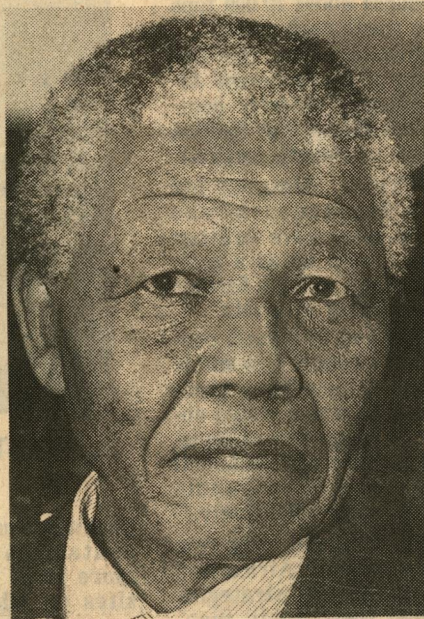
The ANC was, however, addressing these fears and was holding discussions with coloured and Indian leaders and would soon meet white leaders.

"We will soon meet with prominent white leaders to discuss how to address the fears whites have of a democratic government," he said.

Mr Mandela said it was important the ANC's top leadership represented the different communities in South Africa, and the organisation was aware that its current leadership was dominated by blacks.

"People must see in our power structures that this is an organisation that represents all the people."

The ANC leader said his organisation had to work harder at allaying fears of minority groups that blacks



Nelson Mandela

would practice reverse discrimination.

Mr Mandela later addressed members of the Indian community in Chatsworth in a speech that observers said was a clear attempt to woo this sector towards the ANC.

He told about 200 people representing Indian cultural, sporting and civic bodies that the ANC acknowledged it had made mistakes in its attitude towards Indians.

He said some ANC-supporting youths had lacked patience in dealing with Indian businessmen by demanding financial support for the struggle.

Indians had contributed tirelessly to the plight of the oppressed without any thanks. The ANC intended righting these wrongs by fully incorporating the Indian community into its structures.

Mr Mandela explained that he was to address a mass rally in Phoenix, Durban, today to discuss these and other issues regarding the Indian community and a future democracy.

"The time has come to discuss the mistakes the ANC has made in its attitude towards Indian people because we've reached a decisive stage in our fight for democracy," he said.

□ Mr Mandela also hit back at Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthe's remarks that the mass action campaign would lead to deaths, saying black leaders "produced by apartheid" would always propagate views that served the interests of the government and big business.

Responding to a question after the address in Chatsworth, Mr Mandela said mass action was used as a legitimate form of struggle throughout the world, even by "countries that enjoy the vote".

Mr Mandela said the country was at a stage where talks were being held aimed at ushering in democracy. Mass action had led to this stage, he stressed. — Sapa.

has my was more

Political elements 'hijacked' hospitals strike: SAP

By Tony Stirling,
Hugo Hagen and
Brian Stuart

POLICE said yesterday that criminal and political elements appeared to have hijacked the Transvaal hospitals strike, following the deaths of two hospital workers and the wounding of a third — as well as widespread evidence of intimidation.

Two Natalspruit Hospital workers were shot dead on Thursday night in a house in the East Rand township of Katlehong in an attack on a house, and a third — who works at the Boksburg-Benoni Hospital — was wounded in the same incident.

A nurse from the Boksburg-Benoni Hospital was assaulted and her vehicle damaged in an incident yesterday morning.

The strike, called by the National Education, Health and Administrative Workers' Union (Nehawu), has spread to 10 hospitals on the Reef, and was yesterday having serious effects. At the 10 hospitals only emergency

cases were being treated and less serious cases were being referred to other hospitals not yet affected by strike action.

Spokesmen at the various hospitals yesterday confirmed that men who threatened "ali and sundry" with violence forced workers away from their jobs.

A Johannesburg Hospital spokesman said yesterday that only about one third of their general assistants belonged to Nehawu, but the other two thirds were being kept away from their work.

"The hospital management have repeatedly pointed out the consequences of the strike, which would be totally illegal due to a Supreme Court Order still applicable against the union at the Johannesburg Hospital.

The Johannesburg Hospital issued an urgent appeal for voluntary workers yesterday.

Anyone willing to assist can phone (011) 488-4123 or 488-4130 from 7 am to

10 pm.

A spokesman for the TPA yesterday said any volunteers wishing to assist at other hospitals elsewhere could phone that hospital's switchboard, and information would be provided about the type of assistance which is required.

"The TPA laundry at Dunsward on the East Rand, serving 12 hospitals for instance, has an enormous crisis and volunteers are desperately needed," a TPA spokesman said.

The hospitals which were yesterday hit by the strikes were Johannesburg, Hillbrow, Natalspruit, Medunsa Dental Hospital, GaRankuwa, HF Verwoerd, Pretoria, Willem Cruywagen in Germiston, Baragwanath in Soweto, AG Visser in Heidelberg and Tembisa near Midrand.

• Nehawu general secretary Mr Neil Thobejane yesterday described the union's demands as "rea-

sonable", as negotiations for better wages and benefits have been going on for more than two years.

"We went on strike as a last resort," he said.

He said they wanted a minimum wage of R1 100 and an across-the-board increase of R400 a month. They also want six months' paid maternity leave and a 40-hour work-week, while temporary appointments are to be made permanent.

The union was yesterday locked in negotiations with TPA representatives.

• Health workers cannot be permitted "the luxury" of striking because of the danger to patients, the Conservative Party and Democratic Party said in separate statements yesterday.

Dr FH Pauw, CP spokesman on health, said the CP had warned the government of the consequences earlier this year when it accepted legislation which made it no longer illegal for nurses to strike.

"The CP demands that the strikers should be dismissed and that the ring-leaders be prosecuted. Unemployed people can then be taken into service in their place."

Mr Douglas Gibson, DP spokesman on Transvaal provincial affairs, said he had watched with increasing alarm the deadlock between Nehawu and the TPA.

"While each side may have some good arguments supporting its own position, I am more concerned about the hospital patients whose lives are at risk because of the dispute."

Pre-empt mass action

ANC PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela has come to Natal at a crucial moment, when the country is torn by the choice between negotiation and power play.

The very reason for the breakdown in negotiations at Codesa 2 last month was the difference in importance attached respectively by the Government and the ANC to the questions of majority rule and power-sharing. The Government sees majority rule as the tyranny of black over white, and wants to prevent further race domination. The ANC sees power-sharing as an attempt by the Government to cling to power when whites make up no more than 15% of the population.

In Natal, Mr Mandela meets in larger measure than in most other parts of the country a population of minorities — whether they be white, Indian, coloured, and black, or Zulus and Xhosas. Each group has its own allegiance to an idea of democracy, and a fear of subjection.

With the main players at Codesa deadlocked, the threat of mass action looms — the ANC's "key to unlock the door of democracy", as Mr Mandela puts it. Natal's minorities will view this strategy with differing degrees of enthusiasm: as an opportunity to break the deadlock or as a threat (particularly as stay-aways threaten job security in a time of economic depression and as mass action can easily lead to further outbreaks of violence and social upheaval).

Mr Mandela believes the ANC has made its gestures of compromise, but that the Government is refusing the democratic wishes of the majority. To him, mass action is the only course left open now, something that could put negotiation back on track.

We believe urgent steps are necessary, both by the Government and by the ANC, to ensure that direct talks between them make mass action unnecessary. The country is too fraught to risk the dangers and destructive potential of mass action.

White rule must give way to non-racial rule, with civil rights security for all. The Government must not try to cling to power, nor the ANC to snatch it. Time is running out. The need for real talking, real concessions, is now.

CP rebellion 'on the boil'

MERCURY 13-06-92

By Chris Whitfield

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—A rebellion appears to be brewing in the CP, following bitter exchanges at the party's special Hoofraad (executive committee) meeting in Pretoria last weekend.

Four MPs are understood to be at the head of a dissenting group strongly opposed to new policy guidelines issued by the CP.

They are Mr Cehill Pienaar, the MP for Heilbron, Mr Moolman Mentz (Ermelo), Andries Beyers (Potchefstroom) and Mr Chris de Jager (Bethal).

Mr de Jager did not attend the Hoofraad meeting, apparently in disgust at the lack of substance in the CP's proposals.

At the meeting Mr Beyers strongly opposed the policy document and called for a vote on them. He was backed, after

heated argument, by Mr Pienaar and Mr Mentz.

Mr de Jager was subsequently left out of a CP delegation that met the Government on Thursday to discuss constitutional developments, in spite of having led the CP team at preliminary discussions.

The four did not attend a CP caucus meeting on Thursday but three of them — Mr Mentz, Mr de Jager and Mr Beyers — later issued a statement denying they had boycotted it.

They said all four had apologised to the party's Chief Whip for their non-attendance, as was the practice in the CP.

But they said: "It is true that

there are differences in interpretation of the policy document accepted by the Hoofraad."

Discussions were continuing and there was no talk of a split, they said.

However, the party has already expelled two dissenting MPs.

Meanwhile, National Party hopes that it would gain new members — or at least a partly supportive delegation to Codesa — from the CP have been dashed by recent developments.

Those CP members who were contemplating going to the negotiating forum are understood to be so angered by what they describe as "President de Klerk's inaction" on the Development Aid scandal that they would not contemplate aligning themselves with him.

Parties want a slice

WATCHING the Codesa 2 proceeding one would have been flabbergasted by the lack of self-confidence displayed by most parties.

It was clearly demonstrated by all the Government aligned parties and organisations that they do not regard themselves as representatives of the people but groups of individuals who want a slice in the Government of a new South Africa.

Practically, the debate there was about clipping off wings of the organisation feared to command the people's support, the ANC. At the end of the day, this is an attempt to deprive the people of the right to participate in free and fair elections like in all sane societies.

The "domination of the majority" constantly referred to in these proceedings is actually domination of the people. Surely there is no democracy anywhere in the world in which the minority dominates.

The whole argument in the proceedings was about how to stop the majority from winning in the event of elections in this country - to work out a democracy dominated by a decadent minority. Why would any one believing himself to be representative of a people be not sure of his mandate or votes?

We South Africans do not want half votes designed specially for us to accommodate the moribund.

It is high time the ANC reviewed its participation in Codesa if the whole thing is about how to revitalise the dying and to keep us dominated but in acceptable ways. It's continued involvement in the planning of our demise shall be seen by us as counter-progressive.

MMELELIMIYA Johannesburg

SOWETAN
12-06-92