

By SQQ%,JO:CL S  
THE STAR SAT. 25 SEPTEMBER 1983

Consi~\201tunon the.  
next challenge

for negotiators \*

- CHRIS WHITFIELD  
Political Corrupondoni

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 South. Afr!ca having this week  
cleared one significant hardle on the road to a new,  
dispensation, now faces a major test. e

By the end of next month, negotiators hope to have .  
settled their differences on the interim constitution;;  
in terms of which the country will be governed::  
after the scheduled April 27 election and until a:-  
final constitution has been accepted. - 2

Given that the final product will be bound by prin-  
ciples in the interim document, the next few week&  
could shape South Africaâ\200\231s future. :

In what might be an indication that the conservaw -  
tive flank of the Cabinet is gaining ascendancy, the  
Government has indicated it is going to take up the  
fight over the strength of regional power on behalf of  
the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Minutes after the Transitional Executive Courcil  
Bill was passed this week, Constitutional Develop~  
| ment Minister Roelf Meyer said the Goveroment'S:  
| first objective was to â\200\234ensure it (an interim constiqu="

{ tion) provides for the maximum devolution of power  
: to the regional and local levels of governmentâ\200\235.

The aacceptance of this constitution by the IFP and-  
the right wing is critical to'the success of the coun- -  
cil, the legislation for which will be on ice until a'\_  
â\200\234packageâ\200\235 of agreements is agreed to by a p.ena.v-y

. session of negotiating-party leaders.

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â\202~ .-

Broadly symbolic 5

The council was the subject of vastly duâ\200\230ferent,  
interpretations this week.

Meyer told reporters that the Goveerriment haa  
taken legal advice which indicated that the counch -  
would not diminish the sovereignty of Pa;hament,l  
the CP, on the other hamd, charged that the legislas.:  
tion provided vast powers for the counsil whica  
would rendet Parliament impotent. :

Meyger branded the CP'â\200\231s allegations as â\200\234totally de  
void of truthâ\200\235.

In essence the council will be limited in scope but broad in symbolism. Its powers will be confined to the objects of the legislation in essence, to ensure free and fair electioneering. However, it will have veto powers. Decisions will be taken in the council and its sub-councils by increased majorities; which will demand broad consensus. Any party objecting to a decision will have recourse to a special electoral court in a process which could see the body bogged down during its brief lifespan. - .

The multiparty nature of the body, which will include members of all negotiating parties wishing to take part, means that black South Africans will for the first time have at least a hand on the levers of power. jan

" DP leader Dr Zachariah Beer said the measures adopted in the short session of Parliament which finished yesterday amounted to major steps away from the old South Africa towards the dangerous uncertain but truly promising new one.

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'SAT. 25 SEPTEMBER

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Donâ\200\231t say it too loudly now,

but thin

N NEW YORK city, President de Klerk was declaring it an historic day for South Africa, and Nelson Maadela was adding the final touches (o his speech for the United Nations. Their second attempt at a US double act was taking the town by storm. Back in Cape Town, the sound of Conservative Party MPs marching disgustedly out of Parliament was drowned by

feartfelt cries of â\200\234hamba kahle" from other par-â\200\231

ties, elated after the passage of the Transitional Executive Council Bill.

In capitals all over the world, statements

were being scribbled expressing delight at the.

turn of events in South Africa, and President Bill Clinton himseif led the welcome rush of sta-tesmenâ\200\231s plaudits. International financial bodies were beginuing to mumble encouraging noises about investment and aid, and pundits at home whis ered that perhaps, just perhaps, economic turnaround was becoming visible on the horizon.

Even the ANC and the Afrikaner Volksfront were getling a joint act together, revealing that several weeks of secret talks had improved their relations immeasurably. The Inkatha Freedom Parly, for its part, kept its opposition to the transitional legislation temperate, leaving doors open for future agreement.

To top all of this, the headlines, at the time of writing, were mercifully free of South African death figures. Friday was a good, good day en the southern tip of Alrica, especially by recent standards. Ordinarily, positive developments in our counfry have to struggle for breath under a suffocating blanket of negatives, and ordinarily they do not coincide, but rather occue intermif-tently and disjointedly. Not so this week. The teansition changed gear yesterday: the conflu-ence of encouraging events sent the country surging forward after months of costly idling.

No, of course we have not suddenly entered

the land of milk and honey. No doubt there are innumerable spirit-sagging disasters waiting around the remaining corners of 1993. But what

#### UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

SHAUN  
Johrson

NO DOUBT there are innumerable spirit-sagging disasters waiting around the remaining corners of 1993. But what we are experiencing at the moment is the arrival of a trigger-point for optimism.

we are experiencing at the moment is the arrival of a trigger-point for optimism, something almost as rare as a tiger in Africa. The question is: will we make full use of it, or toss it away?

One of the keys to success in the decisive coming months lies in persuading Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and General Constand Viljoen that the transitional blueprint drawn up by negotiators is a fair, flexible and inclusive one, and that it is in their and the country's interests for them to endorse and embrace it

The option has been raised of holding a national referendum should they finally reject the Interim Constitution when it is finalised, but persuasion by negotiation is first prize and in this regard there are very interesting moves afoot at the moment.

While the Government is courting Inkatha publicly, it is encouraging to note that the ANC is engaged in some private flirtations of its own. It is known that at a recent meeting Mandela

is looking up

persuaded his national executive that the ANC should pre-emptively offer Buthelezi a significant executive role in a transitional government, whatever his electoral performance. Things went awry when this was put to Buthelezi by Mandela at their recent meeting (sources say the chief first appeared pleased, but then reverted to suspicion), but the seeds of realistic compromise are being sown. This constructive atmosphere, helped along by Government attempts to reassure the IFP that its federalist concerns are not being ignored, holds promise.

As far as the Afrikaner Volksfront is concerned, rationality is also prevailing and illustrated by the series of secret meetings between Viljoen's men and the ANC, which produced yes-

terdayâ\200\231s important joint declaration of principled intent. The moral leadership of the white Right is passing ever more clearly from the Conservative Party to the AVF in the process: Viljoen was busy leeking for practical CoOmpromises while Ferdi Hartzenberg's cohorts were behaving like schoolboy pranksters, making a raess of the Speaker's nice dinner in Cape Town.

The ANC is looking seriously for a solution to the volkstaat conundrum, and that is a good development. At the same time Mandela has been making special efforts to address minority constituencies in South Africa â\200\224 whites particularly â\200\224 and incrementally the feverish temperature in the country is being brought down.

(It is interesting to detect in Mandelaâ\200\231s ap-â\200\231 proachies to whites that they scem aimed primarily at encouraging people to stay and pacticipate in the new society. lHe would of course like to gain additional electoral support for the ANC, but that concern is secondary to the interest of the country in keeping all its productive citizens where they belong.)

These are just some strands of what looks like the strengthening fabric of the new South Africa. Strands are fragile, and they can easilyâ\200\235 break or knot. Qur task is to ensure they do not. .

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SADF will have to in-

volve the reduction of

white Afrikaners as well

ag a â\200\234dramatic influxâ\200\235 of

Zulus, say (wo military

researchers.

Writing in the latest

edition of the South Afri-

can Defence Review, Dr

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BRENDAN SEERY

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Greg Mills of the Uni-

versity of the Weslern

Cape and Geolfrey Wood

of Rhtodes University

warn of trouble ahead

uniess the SADF reflects

the racial and ethnic

composition of society

as a whole.

Risk

According to the latest

statistics from the SA

Institute of Race Rela-

tions, Afrikaans-speak-

ers constitute 15,7 per-

cent of the population,

while Xhosa and Zulu-

speakers make up 174

and 21,9 percent respec-

tively.

Zulus are represented only in small numbers in

the SADF and in Umkhonto we Sizwe and homeland armies such as the Transkei and Ciskei defence forces.

Mills and Wood theorise that a future SADF would comprise about 65 000 members if integration occurred between the existing SADF

professional forces, MK and the homeland forces. This figure would be too high for South Africa's projected needs, but would reduce the risk of unemployed soldiers being a potentially disruptive element in the transformation period.

Blacks would form the

majority (about 40 000) of such a new force, but in the short term the officer corps would re-

main dominated by

shake-up warning

whites. Overall, Africans and Xhosa-speakers would likely form the vast majority in such a new SADF, while Zulus would make up only a smaller percentage.

Graduated

While the number of blacks within the SADF structure has changed significantly since the start of negotiations in 1990, black advancement within the force has been slow, say Mills and Wood. Only in 1981 were the first black students admitted to the Military Academy at Saldanha, while the first two black midshipmen graduated from the Naval Staff College last year.





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A SURVEY of  
township refugees  
shows that at least  
half have been  
driven out in a  
systematic campaign  
to clear and  
reoccupy houses.  
Chlet Reporter  
JOHN PERLMAN  
investigated.

A

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MOST Tokaza residents  
had been sleeping â\202-tilly  
{ac weeks. The phone  
rings at 3 am awakened  
everyone in the little  
house on Khurnalo Street.

The household head, a 56-  
year-old woman, picked up  
the phone. â\200\234The caller sim-  
ply said â\200\230Are you still  
there?â\200\235 â\204¢ she recalls. "The  
next morning my children  
and I decided to move â\204¢

While Leccac takes away  
evidence in this township, here  
is evidence that many fami-  
lies, who have fled their homes  
are not just running from Ue  
tigating A survey of families  
carried out by the indepen-  
dent Board of Inquiry, a Jo-  
Banasshurg based monitoring  
group, shows that at least half  
were driven out in a systemat-  
ic campaign to clear and  
reoccupy houses

Every respondent pointed  
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This week the Saturday Star  
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@ ace dcving peapla out; many have besa (old to leave thair passessions behind.

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said â\200\230You muast leave the  
bouse, we need the honse' â\204¢

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how four meca armed with  
pangay and guas croe aad  
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s b killed. 4 ther gave theam  
the keyy to dhe hauae â\204¢

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oA 2 general fear of the v

lence â\200\234We caa't go to church,  
shops or visit our retatives oo  
the other stde. In aar acca  
people 2te dying aad are  
bedng cobbed,â\200\235 said coe.

lo ooa of muany accountls af  
extcetlom, a I6-yearld man  
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@ Photograph: MYKEL NICOLAOU

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acted wilh great confldence.  
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wiggestion of the pobiee -  
{ound they could not help  
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ont, they tlready moved inâ\200\235  
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f Tokoza

Most people Belt samething  
behtnd, atany last thinzs as  
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oae womaa it mever stopped:  
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brather al Ndebele Steeet  
#twere It was burnt whlle Â¥  
brother wasaway.â\200\235

Many bomes were occupied  
hy pensisoces, some of them  
living alcoa In a nuaiber of  
househatds, the young meo  
had fl=d ruaadbs earlier, etlder  
beczuss Lhey had been tocced  
(o patrol or =ere ln danger  
Qnc momaa said she was ield  
â\200\234they Joo't want to see any  
bay 10 my hause. So f tnak my  
3003 away.â\200\235

Sane peaple describnd the  
hostel dmsllers as fokatha;  
fewee than 20 people de-  
geribed the2lr bosszhalds as  
ANHC There was some mea-  
toa of Zulu-XKhasa ammesily  
One Zale woman was asked:  
â\200\234Why are you staying here?  
Yau are impimpis liviag  
armeng Xiosas â\204¢

But anathec Zulu =oman  
sald: â\200\234Evea if you are Zula  
they shoat you' Aod A manm  
who Aad scen dis beother and  
twa nesgbbears kiled said his  
dlletormma was even despec  
â\200\234Ae are feovn Nalal We mese  
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Zulug (n the bostel acd (he  
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Irave"

The sur7e7 suggests that  
same people blving in hack-  
vacd ahacks dave sided wild  
hastel resideats, addlag au-  
odder line of dlvisicn ta a frac-  
(ared commounlly.

One woman sasd: â\200\234We muast  
aisa remave the shaicks as  
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wha want ta are unashineois on  
{he ecaditions that will allaa  
their retorne llght secocity,  
and demalstion of the hostels

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AR SAI. 25 SEPTEMBER 1993

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A SINGLE local govern-

ment, forux for Alberton,

Eden Park, T

Phola Park is in the pipe-

ï\201, Tokgza Peace Com-  
tee (TPC) and A

ton councillors told jour-

nalists in

yesterday.

~\_Tnis waa obe of several.

prdposals decided by 29

organisations, including  
IÂ¥P

TFP, ANC and SAP, at  
Hweekend conference to  
bring peste to violences  
torn Tok

Other {aitiatives includ-

ed community policing .

and housing construction.

-Beproumaï\202on

Yt s resolved. that &  
local interim government  
fofum with panty of rep-  
resentation between the  
Afberton and Eden Park  
coramunities on the one

d, and the Tokoza and  
Phbla Park communities  
on the other, be estab-  
lished,â\200\235 the resolution

that ap urgen

with full represeptation  
{rom these communities  
berconvened 3  
fegt to the local interim

goyernment forum, and to  
address other issues raised  
parv.'xcularly the im-  
pravement of services.â\200\235

S00

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Johannesburg -

cause the

to give ef-

For housing  
tion, the TEL said-re-  
sources would be. sought  
from, among others, the  
Independent Development -  
Trust and the National  
Housing Forum. -

TPC member Duma -  
NEkosi pointed out that To-  
koza was becoming 3  
qlum, which made locat-  
g criminals, more  
cuit. He said it was much  
egsier to find â\200\230criminals i .

an area like â\200\230Alperton be-

cause it had a better in-

frastructure. â\200\230  
- On relo@tiâ\200\231ng residents  
who had beed foreed out  
of their houses, NEos! i said  
that would have t0 be re-  
solyed With  
tives from Katlehong be-  
townships Were  
essentially oge ared

Conference delegates  
bad agreed  
koza, with joint - commu-  
nity and security force pa-

trols stabilising 00-g0  
initi iod

areas for an initial penl  
of nine months. . :

On general policing, 2  
cornmunity peace com-

mittee would serve as 4  
permanent consultative

forum which would handle -

special complaints.

These proposals, how-  
ever, would have 10 be de-  
veloped. â\200\224 Sapa-  
â\200\224  
representa-  
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gifi- |  
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â\200\234THE STAR,

AL

HIGH-LEVEL talks â\200\230between the Right  
and the Left have sent shock waves  
through some circles, reports  
Pclitical Correspondent

KAIZER NYATSUMBA. \_

SOUTH Africaâ\200\231s  
fiercest political op-  
ponents, the ANC  
and the Afrikaner  
Volksfront, have  
held a series of bi-  
lateral meetings in  
an effort to resolve  
their differences  
peacefully and  
avoid civil war, they  
revealed yesterday.

The disclogure sent  
shock waves through  
right-wing circles,  
with Berstigte Na-  
sionale Party leader  
Jaap Marais accusing  
the AVF leadership of  
having a secret agen-  
da which militated  
against the will and  
wishes of â\200\234the Afri-  
kager nationâ\200\235 and  
other whites with  
right-wing sentiments.

Raconciliation

The â\200\230â\200\234toepaderingâ\200\235,  
which began with secret  
talks between ANC pre-  
sident Nelson Mandela  
and his AVF counterpart  
Genperal Copstand Vil-

joen six weeks. ago, has  
so far resulted io both  
groups ~committing  
themselves = to. doing  
everything in their  
power to avert 3 possi-

v ble slide towards eivil

war.  
Following the execu-

tive leadership-level  
meetings over the past  
few weeks, the ANC and

' AVF yesterday said they

realised â\200\234that lack of  
communication between  
them in the past had  
contributed to.polarisa-  
tion. They now shared  
â\200\234ap overriding desireâ\200\235 to  
work . for reconciliation  
between the. two organi-  
sations, : -

In their joint' state-  
ment, Viljoen. and ANC  
pational - Â¢ - chairman

Thabo' Mbeki: said: their .

discussions would: be in-

: tensified ln;' -â\200\230g matter of

â\200\234All participants were  
sincere in their desire to  
prevent further polarisa-  
tion. and 3ible war,  
which: would not be in

the interest of anyone ot  
the country as a whole,â\200\235  
aaid the two leaders.

The discussions fol-  
lowed public statements  
by Mandela and Viljoen  
that there was an obliga-  
tion on all political lead-  
ers in the country â\200\234to act  
in a responsible way ...  
as a matter of urgency  
to prevent the prolifera-  
tion of violence and an-  
archyâ\200\235. ;

The talks were also  
necessitated by the fact  
that the geperally beld

religious beliefs. and  
values of civilisation  
made a serious peace ef-  
fort . â\200\234an imperative  
rather than an optionâ\200\235.

They said the discus-  
sions had so far promot-  
ed better mutual under-  
standing and the butld-  
ing of greater trust and  
more confldence.

A wide range of issues  
relating to the present  
political situation and  
the AVE's desire to have  
an area demarcated as a  
volkstaat where Afn-  
kagers would â\200\234survive  
as a pationâ\200\235 was discus-  
sed. ;

The two men 2aid that  
while serious differences  
of opinion still existed oo  
crucial issues, they also  
had â\200\234elements of com-  
monalityâ\200\235, such as the  
shared sense of urgency  
on the importance of  
creating positive eco-  
nomic growth in the  
country by ensuring that  
peace was restored.

Their statement. fol-  
lowed a report in the  
Christian - Science Moni-  
tor in the United States  
saying the AVF and the  
ANC had reached â\200\234a his-  
toric accordâ\200\235 which  
could save the countryâ\200\231s  
first all-inclusive elec-  
tions next year.

The paper said the  
talks offered the first  
\_real prospect of reduc-  
ing levels of political

- violence and the threat  
\_of a right-wing rebellion |

before next yearâ\200\231s elec  
tion.

But the HNPâ\200\231s Marais

â\200\234said the AVF leadership

had pever hinted it was  
involved in dialogue  
with the ANC.



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NP lost wi

STELLENBOSCH.

he MNational Party had  
lnst the will to gover,  
Minister of Spast Ate  
Williams said in Sicllen-  
bosch yesterday.

tie was speakiog at an  
NP Cape youth cougeess  
cession at whiclt scveral  
delegates outspokenty  
criticised the goverament.

The NP youth office-  
bearer whe introduccd  
Mr Williams, Mo Wesscl

L Rabets, said. hewas S8  
REie  
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and its lack of spueit and  
emotiot.

Mr Williams said Nat-  
(onatists had a gecat task  
in the tun-up to the Apil  
clections. lt was wathin  
their reach lo ensure the  
party bad & signifecant  
share in @ new govess:  
meal.

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govern at least three of  
the tegions... but it won't  
help il we, go a0  
. and sit oa the b\_cacl)c.s for

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Uit nexi thiee months. - >

holiday |

Â«{ am concerned by the  
etections because l fec!  
that the NP and White  
Natioaalists have lost  
their will to govern. That  
s why Lam conceried.â\200\235

He said Whites had  
given a great pift to the  
southern tip of Africa.  
and they. should stand up  
and stop thinking the  
whale world was against  
them. At the moment it  
was â\200\234browi Natsâ\204¢ who  
â\200\234were standing, up for the

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rn: Min

Yauny parit suembers  
should talk to â\200\234traditional  
Natsâ\200\235 and tell them they  
were teo guilt-laden oses  
apartleid and tao scared  
10 be part of change.

â\200\234Age the â\200\230hocieâ\200\231 now  
scarek of politics? | think  
that is the problent l  
think you had such a cul-  
ture shack with e {re-  
cent poli&ical) changes  
that you don't think you  
helong.

X ou must wake up.â\200\231  
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s Â¢+ NitioA in.the Radebe Sec-

THE CITIZEN, SAT. 25 SEPTEMBER 1993

7 killed on ER,  
homes set alight

Citizen Reponter  
POLICE found a man  
shot dead in Tokoza yes-  
terday, bninging 10 seven  
the numer of peopie  
killed in Tokoza. Katle-  
hong and Daveyton since  
Thursday.

The body was discov-  
ered in Ndakane Street.  
at about 3.35 am.

Eariiier, on Thursday  
night, police discovered  
the body of a man burnt  
to death at Pilot Station.  
â\200\230Katlehong. and another  
man shot dead betwezn  
Hostel One and Two in  
Tokoza.

Police also found a  
sliokozalse.

ran ot Katleonyg, and tat-  
er discovered a man shot  
and killed in Xhosa  
Street, Tokoza.

Another man was  
found shot dead in front  
of a house in Scbina  
Street, Daveyton. oOn  
Thursday night.

East Rand polce said  
five houses were set alight  
and 12 shacks were burnt  
down in Tokoza and  
Katlehong on Thursday.

No one was injurad and  
no arTests were made in

~an AK-47 attack on pa-

trolling police in the Twa-  
la Section, Katlchong and  
a perrol bomb attack gn,  
poliee in Khumalo Streae:

168 233 SUZAMHHE

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WIS

Senate lifts curbs

ternational Monetary  
Fund."

In a written statement  
announcing the actions,  
Mr Clinton said Americans  
must be as committed to  
helping build non-racial  
market democracy in South  
Africa as they were to  
breaking down the system of  
apartheid.

i

For this reason, I have  
asked that Commerce  
Secretary Ron Brown  
lead a trade and invest-

ment mission to South

Africa to explore business  
opportunities, particularly  
with South Africa's  
Black private sector, he  
said.

New York was the  
first United States city to  
respond yesterday to the  
call for the lifting of sanc-  
tions, unlocking access to  
the Union Square (R136-bn) in

central investment.

New York City mayor  
Mr David Dinkins, at a  
Press conference at the  
United Nations with Mr  
Mandela after the ANC  
leader's UN address, an-  
nounced he had sent a  
draft Bill to the city's  
legislators to repeal its  
sanctions legislation.

Mr Dinkins said he ex-  
pected the city's legis-  
lators to repeal New  
York's sanctions immediately.

Such a step would un-

lock \$40 billion in just two

New York retirement



funds which, Mr Dinkins  
said, would now be able  
to invest in South Africa.

The time to end sanc-  
tions is now, Mr Dinkins  
said, adding he had al-  
ways said he would wait  
for the call from the ANC  
to rescind New York's  
disinvestment policies.

' Associated Press re-  
ported Massachusetts lift-  
ed its restrictions yester-

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Today on state purchases  
from companies that do  
business in South Africa.

Governor William F  
Weld revoked a 1989 go-  
vernatorial order that  
gave companies preferen-  
ce for state contracts if  
they did not conduct busi-  
ness in South Africa.

In London, the Anti-  
Apartheid Movement  
welcomed the call for the  
lifting of sanctions, saying  
it should serve as an in-  
centive to make next  
year's elections free and  
fair.

AAM president Arch-  
bishop Trevor Huddles-  
tone said the movement's  
priority would now be to  
campaign to ensure the  
election would result in a  
decisive majority com-  
mitted to a new demo-  
cratic future for South  
Africa.

He said there were,  
however, some key areas  
where it was essential that  
South Africa continued to

be isolated by the international community.

For example, the admission/re-admission of South Africa into international organisations such as the United Nations, the Organisation for African Unity and the Commonwealth are matters which can only be resolved by a government with a democratic manda-

Archbishop Huddleston said.

In London the Commonwealth announced yesterday it would immediately begin lifting all remaining economic sanctions against South Africa.

In a communique issued by the Commonwealth Finance Ministers

Meeting in Nassau, and |

released here. Secretary-General Emeka Anyaoku said the action was a direct response to the adoption in South Africa of legislation establishing the Transitional Executive Council.

NE -

This legislation and the agreement on the date for the first non-racial elections open a new chapter in the history of South Africa, said Mr Anyaoku.

They also bring to an

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THE CITIZEN, SAT. 25 SEPTEMBER 1993

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the political

end the Commonwealth's programme of measures, adopted to bring about

the end of apartheid. The was therefore lifting immediately all trade.

vestment  
sanctionsâ\204ç.

Commonwealth <3

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and financjal ! -

The Commonwealth in-. .

itiated action against  
South Africa in 1977 with  
the Gieneagles  
ment on SpPorts Sancions,  
in retaliation for apart-  
heid.

In 1985, the Nassau  
Agreement imposed fur-  
ther: sanctions, which  
were widened and intensi-  
fied the following year.

â\200\234The Commonwealth

Agree-.

always made it cLEAR that .

sanctions were not

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tended to punish but to L

persuade the lcadere of

South Africa io accept the  
need for genuine chang- =g+

e.â\200\235 said Mr Anyaoku.

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â\200\234The lifting of thesa: e

sanctions confirms the be-

ginning of a new relation- "% -

ship between the Com-  
monwealth

Africa. a country that is  
now irreversibly com-  
mitted to joining the com-  
munity of democratic na-  
tions.â\200\235

Â® Canada will remove  
its trade, investment and  
financial sanctions against  
South Afnea, External  
Affairs Minister Perrin  
Beatty said yesterday.

â\200\234[ have consulted the  
Commonwealth sec-

retary-general and other  
members of the Com-  
monwealth Commirttee on  
southern Africa, and we  
agree that the conditions  
for lifting the remaining  
Commonwealth sanctions  
have now been met,â\200\235 said  
Mr. Beatty, who is alsb

. chaipman\_of the commijt:

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and South

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THE CITIZEN,

SAT. 25 SEPTEMBER 1993

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e By Charmaine  
. Pretorius and Sapa

' }â\200\230HE Afrikaner Volks-  
front yesterday catego-  
rically denied that it  
had struck a deal with  
}}1Â«: ANC to participate  
in the coming elections  
it return for a guaran-  
teed semi-autonomous  
Afrikaner homeland.

| Spokesman for the  
AVFE, Mr Stephan Mun-  
mger, sald there was ab-  
s{' )(u:cly a0 teuth in re  
ports which claimed that a  
51;0;11 had been struck dur-  
18g 4 secret meeting held  
Six weeks ago between  
AVF convener General  
C;m\_vst:md Vihioen  
ANC president  
tandela.

and  
Nelson

A Washington-based  
newspapet. the Christian  
Science Monitor, report-  
Âçd  
AVFE had promised lo

yesterday that the

AVF denies any  
deal with ANC

take part in the coming  
elections in return for a  
semi-autonomous Afrika-

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AVF denies deal

| FROM PAGE 1

ner Voikstaat.

11 said the accord stemmed from a secret meeting six weeks ago between AVF leader Gen Viljoen and Mr Mandela and could help ensure peace at South Africa's first non-racial elections next year,

Ar Maninger said  
The AVF is not going to make secret deals with either the ANC or the National Party. If anything fruitful comes out of our negotiations with either of these parties, it will be communicated.

According to the Monitor the AVF has proposed an area shaped like a three-pointed star that includes Pretoria and large tracts of the Orange Free State.

Meanwhile, the ANC and the AFYV issued a joint communique yesterday in which they confirmed that proposals for an Afrikaner Volksstaat were tabled for discussion during a series of bilateral discussions with one another. )

The statement said the proposals by the Afrikaner Volksfront to have an area demarcated as a Volksstaat for Afrikaner people, where Afrikaners will be able to survive as a

nation, was tabled for frank and forthright discussion.

The two delegations were led by Gen Viljoen and ANC National Chairman, Mr Thabo Mbeki, and the discussions were a follow-up on the initial meeting between Gen Viljoen and Mr Mandela.

It said the talks had

been frank and open and the two parties have agreed that there was a desire to work for reconciliation between them !

seeing that they represented two important sectors of citizens in South Africa.

â\200\234All participants were sincere in their desire to prevent further polarisation and possible war, which would not be in the interest of anyone.â\200\235 i

The AVFE and the ANC said the discussions had been encouraging and that talks would be continued and intensified as matter of urgency.

â\200\234We want our followers to be reassured that the leaders are seriously attending to the important issue of the relationship between the AVF and the ANC in the interest of all South Africaâ\200\235s people.

SAT. 25 SEPTEMBER 1993

S Senate  
lifts curbs

FEIES LSS Senatesycss  
terday approved legis-  
lation lifting US Gov-  
ernment ceonomic  
sanciions against South  
Africa.  
The

Bill. approved

ungnintousiv and without

debate. wrged the more  
than 160 Tecad and state  
governments to repenl  
theis sanctions against the  
country

Anmong other things, it

removes the requirement

that the United States  
vote againsi South Africa  
in the International Mon-  
ctagy, Fund and. Testric-  
tions on US Export-im-  
port Baak activitics here.  
Presideat Bill  
earhier vesterday called  
for the remaeval of re-  
muining US gconomic  
sanctions against South  
Africa. and said Come  
merce Sceretary Ron  
Brown would fead a trade  
mission lo the country.

Clinton

Responding lo a le-  
quest from Afrnican Nat-  
ional Congress ieader Mr  
Nelson Mandela. Mr  
Clinton urged state and  
locat governments (o Stop  
boyeotting South Africa.

He also said Washing-  
ton would remove re-  
maining federal sanctions  
by â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230taking steps ncteis-  
ary to permit leading to  
South Africa from the In-

" TOPAGEZ





Citizen Reporter

THE announcement. of  
bilateral talks between  
the Afrikaner Volksfront  
and the ANC yesterday  
sent shockwaves through  
Right-wing circles.

It was proof that the  
AVFE had a hidden agen-  
da which was kept secret,  
Herstigte Nasionale Party  
Leader, Jaap Marais,  
said.

M Marais said the  
AVFE was aware of the  
fact that the negotiations  
would not be approved by  
the Afrikaner nation and  
that it therefore had to be,

ANC-AV  
hidden agenda

200\230:pt sevrel,

He said the leaders of  
the AVF had never given  
any indication that they  
would or wanted to nego-  
tiate with the ANC on the  
future of the Afrikaner  
nation,

In fact, most of the or-  
ganisations affiliated to  
the AVF indicated that  
they were against such  
talks with the ANC.

200\234For the AVFE to nego-  
tiate with the ANC on the  
future of the Afrikaner nation

his own land, was not  
only a national humilia-  
tion. but also speaks of  
utter political naivety.

It is an accepted fact  
that the ANC is only a  
front for the SACP and  
the Communists which  
have a reputation for not  
abiding by agreements.

Mr Marais said by ne-  
gotiating with the ANC,  
the AVE not only gave  
legitimacy to the ANC's  
claim of political power  
over South Africa. but  
that the AVE was also  
giving away the Afrika-  
aner's constitutionally ac-  
quired political power.

He called on the AVE  
leaders to suspend Nego-  
tiations with the ANC.

I think it should show  
enda: HNP

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THE CITIZEN

COMMENT |  
AVF, ANC

TALKS between the Afrikaner Volksfront and the African National Congress are a well-comie development.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said recently thav.'. discussions would be held with the Right â\200\224 and these have taken place in the past two weeks, according to a joint statement issued yesterday by the two organisations.

Gcm:ir\_al Constand Viljoen, head of the AVF, says it wants a volkstaat covering areas which â\200\234historically belonged to the Boersâ\204ç.

On ane occasion, he talked of an â\200\234Afnkaner Israelâ\200\235, where the Afrikaner could promote Western values and his own culture. It would be 2 spiritual home even for Afrikaners not living in the area. P

On another occasion, he said the AVFE wanted an â\200\234Afrikaner Isrzelaâ\200\235 for 25 years as a cooling off period before an assessment could be made on whether it should move closer 10 a â\200\234future South Africaâ\200\235. : .

At Alberton this week, he said what the Afri-karriers wanted was reasonable and simple: A state where they could decide their own future. :

From the ANC point of view, everything is just as simple, but the oppostite to what General Viljoen suggests.

The ANC does not want to give up any part of South Africa to any section, hence its demand for 2 unitary state.

Although its accepts some devolution of power to regions, it wants strong central government.

In other words, unless there is a compromise, the best the AVF could hope to achieve is an Afrikaner region with semi-autonomy.

In General Viljoen, the ANC faces 2 formidable opponent. As a former South African Defence Force chief, he commands the respect of the majority of Whites, including soldiers and ex-servicemen.

At the same time, as an Afrikaner leader of

standing, he has demonstrated a remarkable ability to keep the extreme Right and the moderate Right together in the AVF, though his talks with the ANC may cause some 10 break away. - i

Meanwhile he talks peace and threatens war.

In the absence of a fair settlement, he might be tempted to take up arms.

Yert at his meeting in Alberton this week, he berated some members of the audience, which included a small Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging Wenkommando contingent, for applauding the possibility of civil war.

Do you realise the implications of this? he asked. Do you realise what will happen when three powerful forces (those represented by Afrikaner Right-wingers, the Zulu-supporting Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC alliance) grab each other?

The Afrikaner nation wanted peace and would not declare war unless it was forced to.

The ANC and the AVF, in their joint statement yesterday, reported that they would continue and intensify the bilateral discussions they had held in the past two Weeks.

The discussions covered a wide range of topics including the AVE's desire for a volkstaat.

There had been a sense of realism about the serious differences of opinion, which existed on crucial issues, the statement said.

Yet there were also elements of commonality, for example, a sense of urgency on the im-

range of creating positive economic growth by ensuring peace.

The discussions, had been encouraging. .

«All participants were sincere in their desire to

\_ prevent further polarisation and possible war.

The Citizen has suggested all along that the White Right's aspirations, as well as those of the IFP and KwaZulu/Natal, should not be lightly dismissed.

The AVF-ANC talks clearly indicate there is a chance, however remote it might seem at present, of accommodating the Afrikaner Right's desire for self-determination.

As we have also reiterated over and over again; every attempt must be made to find a peaceful solution, since a resort to arms will

destroy this country. "

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Changes in

South Africa

â\200\230irreversibleâ\200\231

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk, in the United States yesterday to boost foreign investment in South Africa, told reporters that the drive towards all-race elections and a democratic government was now â\200\234irreversibleâ\200\235, ; A week that had ended with the - lifting of virtually all international economic sanctions and 8 new bills granting blacks unprecedented participation in government could only be described, the South African President said, as historic. Popular sentiment back home, however, was more restrained. No - Sydney-like celebrations were to be counteracted on the streets of Johannesburg, much less in the outlying black townships of the East

Rand, where 77 have died in political

violence since Monday. Yesterdayâ\200\231s South African newspaper editorials carried the usual grim warnings of civil war,

Why the pessimism? Because the perception is widespread that the black and white right could still destroy the elaborate democratic edifice Mr de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, the president of the African National Congress (ANC), have been painstakingly putting together since 1990, :

â\200\230Which is why, they have been engaged in bilateral discussions to try and defuse the

right-wing bomb. Mr de Klerk has -

yet the spiritual leader of separatist whites, General Constand Viljoen of the Afrikaner Volksfront



b and Mangosuthu .  
Buthelezi, the Zulu leader of the!  
. Inkatha Freedom Party,  
Mr Mandela, having despaired

- pfany suceess with Chief Buthelezi | â\200\234fra

after 2 fiasco of a meeting in June, .  
hes focused his attentions on the '  
- Volksfront, an umbrella body that -  
includes the parliamentary Conser-  
vative Party, Eugene Terre-  
blanche's Afrikaner : Resistance  
Movement (AWB), and disaffected  
members of the security forces,  
both serving and retired. In recent  
weeks he has met Gen Viljoen, a  
former chief of the South African -  
" Defence Force, to still his fears  
about the ANC and find 2 peaceful  
accommodation. . »: .1 7

Y In a joi  
terday, : 5  
firmed such s g had takenâ\200\231

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' Honal chairmap and forelgn affairsâ\200\231

' chief, Thabo Mbeki, had also hal i  
â\200\234talke i-\201zh' &â\200\230:emei-\201ea&?2Â¥i-\201gÂ\$

statement sid the two parties had'!  
faet out of 2 perceived peed 10, â\202-%  
baustfall means of peaceful â\200\230en-  
gagement ... to prevent the prolif-  
eration of violence and anarchyâ\200\235, -  
51{1 New York, Mr Mandela con-  
RN - % 3 &

JOIIN CARLIN  
in Johannesburg

firmed there had been talks with  
Tight-wing Afrikaaners, as well ag  
.other legal partics, about demands  
for a white homeland, \*â\200\234\We Âcannot

in recent weeks, |

added that the ANC's nav4

erd

accomodate their demand in (he  
way that they have put it,â\200\235 he said,  
â\200\234but raom for negotiations and for  
& compromise is there,â\200\235

He did not specify whar compro-  
mise might be reached, but seemed

to imply that the parties were discussing a semi-autonomous white homeland arrangement, â\200\234What we are not definitely not going to do is have any ethnic solution,â\200\235 he said. â\200\234But we can reject an ethnic solution without rejecting the basic demand of a people wanting a particular region in which to run their own affairs.â\200\235

The response of â\200\230more junior ANC officials to the notion of accommodating AVF plans for 16 per

where blacks are in the vast majority, to be given over 10 Afrikaner self-rule was that their organisation would lose most of its support overnight, The political editor of 20 Afrikaans-language newspaper said that on the other hand the notion of semi-autonomy, meaning a homeland within a federal system, was anathema to the Conservative Party and the AWB, whose bottom line is an independent and sovereign Afrikaner state.  
- Foreign diplomats in Pretoria said they were encouraged the ANC and the AVF were engaged, \*But yesterdayâ\200\231s statement said, in a frank exchange of views. A formula for peaceful co-existence could â\200\230eventually be found. But one EC diplomat remarked that it was inconceivable new federal boundaries would be drawn in such a manner as to guarantee â\200\234white racistsâ\200\235 an electoral majority. AVF proposals for blacks in an Afrikaner homeland to be deprived of citizenship and full political rights were no less implausible,

AVE, ANC statement tempered its otherwise upbeat tone with the observation of realism about the situation on crucial issuesâ\200\235,

Meanwhile under way at Present,

It is not clear whether the government is

It is not clear whether the government is

/Ged ' Viljoen and some of the more moderate elements in the far right.  
Second, between the far right

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cent of South African territory, -

Underscoringsv the point, the |  
servation that â\200\234there was, however, -  
hâ\200\231crlgm differences of opinion which  
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- % THE INDEPENDENT

3Â¢ CITY ROAD, LONDON ECIY 2DB (Telephone 071-253-1222; general fax 071-956-1435)

Symbolic

step on -

multiracial path

IT WOULD be nice to be able to cele-  
. dbrate with unalloyed joy the historic  
step South Africa js taking. The Transi-  
tional Executive Council (TEC), ap-  
proved by parliament on Thursday, will -

bring black representatives into the power structure for the run-up to the country's first multiracial election, due on 27 April. It marks a formal break with apartheid, and enables Nelson Mandela to ask for sanctions to be lifted, as he did yesterday at the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid. . . .

This event ought to rank not far below the collapse of Communism among the more hopeful historical turning points of this century. And so it does on a symbolic level. In reality, however, it seems unlikely to lift the country out of its daily

violence, or give coherent political forces a clearer way forward. Joy must therefore be tempered with foreboding. Many more deaths lie ahead before South Africa becomes a viable democracy, -

The immediate problem for the TEC, which amounts to an interim coalition government of blacks and whites, is

; -+ whether to offer more concessions to ex-

~ tremists on both flanks or face them down. Conservative whites and the Zulu Inkatha movement are now informally joined in opposition, and there is a danger that they will join in a formal military pact. On the white flank, the power of the conservative opponents of power-sharing has been growing. One of their

+leaders has described the formation of the TEC as a declaration of war. Among

\* their demands

have discussed with the ANC ~ is that.

they should have white homelands, |. Might they be satisfied with even more |

devolution than is already on offer? Even if a feasible model could be found, it would probably make little economic sense, and represent a surrender of the principle of a democratic South Africa. - Chief Buthelezi is withholding the co-operation of his Inkatha Freedom Party, demanding a Zulu homeland and other

which they appear to

concessions. He seems, partly for personal reasons, no easier to win over than the white conservatives. Long and patient negotiations have so far failed to in-

clude him in the new system, and the gap now looks unbridgeable.

The radical

Pan-Africanist Congress is also refusing to co-operate, and will offer an alternative radical black rallying point should the ANC fail to deliver change quickly.

. If negotiation has reached its limit, the

TEC may have to find the strength to take on the white right and Inkatha in direct confrontation. It will also need to re-

sist the temptation to postpone the elec-

tion in face of violence, On the contrary, a pre-election referendum on the TEC could be rapidly carried out, and would almost certainly strengthen its position. - The whole delicate transition to democracy is made even more difficult by the economic and moral ruin of South Africa by apartheid. Generations of blacks have no education. They have no qualifications for jobs, and no political education except in protest. At the same time, whites have remained too reliant on cheap black labour, Lifting sanctions will have only a marginal effect. The economy is in deep trouble, and foreign investment will not rush in while the political outlook is so uncertain.

South Africa will be in desperate need of support from the outside world. With

, all the other demands on the richer nations for aid and capital, it will not re-

ceive much, although the World Bank is turning its attention to the problem. Nor

is it easy to imagine deployment of UN

peace-keeping forces in such a situation. . Nevertheless, as much help as possible, material and moral, should be given, not only because South Africa will remain an

. important regional power, but also be-

cause the world badly needs working models of multiracial societies. How long it will take to find out whether South Africa can provide one is impossible to predict, but the results of its efforts will have implications far beyond its borders.

Source M

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THE CITIZEN, SAT. 25 SEPTEMBER 1 1 993

Saturday 2

5 September | 993

THE outcome of 2 two-day  
bilateral meeting  
starting tomorrow be-

ween the central and  
Rwandan governments  
may help decide the  
course of next week's  
mult-party talks. at  
Kempton Park.

A source close to the  
process said yesterday  
that, except for the re-  
port on local govern-  
ment, the agenda for  
debate had not yet been  
finalised.

They want to see what  
comes out of the  
talks ~ among other  
things.

Constitutional Develop-  
ment Minister Roelf  
Meyer will lead the  
state's delegation at the  
bilateral meeting sched-  
uled to be held outside  
Pretoria.

Confirmed

Mr Meyer confirmed  
that the government  
would only be handing  
in its submission on &  
global powers next  
week, but denied it had  
been delayed because of  
the bilateral meeting.

Asked if the bilateral  
talks were likely to af-  
fect next week's meet-

ings, however,  
the Minister said he  
could not tell. But he

was going into the meeting with an open mind.

Also speaking after the planning committee meeting, African National Congress secretary-general and chief

ANC negotiator Cyril

fiator

Ramaphosa said things were going according to plan.

Negotiators next week would attempt to get the process back up speed with regard to constitutional issues, like exactly how the judiciary and the interim government executive would function.

Ciskeian chief pegos Micky Webb, whose party has often been accused with its allies of stalling talks, was also looking forward to a useful week.

Vital

This would happen, he said, as long as vital topics like violence, constitutional issues, the fate of the TBVC states and self-defence units were not pushed aside to discuss cellular telephones.

He Ciskei was also looking forward to debate on constitutional principles, particularly those which entrenched freedoms-

Mr Webb said his



government Was still  
very much pan of the  
Concerned South Afri-  
Âçans Group.

Rejection of those  
constitutional prinaples  
which entrenched paw-  
ers of regions, and he  
implementation of the  
Fransivonal Executive  
Council, would be the  
point at which Ciske  
would have to part with  
the process. â\200\224 Sapa.

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ijdiscipline is paramount: ANCWI,

Clilren Reporter

NO African National  
Congress member should  
be above organtsational  
discipline if they wished  
to remain members of the  
ANC, Women's League  
seceetary-general, s  
Baleka Kgotsitsile, said  
vesterday.

Ms Kgotsitsile, was  
feacting (o renewed mov-  
es within the ANC (o re-

instate Mrs Winnie Man-  
dela and foue other mem-  
bers, suspended earlier  
this year for alleged â\200\234defi-  
ance, insubordination and  
disioyalty to the ANC",  
She said the issue was  
aot about the suspension  
orf reinstatement of an in-  
dividual, but â\200\234â\200\230whether  
any one person, regard-  
less of name, position,  
status, or charisma, has

the right to hold an orga-  
nisation or a people (o  
ransom',

â\200\234We often talk about  
transparency, fairness

and the quest for a society  
where all are equal before  
the law. As much as we  
admit that they are easier  
said than done we need to  
start practising some of  
these things. â\204ç

Much had been said in  
the media about M  
Mandela, and although  
some was sensationalist  
and meant to destroy the  
ANC, â\200\234the time had  
come to sort out the truth  
from the lies, and for de-  
cisions to be takenâ\200\235, Ms  
Kgositsile said.

Referring to the dem-  
onstrations by disgruntled  
members at the ANC's

headquarters, she said the

simplistic approach was to  
regard it as a â\200\234power  
struggle w1 the ANC's  
Women league or that  
some individuals were  
jealous of Mrs Mandelaâ\204ç.

The matter, however,  
was more serious.

Ms Kgositsile said  
when Mrs Mandela and  
the four others were sus-  
pended from the ANC's  
PWV Women's League, it  
was clearly stated that  
they could appeal to the  
leagueâ\200\231s national ex-  
ecutive committee. How-  
ever, none of them had  
done so.

\_ Instead an attorney was  
instructed to pursue court  
action against the ANC  
Women's League lead-  
ership

SN L:â\200\235:i

SUZANMNE YOS

THE CITIZEN, SAT. 25 SEPTEMBER 1993

Inkatha supports  
powers for Pres

INKATHA supported  
legislation allowing the  
State President to take  
over the administration of  
self-governing territories

New IFP MP

THE Inkatha Freedom  
Party gained its first  
Coloured MP yesterday  
when the independent  
MP for Liesbeeck, Mr  
Pieter Klink, joined it.  
IFP MP for Vryheid Mr  
Jurie Mentz said in de-  
bate on the Self-Govern-  
ing Territories Constitut-  
ion Amendment Bill that  
the [FP now had seven

on the verge of collapse,  
Mr Jurie Mentz (IFP Vry-  
heid) said yesterday.

Speaking in debate on  
the Self-Governing Terri-  
tones Constitution  
Amendment Bill, he said  
what was happening in  
Lebowa at the moment  
was only what would hap-  
pen in South Africa if the  
ANC took over

inkatha would not al-  
low the ANC and Lebowa  
Chief Minister Mr Nelson  
Mandela to destroy  
South Africa.

â\200\234We will not make war,

MPCA exploit moteâ\204¢ S-bat Wekhow WA we Wit =

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â\200\230age 4Â«

#### THE CITIZEN

MTUNZINI. â\200\224 Patai-  
otic Zulus must be pre-  
pared to fight to rule  
themselves, and not al-  
low the Transitional  
Executive Council to  
govern KwaZulu, Ink-  
atha president Chief  
Mangosuthu Buthelezi  
said yesterday,

There would be no  
peace i South Africa if  
Zulus were not allowed  
seff-rule, b told 3 060  
Zulus attending a Shaka  
Day rally ai Ensingweni,  
aear Mtunzini on the Na-  
tal North Coast

The TEC did not in-  
clude the KwaZulu Gov-  
ernment noc the Inkatha  
Freedom Party and aflow-  
g it to nele KwaZaelu  
was akin o â\200\234allow for-  
cigners ta rule usâ\200\235, sad  
Chief Buthefez

â\200\234We must be prepared  
to fight for our freedom

â\200\230Zulus must be re

ady for

independence fightâ\200\231

and the cight to rule over  
aurselves,

â\200\234As a proud nation we  
canaot allow anyone  
other than ourselves to  
rule over us. [ do not say  
this lightly but [ say it  
with great conviction.  
Without us culing our-  
selves there will be no  
peace and prosperity. Not  
far the Zulu people Not  
for South Africa.â\200\235

Chief Buthelezi's rejec-  
tion of the TEC came a  
day after it was passed in  
Pacliamene and signalled  
the imminent repeal of al-  
mast all remainiog sane-  
tons aganst South Afrn-  
ca. The [FP and KwaZulu  
Goverament pulled out of  
multe-pacty talks earlier  
this year and were not

party to the TEC agree-  
meqs.

The KwaZulu Chief  
Minister accused enemies  
of the Zulu nation of at-  
temptiog to dishand Kwa-  
Zuty and place it uader  
central government rule.  
â\200\234The Zulu peopte are lac-  
g a Crisis We must  
stand together if we are lo  
deal with this crises."â\200\235

All Zulus were asking  
for was a federal Natal/  
KwaZulu where they  
could secure peace and  
prasperity for themselves,  
said Mr Butheler.

tle stood fac peace and  
negotiations but â\200\234how can  
we take part in negotia-  
tioas if some parties and  
the goverament do not  
want to bisten to us?â\200\235

Without federalism  
there could be no peace in  
South Africa. [nstead,  
toreigners â\200\224- who had no  
respect for Zutu cullure  
or any other culture â\200\224  
wauld rule the people of  
tfte regian, he charged.

KwaZulu was not an apartheid creation, nor was it like the other self-governing territories. It existed long before Whites came to the country and had been a sovereign kingdom since the 19th Century, he said

â\200\234We are still a sovereign kingdom. No conquest and no subjugation can ever destroy the sovereignty of a people once they have achieved it. No one should underestimate our determination to rule over ourselves. No one should underestimate our determination to remain free of domination.â\200\235

The reigning Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, addressed the crowd later, calling for Zulu unity and stating a strategically orchestrated plan to â\200\234wipe us off the face of the Earth".

The king alleged there were open threats to de-

thronize him, dismantle the KwaZulu Government and forcefully remove the leadership of its Chief Minister. Chief Buthelez,

â\200\234Our unity must now be defeated,â\200\235 he said, adding that never since the British conquest of the Zulu nation in 1879, had there been such a need for unity.

The king urged his subjects to â\200\234become warriors for peace and ... conquer violence and evilâ\204ç

The king said violence in the country had rocketed since the unbanning of the African National Congress in 1990, and was mainly focused on Zulus.

He also blamed the uncontrollable levels of violence in the country on â\200\234revolutionary forcesâ\200\235 which he said had infiltrated communities and brainwashed children into defying authority

te concluded with 2  
coaciliatory tone, Hower-  
er, asking his subjects to  
sttive: for peace and  
â\200\234speak, act and live for  
peace and democracy â\204ç

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THE CITIZEN, SAT. 25 SEPTEMBER

Zulus, AWB will fight  
together, says ET

LONDON, â\200\224 The leader  
of the AWB, Mr Eugene  
Terrc'Blanche said that  
the largest Black group,  
the Zulus, would fight  
alongside it if an ANC  
government came {0 pow-  
o

Mr Terre Blanche said  
the demand by the AWB  
for an Afrikaner â\200\234home-  
jand" of up to 25 percent  
of South Africaâ\200\231s termtory  
was 4 â\200\230â\200\234rightful claim  
according o international  
law'â\200\231.

Smailler

\Mr Terre Blanche, 10  
terviewed in South Africa  
by BRC radio, said he  
was not prepared to nego-  
tiate a smailer ared with

the ANC.

The Right-wing leader  
said the Zuius. like the  
AWB, were opposed 10  
plans for 2 unitary South  
African state, and they  
would fight together  
against any ANC-led gov-  
ernment that might come  
to power after next  
Aprilâ\200\231s all-race Â¢lechions.

Communist

â\200\234You will find the ma-  
jonty (of the) White  
people and the big Zuln  
nation (willy fight  
shoulder to shoulder  
against the Communist  
inspired and Communist-  
ruied African Natonal  
Congress,â\200\235 Mr Terre

\*Blanche said.

Mt Terre'Blanche  
wants to create a scparate  
country for Afnkaners.  
who form 60 percent of  
the White population. â\200\224  
Sapa-Reuter.

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- More UN observers for SA

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ends increasingâ\200\231 the  
&!rewgth af its observer

: mission in South Africa  
| (UNOMSA)

UN Sec-

cetary-General Bouteos

Boutzos-Ghali told Staie

President De Kierk.  
New York

The two met in New

A Yo koaThursday. Â«

They discussed regional

issues in Africa, including  
Mozambique and An-  
gola, and Dr Bautros-  
Ghali congratulated Mt  
De Klerk on Parlizment's  
decision to establish a  
Transitional Executive  
Council.

â\200\234The\_ sectetary-general

upresud his support of  
reachud: :

the agreement

between South Africa and  
Namibia on the status of  
Walvis Bay,â\200\235 said a2  
UNOMSA statement  
Appreciation

it added: â\200\234President  
De Klerk expressed his

appreciation for the pres-  
ence of the UNOMSA  
and for the constructive

role played byâ\200\230thetorgani

satian i encouragiog the

multi-party nezouat.u?  
process in the countryâ\204ç.

The . secretary-general  
assured Mr De Klerk that  
the UN stood ready tÂ©  
assist the people of South  
Africa ian the efforts  
aimed at the establish-  
ment of a demogratjc,  
RO u,lus; Sputh- Africa,

M\@pn-v-,wâ\200\230vâ\200\230---v\*

v 4

INKEATHRA

Fruits of boycott

IF YOU have not eaten 3 Cape  
grape or an Outspan orange for 30  
years did you contribute to the col-  
lapse of apartheid?

Not one jot, according to Jes-  
mond Blumenfeld, senior lecturer  
in Economics at Brunel University

" who has studied the efficacy of  
sanctions.

When the South African parlia-  
ment passed the bill to set up the  
Transitional Executive Council on  
Thursday, the African National  
Congress finally accepted that  
apartheid was dead. Nelson Man-  
dela addressed the United Nations  
Special Committee on Apartheid  
last night and called for the lifting  
of economic sanctions in the hall  
where they were first mooted more  
than 30 years ago.

At one time sanctions against  
South Africa divided the world  
Being pro- or anti-sanctions was a  
litmus test of political correctness,  
almost of social acceptability. It was  
potentially plutonium. Mrs Thatcher  
vehemently opposed the isolation  
of South Africa but was forced to

accept an arrangement at the

Commonwealth Conference in  
1985. The subject headed the inter-

national agenda more divisively  
even than Israel. Yet is the 4th-  
Apartheid Movement right when it  
says the lifting of sanctions is a  
tremendous victory for the Anti-  
Apartheid Movement which was  
founded on 26 June 1959 as the  
Boycott Movement with the objec-  
tive of isolating South Africa in or-  
der to help end apartheid?

What in the end was, or could  
have been, the effect of sanctions?  
Mr Blumenfeld says in retrospect:  
It was not a straightforward issue.  
Sanctions had perverse and contra-  
dictory effects . . . In one sense they

-

Being for or against sanctions was once a litm

us test of political correciness

but their effect on apartheid is questionable, writes Richard Dowden

clearly had a significant effect.  
When De Klerk came to power it  
was the fear, not of existing sanc-  
tions but the fear that the US in  
particular would go fuchter, and  
this helped tip the balance in fa-  
vour of change. And of course,  
sanctions constrained the long-  
terra options. But the Â&COnOBIIC,  
demographic and social pressure  
inside South Africa for change was  
inexorable and was bound to lead  
to 2 change io the palitics.â\200\235

Merle Lipton, of the [nsutute of  
Development Studies ar Sussex  
University, is kioder than Mr Blu-  
menfeld about the individual boy-

cott of South African goods but |  
agrees that the effect of sancuons |  
was frequently contradictory. â\200\234In |

some Ways economic Sanctions

| were counterproductive. But the

whaole antg-apartheid movement

. was importaant and T donâ\200\231t want o  
make 4 COMCESSiON Over sancions |  
â\200\224 and forced to concede she had |  
made 1 concession â\200\224 when she ac- |

dismiss lts effect. But itâ\200\231s not a sum-

ple story and the idea that mobdi- |  
sation over bere produced an effect |  
i with traditional pareners. If che

over there is wrong.â\200\235

The two main arguments were  
on the ome hand chat saactions  
would send the South African gov-  
ernment into a laager and eatrench  
apartheid and that only by geing  
aicher would South Africa change.  
The apposing argument was that  
either sanctions would persuade or

force the South African government to change its policy or impoverish the country to such a degree that there would be a revolution.

Walking down Main Street, Johannesburg, in the mid 1980s, it was difficult to believe that this was an economy about to collapse under the pressure of sanctions or facing revolution. Any product

made in the rest of the world was available in South Africa and South African goods were obtainable overseas. It is just possible to find blips on the charts of South Africa's imports or exports which indicate a sanctions factor but no long-term trend. And yet some sanctions were extremely effective. The sporadic boycott made white South Africans feel isolated, in some cases it made right-wingers more intransigent, but when F W de Klerk campaigned in the 1989 election he did so on restoring ties

What really shook the government was the fact that US firms pulling out because it was not worth the aggravation of staying

economic effect was limited, the feeling of isolation was real.

The arms embargo finally produced results when the South African army became exposed at Cuito Cuanavale in southern Angola in 1988. It lacked the fighter aircraft and sophisticated anti-aircraft weaponry to fend off Cuban fighter-bombers. The first defeat of the military was a severe psychological blow and led to South African withdrawal.

Yet the arms embargo also led to

a huge South African arms industry in a scramble for self-sufficiency in weaponry. Arms exports brought hard currency to South

Africa. Similarly the oil embargo created the oil-from-coal industry, investment in which has seriously skewed the South African economy. Abroad, the sanctions movement sometimes caused absurdities. The ban on the performance of plays by South Africans led to an anti-apartheid play being picketed by the anti-apartheid movement. For all the fury Mrs Thatcher caused by arguing sanctions would not work, the reason she, and the Foreign Office, were opposed to sanctions was that they did not suit British long-term or short-term interests in South Africa. But if she

| was not able to protect South Africa from sanctions she could pro-

tect it from economic reality. Often

that reality pre-empted the sanctions. For example the ban on invest-

ment followed a drying up of investment. It did not cause it

| When the US Congress passed the

Comprehensive

| Act in 1986 it seemed that only Mrs Thatcher stood between South Af-

Anti-Apartheid

rica and the sanctions train, but at-

| ready other economic and demo-

graphic forces were having their effect on South Africa.

According to Professor Jack Spence, Director of Studies at Chatham House, what really shook the South African government were the private business withdrawals, especially the 40% withdrawal, as it was known in America. US companies were pulling out of

South Africa because it was not  
worth the aggravation of staying.  
The Gramm Amendment, passed  
in the US Congress in 1983,  
blocked US access to funds from  
the International Monetary Fund

Reading article, page 16 4

It's not so black and white:

Businessmen looking at political  
instability in South Africa, saw  
that it backed the safety net of the  
Fund. They looked at their balance  
sheets and realised South African  
trade was not worth the hassle of  
being attacked at shareholder  
meetings, and so they turned their  
backs on South Africa

At the same time the recession  
hit South Africa which, with its  
high labour costs and dependence  
on raw commodity exports, was  
badly placed to weather it. For  
once gold, the backbone of the  
economy, did not rise substantially  
as the world went into recession.

Mr Mandela's call for the  
removal of sanctions is like the  
removal of a flag from a sandcastle  
that has already been washed away.  
Most important sanctions have al-  
ready been lifted unilaterally. This  
has not resulted in a 2 fold inflow of in-  
vestment or a 2 fold sudden leap in trade

[It is no coincidence that Derek  
Keys, the South African Finance  
Minister, is in Washington next

week to meet the Bank and the



Fund and beg for help. As soon as the Gramm Amendment is lifted at least \$300m quick disbursement funds will be available to South Africa from the IMF. Mr Mandela meanwhile 15 coming from New York next week to plead for investment at a conference in London organised by the Confederation of British Industry

But if it is true that political instability, not specifically apartheid, caused the collapse of business confidence in South Africa, will it now be restored? In the three years leading up to Nelson Mandela's release in 1990, 3,213 people were killed in political violence. In the three years since then more than three times that number have been killed.

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Sanctions after Sharpev: le. d:d the economy reaĩ-\202Â» sufficeÂ»r

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AP DRYSDALE JC B HOBDAV  
122 St George's St, Cape Town 8000 488-4911

The fragile  
dawn of peace

HE prospect of two such disparate

organisations as the African  
National Congress and the Afrikaner  
Volksfront negotiating, apparently  
without an intermediary, is surprising.  
Confirmation that they have not only  
done so but intend to pursue their talks -  
thus implying a belief on both sides in  
the possibility of a successful outcome -  
is astonishing. :

It has profoundly changed South  
Africa's political landscape.  
Unexpectedly, some sort of  
accommodation between the ANC and  
the far right seems possible. By  
extension, there also would appear to be  
a realistic hope of some movement  
towards an accord between the ANC

el

and the Inkatha Freedom Party which 7|

is seeking much the same sort of  
dispensation for Zulus as the AVF  
desires for Afrikaners. :

At the same time, the far right would  
seem to have been cloven down the  
middle. On the one side stands General  
Constand Viljoen and his fellow retired  
SADF generals; on the other Dr Ferdi  
Hartzenberg and his Conservative Party  
ideologues. .

The one group, led by practical-  
minded military men, has embarked  
upon the course of negotiation; the other  
- as events in Parliament this week  
demonstrated - has been reduced to the  
sterile tactic of name-calling and  
boycotts, their menacing threats of  
civil war rendered pompously  
improbable now that they appear to

have been ditched unceremonially by the generals.

It would be unrealistic to expect the ANC-AVF contacts to produce a solution which will satisfy all elements in both groups.

Negotiation essentially means compromise, and compromise almost always has its critics and opponents. But in a country with such diversity and potential for conflict, it is hugely encouraging to see leaders turning away from belligerent confrontation and seeking instead to bridge their differences through rational discussion.

It reveals political maturity, a quality rarely seen in the ranks of the far right until now, and a patriotic concern for the national good; for the interests of the overwhelming majority of South Africans who wish to see an end to conflict and violence and a start to the process of reconstruction.

In a week in which Parliament approved legislation for the country's first nonracial executive and the world formally began to lift sanctions, the

disclosure of the ANC-AVF's attempt to gild and  
\_\_\_all that thawed imprints

Weekend Argus, September 25/26 1993 %

A message

for the

B

SUNDAY (U61 2

Afrikaner

MANDELA

t

CRITICS of the crucial legislation passed this week to install a Transitional Executive Council are saying that President De Klerk is about to abdicate much of his power.

To a large extent, they are right.

They see the historic Transitional Executive Council Act as a transfer of power in respect of regions and local government, law and order,

stability. and safety, defence, finance, foreign affairs and intelligence. G e

Their hurtful claim is that the government is not just an instrument of the revolution, but has become an official ally of the revolution.

Only the Conservative Party is really objecting. MPs of all parties except the CP and the Inkatha Freedom Party fully back this most important of Mr De Klerk's reformist moves, even though it contradicts some of his most recent policy statements, and they are not about to make a fuss.

The National Party claims that every section of the new legislation which will set up a form of joint rule for about five months before the elections is so circumscribed that the government will retain ultimate control.

This is just not true.

Mr De Klerk's hands, in spite of what he says, will be thoroughly bound once the executive council takes office, probably at the end of November.

This is the con all in a good cause, of course which the NP conceals with the claim that it is reaching most of its goals in the talks. And that is why Mr De Klerk has been accused of resembling a no-account ballerina as he attempts to pirouette his way around the rightwing's leading questions.

As recently as the Transvaal Congress Mr De Klerk emphasised that the TEC would not be a super parliament and that the government remained the government. He also said the TEC would not create joint control of the security forces. And he asserted: The decisions on the TEC will not amount to a victory for any party over another party. They definitely do not mean that the NP has yielded to pressure. In reality, our points of view on so-called interim government have at last been accepted.

Rightwing critics, such as CP leader Ferdi

transition to democratic rule.

By now it should be clear to all that the first non-racial elections based on universal adult suffrage will take place on April 27 next year.

Assembled under the banner of the right wing there are forces which set out to stop the transition, and failing that an attempt to delay it.

Now that they recognise they cannot stop change, there are forces among the

right wing who are intent on inciting whites into waging civil war.

It is time they stopped and examined more carefully the consequences of such incitement.

The African National Congress is aware of the concerns and fears of all minorities, including the whites. We have always shown an openness to understanding these fears and finding appropriate means to address them.

Afrikaners do a great injustice to themselves when they allow the right wing to appropriate the banner of Afrikanerdom in the pursuit of their objectives.

It is this type of rightwing thinking which took over the struggle of the Afrikaner against British colonial rule and made it fatally flawed because they refused to embrace within their cause the need to respect the human rights of all other peoples. This is how they misled the Afrikaner into embracing apartheid.

Whatever the fears and concerns that move them, they cast these as exclusive

SOUTH AFRICA is set on a course of

P B e ~ A l A P B B L I A L o - e S l e =

concerns and pursued their interests while consciously excluding others. That is why they have until now, deliberately spurned the hand of friendship which the ANC holds out.

Things are changing. The utter failure of apartheid ought to make them ask themselves how it is that they took the Afrikaner into a conscious denial of the rights of black people.

The narrow pursuit of their own interests at the deliberate expense of the interests of others was the surest recipe of engendering conflict and hostility.

The ANC has been forthright in its commitment to the liberation of the black people. Our objective has always been to ensure that blacks win political power so that they themselves can exercise that power to solve the problems that beset them in the country.

The economy of this country has no prospect whatsoever of moving into a growth path unless and until the problems of unemployment, homelessness and hunger are addressed.

It is unthinkable that the crises around

education, health and landlessness can be resolved unless blacks win political power for themselves and all South Africans e}/ol{/le solutions which serve the interests of all.

Â« We have always been upfront in seek-

ing to build a nation in which all communities and population groups participate. This is only possible on the basis of non-racialism. We have never compromised

A - Al O gl A o,

in the pursuit of this objective. There is no force in this country which could make us deviate from this path.

It is time for those in the right wing to understand that the era of white supremacy is over. We have fought and defeated white minority rule. There is no way that the white right can hope to muster the power that apartheid rule commanded.

There is no force which therefore can even think that it has the potential to make us give up the struggle to bring about democratic rule based on the recognition of human rights.

This is the context in which we appeal to the right wing not to fuel and incite whites into civil war.

This is a path along which no one will win. Even if our country and economy were to be reduced to ashes and untold lives lost, we would still have to come back to the table to negotiate a future for peace and democracy.

The ANC is ready to talk to all in our country, we are ready to listen to their concerns, to seek to understand their fears and to find ways to address these in the context of a non-racial and non-sexist democracy, through which we build an economy based on sustained growth and with a common commitment of a nation which will live at peace with itself.

The transition cannot be stopped. It is. time that the right wing examined itself very carefully and avoided the path which will lead to self destruction. It is time they came to the negotiating table.



FWâ\200\231

great

con trick

B The advent of the Transitional Executive Council is being dubbed a massive con trick pulled off by President De Klerk. JOHN MacLENNAN of Weekend Argus political staff reports.

Hartzenberg, say the TEC legislation proves him wrong on all counts. â\200\234You cannot give power to the TEC without at the same time taking it away from parliament.â\200\235

Sources within Mr De Klerkâ\200\231s caucus say the NP has not attained its main objectives in constitutional talks yet and they are concerned that the party never will. In the meantime they are increasingly restive about power-sharing.

They know this vote on the TEC is irreversible and are hoping to get crucial areas of difference decided in terms of NP thinking before the interim constitution is accepted next month and the pre-election executive is appointed.

Dr Hartzenberg does not mince his words when

he claims the TEC legislation is revolutionary i

and the most draconian in the history of the country. â\200\234Government has been pushed into surrender by the murder machines of the ANC and PAC.â\200\235

He notes that in the 3 % years since the unbanning of the underground movements, South Africa has become the most violent country in the world with a higher body count than the Vietnam war and says more people die here than in

S

the former Yugoslavia.

Clause 13 of the new law bears directly on the governmentâ\200\231s ability to initiate legislation and take action. The council is empowered to stop government and if there is a dispute, a special

- electoral court will have the final say. This

clause also applies to the doings of every government and administration in the country.

Says Dr Hartzenberg: â\200\234The TEC now replaces parliament as the executive and legislative power ... This legislation removes legislative powers from an elected parliament and places them in the hands of an undemocratic body.â\200\235

Clause 28, according to the CPâ\200\231s Fanie Jacobs,

. removes the sovereignty of parliament. This al-

lows Mr De Klerk, in consultation with the TEC, to amend, supplement or repeal provisions of the . act and announce these by proclamation. He . says:â\200\234This leads to government by decree . .. government has told its followers parliament will continue to exist, but the government and the . cabinet will have no practical powers.â\200\235

| Clause 24 provides the TEC with the power to

â\200\230 summon Mr De Klerk and his ministers, as well | as leaders of any party participating in the talks,

~ tinguishes between authority to issue directions

so they can be forced to provide documents, information or explanations. The rightwing sees this as a total humiliation.

Clause 8 stipulates that unrestricted additional sub-councils can also be appointed by the TEC in order to gain complete control of state machinery. Again, if there is any dispute between the government and the council, it will be referred for determination to the special electoral court.

The CPâ\200\231s Willie Snyman accuses Mr De Klerk of telling a blatant untruth when he said he would retain power over the SADF. This is because Clause 16 stipulates that the ministers in charge of security forces must act only in accordance with the wishes of the TEC. Any disputes will be decided by the special electoral court.

Clause 18 empowers a sub-council on foreign affairs to secure peaceful transition with the help of the international community, secure financial assistance for socio-economic needs and promote international relations in trade finance and sport. This effectively puts Pik Botha out of a job.

According to the CPâ\200\231s Jacobus Beyers the message is that the ANC is being placed in control seven months before the elections and â\200\234the NP no longer wants to govern, it can no longer govern, it has lost the will to govern. It is a government which has capitulated.â\200\235

Dr Snyman likens present events to Algeria in 1961, Kenya in 1962, Northern Rhodesia in 1964, Angola and Mozambique in 1975 and Rhodesia in 1980. In his view events in parliament have become a farce and a deception and members of government are dancing â\200\234like marionettes according to the whim and wish of the enemies and murderers of the Boer Afrikaner Nationâ\200\235

Minister Roelf Meyer, probably the main NP architect of the TEC legislation, offers one escape clause â\200\224 the government will not accept it unless it is happy with the content of the interim constitution and he therefore rejects the accusation that parliament has lost its sovereignty.

He also maintains that the TEC legislation dis-

which will have binding effect and the right to advise, monitor and make recommendations, which will not have binding effect

More significant powers will almost invariably have to be exercised in consultation with ministers, which means they and the council or sub-councils must be in agreement before a decision can be taken.

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s e

AFRIKANER GENERA

A Right

NLGLLE]  
also set

~ to ioin

~JOHN WMacLENNAN and DAVID BREIER

B The Afrikaner Volksfront is ready to ditch the rabid rightwing who will rather fight than negotiate and is about to table proposals at the World Trade Centre for an Afrikaner homeland where there will be no discrimination.

5 DITCH DIEHARDS

READY FOR THE BIG ONE!

THE noon gun will be fired today at 12.00 for the first time on a Sunday at 12.00 to signal the official finish of the Seeff/Argus Gun Run.

More than 3 800 runners set off from Seeff House on the Foreshore at 9.45am in the augural Gun Run over 21,1

2 | the I EC Weslerid Argis Follilical Stal kilometres. The runners follow a ,X RIGHTWING unity was in tatters :g:at 12.30g;mggg;at 12.30 gat 12.30aer diat 12.30::s :at 12.30r?;eAcity : o ; : this weekend as Afrikaner generals and along the Sea Point race will appear in The Argus . moved towards an historic deal with promenade, finishing at Green tor":wll"row- g i at 12.30 the African National Congress. Point Stadium. o Pl reoitoptine fen ) A¢ : Their at 12.34bittereinderat 12.35 colleagues in the Reports and pictures of the SAT URDAY.

M Inkatha is showing new Conservative Party and allied fringe ;

flexibility which could lead to a right-wing groups are, meanwhile, still ik :

constitutional deal next month. committed to armed and other resis- The Mind of a Monster

DAVID BREIER tance to the passing of power to the FOR many months a killer

Weekend Argus Political Staff Transitional Executive Council (TEC). terrorised a trendy

: The Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) moves repre- Johannesburg suburb and

NEGOTIATORS have revealed that another im- sent a major advance for moderation and leave c  
old-bloodedly raped and

â\200\230 portant missing piece of the new South Africa is firebrands such as CP leader Fe  
rdi Hartzenberg - murdered mostly pretty

: expected to fall into place within weeks: the In- and AWB supremo Eugene Terreâ\200\231B  
lanche isolat- s tnale wameni â\200\231

katha Freedom Party is close to accepting an ed. y 9 g .

offer of compromise from the government and In what is likely to be a week of remarkably Th  
is week the Norwood

the African National Congress. good news, other obstacles to settlement are Rapist was sent  
enced to

Crucial IFP horse-trading with the govern- also being removed, say sources close to the pr  
o- death five times.

ment begins today after IFP leader Mangosuthu cess. Afterwards pretty, young

Buthelezi and President De Klerk broke the ice A delegation from Kwazulu, for example, will  
reporter JANINE LAZARUS 3

Â» this month. have further talks tomorrow aimed at settling came face to face with him â  
\200\230.

pt IFP pragmatists, including its chief executive differences with the government followin  
g the â\200\230

officer, Joe Matthews, and Kwazulu Minister. of  
Health Ben Ngubane, have taken the upper hand  
and have patched up the split with hardliners  
such as Walter Felgate, insiders say.

The IFP is now prepared to be more flexible  
in its talks with the government and the ANC,

~â\200\234which accepts behind the scenes that the IFP is

essential for any lasting settlement.

Inkatha and the Kwazulu government have  
been intransigent over the past year and have  
been the most important missing element in a  
political settlement at the Kempton Park multi-  
party talks.

The deal being thrashed out involves increas-  
ing the areas of competence of regional govern-  
ments in the interim constitution, and entrench-  
ing these federal powers in the final constitution  
through various guarantees. These include the

Mandelaâ\200\231s message to the Afrikaner  
B See page 16

proposed constitutional court and increased ma-  
- jorities required to change federal powers.  
~ In return, the IFP is prepared to drop its de-  
mand for a single phase process. Until now the  
IFP has insisted a final constitution must be ne-

recent and successful meeting between Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President F W De Klerk (see story below).

It is expected that negotiators at the World Trade Centre will this week be told that the AVF has requested extra time in order to present acceptable proposals for a Volkstaat which will form part of a federal system.

This follows the sensational and previously secret meeting last month between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and General Constand Viljoen of the AVF. It was set up on the initiative of the ANC. General Viljoen runs a considerable political risk for talking to the man who has been demonised by the rightwing. But sources close to the process say General Viljoen has emerged as the only credible rightwing leader and his colleagues dare not repudiate him. Because of the courage of the two leaders, sources say, the plan is finally starting to come together.

The main strategist of the AVF, former military intelligence chief General Tienie Groenewald, approved the talks and was also involved.

At the same time, the negotiations spell schism for the rightwing as well as humiliation and oblivion for personalities such as AVF

[JMANDELA SPEAKS: African N  
Mandela addresses 2 500 exe  
World Economic Development

WASHINGTON. â\200\224 International Mone-

.pealed for investment

weekend

ves from 100 nations attending the  
ngress in Washington. Mandela ap-  
ost-apartheid South Africa.

id for SA

in the United States, Canada,

and asked him quite simply:  
â\200\234Would you kill me?â\200\235

His answer and other fascinating insights into the  
Mind of a Monster are on page 18, FOCUS 4.

IT'S CHEAPER TO SUBSCRIBE

WHEN the cover price of Weekend Argus went up at the beginning of this month the cost of subscriptions was held at the old price for the rest of the month so there is still time to take advantage of this. Readers wanting to subscribe

to Weekend Argus can, therefore, still sign up at the old rate (R71,89 for three months, R135,72 for six months or R258,96 for a year).

But time is running out so phone 488 4899 right away!

ol

Australia, New Zealand, the European Community, India and China, a group of 60 top business leaders including Finance Minister Derek Keys and Reserve

tary -Fund chief Michel Camdessus has pledged to free up \$850 million (R2 890m) in economic aid for South Africa within

il

chairman Dr Hartzenberg, who clearly had no knowledge of the talks when he disclosed his go-it-alone option to Weekend Argus this week.

gotiated before elections to guarantee federal powers.

IFP sources say that if federal powers are days.

strengthened and entrenched in the interim con-

stitution with a view to the final constitution, then the demand to have them written into a final constitution in advance falls away.

The IFP is then prepared to fall in line with

The AVF's proposals are expected to be close to those previously produced by the Afrikaner Volksunie. These called for a federal state, possibly with Pretoria as capital, which would not practise apartheid but which would develop

Nelson Mandela to tear down economic sanctions against South Africa. e



He was yesterday answering a p

After a breakfast meeting with the A

Bank governor Chris Stals â\200\224 descended on Washington to beat the South African ' investment drum.

The group, which is accompanied by

the ANCâ\200\231s economics chief Trevor Manuel, is in the American capital to attend the World Bank and IMF annual meetings, which begin on Tuesday.

They have also addressed a major investment conference, where the topic of South Africa virtually swamped all other points of discussion.

US President Bill Clinton has announced that he will be sending a high-powered trade mission, headed by Commerce Secretary Ron Brown, the top ranking black in the current Democratic administration. Mr Brown is tasked with specifically exploring business and investment opportunities: in the black private sector. A

Mr Clinton said he would also offer investment incentives.

The US Senate unanimously passed a

as a hub for Afrikaners.

They would have no special rights, but an Afrikaner majority would be able to entrench language, cultural and educational characteristics of the state at regional level.

Mr Mandela said: â\200\234There is room for compromise. What we are not going to have is any ethnic solution, but a people can have a region in which to run their own affairs.â\200\235

The meeting between Mr Mandela and General Viljoen follows weeks of lower level contact between the two organisations and talks are expected to continue and intensify.

A joint statement by General Viljoen and ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki said there had been a sense of realism about the serious differences of opinion which existed on crucial issues, yet the two sides shared a commitment to peace.

â\200\234These discussions have been encouraging.

rican National Congress leader, Mg Camdessus said he was eager to disburse the first multi-lateral assistance to South Africa since sanctions were erected in the early 1980s; 4 e 4

â\200\234I look forward in the following days to the preparation of the first disbursement

from the IMF to compensate for the dramatic drop in exports,â\200\235 Mr Camdessus

the two-phased process agreed to at Kempton Park, in which an interim constitution is drawn up at Kempton Park, followed by elections, after which the elected constitutional assembly will draw up the final constitution within two years.

IFP sources also revealed that, if this deal was struck, the IFP would also participate in the Transitional Executive Council which will assume major powers in the run-up to elections due on April 27.

The IFP opposed the TEC Bill in parliament this week on the grounds that it was â\200\234putting the cart before the horseâ\200\235 as Inkatha wants the constitutional issue to be sorted out first.

The TEC Bill is now being put on ice until negotiators at Kempton Park finalise the interim constitution which is then due to be approved by a ceremonial plenary session probably in November, before receiving the final rubber stamp in parliament. This means the TEC is only likely

said. :

Mr Mandela told the United Nations on Friday it was time to lift its embargo on imports from South Africa as the country moves towards democracy and elections next April. ;

Mr Camdessus said the \$850m would go towards balance-of-payments assistance giving South Africa desperately needed funds to finance imports of goods that it can now buy on world markets. !  
As the remaining sanctions came tum-

to be established in November.

B Turn to page 3

bling down like a pack of cards over the

bill urging local and state governments to repeal sanctions. â\200\224 Sapa-Reuter.

Discipline Mokaba  
â\200\224 call by NP youth

STELLENBOSCH. â\200\224 The National Partyâ\200\231s Cape youth wing has called on the African National Congress to discipline its youth leader, Mr Peter Mokaba, and to consider suspending him.

At its congress in Stellenbosch yesterday, the NP Cape youth adopted a motion that irresponsible statements by ANC officials such as Western Cape secretary Mr Tony

Yengeni and Mr Mokaba contributed to violence in the Cape.

The ANC should discipline these two in the interests of peace and stability. â\200\224 Sapa.

A

That old Province magic . . .

DEON VILJOEN at Newlands

IT has been a good long while since the Newlands faithful spontaneously chanted P-R-O-V-I-N-C-E! But yesterday a pitiful crowd of 10 000 sporadically took up the old magic war cry as their favourite side scored a famous 42-32 Currie Cup victory over Transvaal against all expectations.

It was a momentous achievement, considering Transvaal added the Lion Cup trophy to their Super 10 title only a week ago. This time however, the fearsome red lions were

well and truly caged.

What made the occasion extra special was the fact that WP entered the match with a dismal Currie Cup record of seven defeats from eight starts. And although they were outscored four tries to three, the result was a crowning moment for Alan Zondagh, permanently appointed as senior coach only eight days ago and facing a formidable challenge of resurrecting a once proud team.

Zondagh is admittedly not in the clear yet, but he at least enters next

rugby season in the cerldin knowledge of possessing arguably the best centre combination in the country. The Stellenbosch midfield pair of Christiaan Scholtz and Jaco Taute turned Transvaal inside out yesterday, Scholtz scoring a brace of tries before sending over right wing Simon Berridge for what amounted to his finest performance in a young and promising career.

At the final whistle, Scholtz was mobbed by WP fans at the mouth of the tunnel. â\200\234Jirre man,â\200\235 shouted one, â\200\234Ou Mannetjies Roux kan maar laat staan!â\200\235.

"SPORTS

ADMINISTRATIVE bungling,  
rather than political violence,  
could wreck South Africa's  
chances of staging rugby's  
World Cup in 1995.

According to reports, Trans-  
vaal supremo Louis Luyt is  
holding up negotiations with  
Rugby World Cup Limited, the  
organisers of the event.

However, Luyt hit back yes-

terday, calling the reports  
nonsense. He said he expect-

ed the final agreement to be |

signed next weekend.

B Report Section 2, SPORTS

WIN R170 00 in the Weekend WIN top prizes in Weekend JOHN YELD'S %J?

: Argus Charity Jackpot Argus with SQUARE DEAL . GREEN SCENE ;  
B SUNDAY, Section 6 B See page 12 '200'230M Focus 1, page 15 %

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STELLENBOSCH. â\200\224 Even if there was a civil war now, South

Africans would still have to sit down and negotiate at the end of it, acting State President and Cape leader of the National Party, Dr Dawie de Villiers, said yesterday.

Opening the Cape NP Youth Congress here, he asked where the people who talked of civil

war and of polishing their guns thought they were taking the country and its people. â\200\234Because when the conflict is over and the flames have died down, we will sit again around the table â\200\224 and this time there will be very little to share.â\200\235 The NP had lost the will to govern, Minister of Sport Mr Abe Williams said at the congress. At the moment it was â\200\234brown Natsâ\200\235

[t Talks â\200\230a mustâ\200\231 even if war

who were standing up for the party.

Several delegates were outspoken in their criticism of the government.

Delegate Mr Paul Stemmet

that what made it difficult for |

youth workers to sell the NP on the ground was â\200\234the way things are doneâ\200\235 by the government. â\200\224 Sapa

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

MORTGAGE lenders may soon be protected by a government-initiated finance scheme that counters political risks in the housing market, National Housing Minister Mr Louis

Shill said yesterday.

He said the private sector had de-

veloped â\200\230â\200\234not only cold but frozen feetâ\200\235 about involvement in township housing because of problems of bond boycotts and violence.

However, relief could soon be on the way in the form of a risk intervention scheme to cover major money lenders against political risks, he said.

Mr Shill declined to reveal details,

Bond holders: Protection on cards 1

saying the scheme was still being negotiated but said it could make a major impact on the massive housing shortage.

â\200\234The banks have to face normal commercial risks, it is up to us to ensure that the risks that go beyond commercial risks are removed.â\200\235

He estimated that initially about two-thirds of South Africaâ\200\231s housing

needs could be generated by the private sector but that more capital could be raised in the medium-term from abroad.

Over 300 000 houses would have to be built every year for the next 10 years to address the housing backlog in South Africa, he said, adding that there were almost six million squatters without housing at present.

â\200\230Volk are not

given chanceâ\200\231

GEORGE. â\200\224 The: Afri-  
kaner â\200\230â\200\230volkâ\200\235 rejected  
the TEC by more than a  
two-thirds majority but  
President F W de Klerk  
would not give the Afri-  
kaner people a chance to  
show it, Conservative  
Party leader Dr Ferdi  
Hartzenberg said last  
night when opening the  
Cape CP congress.

Referring to Cape CP  
leader Mr Jan Hoonâ\200\231s re-  
fusal to leave the Parlia-  
mentary Chamber when  
ordered out on Tuesday  
he said Mr Hoon had  
demonstrated how pow-  
erless the government  
had become.

He said the CP would  
hold a series of meetings  
countrywide next month  
â\200\234so the â\200\230volkâ\200\231 can make  
its voice heardâ\200\235. â\200\224 Sapa

â\200\230Nurembergâ\200\231  
threat to MP

THE National Party MP  
for Springs, Dr Sarel  
Gous, was threatened by  
right-wingers saying that  
a Nuremberg trial could  
await him and his family  
on their return to  
Springs if he did not ab-  
stain from voting for leg-  
islation during the short  
parliamentary session.

Mr Kobus Bosman, MP  
and Transvaal NP infor-  
mation officer, said yes-  
terday a complaint of an  
offence under the In-  
timidation Act would be  
laid with police on Mon-  
day.

The letter was appar-  
ently written by a secre-  
tary in the Afrikaner-  
Volksfrontâ\200\231s Springs  
branch. â\200\224 Sapa

DURBAN. â\200\224 Zulus  
should stand together  
to fight against a stra-  
tegically orchestrated  
plan to â\200\234wipe us off  
the face of the earthâ\200\235,  
King Goodwill Zwe-  
lithini told 3000 Zu-  
lus at a Shaka rally  
yesterday.

Inkatha leader Chief  
Mangosuthu Buthelezi,  
in a separate speech to  
the crowd at Ensing-  
weni, said patriotic Zu-  
lus must be prepared to  
fight to rule themselves,  
and not allow the TEC to  
govern KwaZulu.

â\200\234Get ready to  
fightâ\200\235 â\200\224 King

AWB â\200\230will join forcesâ\200\231

LONDON. â\200\224 AWB leader Mr Eugene  
Terreâ\200\231Blanche has said the Zulus

would fight alongside the extremeâ\200\231

right-wing if an ANC government came  
to power.

Interviewed by BBC radio, he also  
said the demand by the AWB for an  
Afrikaner â\200\234homelandâ\200\235 of up to 25% of  
South Africa was a â\200\234rightful claim ac-  
cording to international lawâ\200\235.

He was not prepared to negotiate a  
smaller area with the ANC, he said.

Mr Terreâ\200\231Blanche said the Zulus, like  
the AWB, were opposed to plans for a  
unitary South Africa and they would  
fight together against any ANC-led  
government that might come to power.

â\200\234You will find the majority (of the)  
white people and the big Zulu na-

tion . . . (will) fight shoulder to shoul-  
der against the communist-inspired

and communist-ruled African National  
Congress.â\200\235 â\200\224 Sapa



DET matric  
exams

postponed

JOHANNESBURG. â\200\224 Jubilation greeted the news that black matriculation examinations have been postponed until November 1. " Â¥

Education and Training Minister Mr Sam de Beer announced yesterday that the exams would be post-'poned from October 19.

Subjects which would have been written before November 2 will now be written after the final date of the original timetable.

The timetable would remain unaltered from November 2 until November 18. Rescheduled examinations would be written until November 30.

â\200\234My decision on the final examination dates has been based on consensus reached after negotiations between the Education and Training department and other education departments and organisations,â\200\235 Mr De Beer said.

He said there would be ample time for successful candidates to gain access to tertiary institutions.

There would also be enough time to register and study for the March supplementary examinations,

The king alleged there were open threats to dethrone him, dis-mantle the KwaZulu government and forcefully remove the leadership of Chief Buthelezi.

He said violence had rocketed since the unbanning of the ANC in 1990 and was mainly focused on Zulus.

He also blamed the uncontrollable levels of violence in the country on â\200\230â\200\230revolutionary forcesâ\200\235, which he said had infiltrated communities and brain-washed children into defying authority.

In his speech, Chief Buthelezi said there would be no peace in South Africa if Zulus were not allowed self-rule.

The TEC did not include the KwaZulu government nor the IFP and allowing it to rule KwaZulu was akin to â\200\234allowing foreigners

to rule usâ\200\235, said Chief Buthelezi.

â\200\234We must be prepared to fight for our freedom and the right to

rule over ourselves.â\200\235

e The outcome of a two-day bilateral meeting starting tomorrow between the central and KwaZulu governments will help decide the course of next weekâ\200\231s multi-party talks.

A source close to the process said yesterday that, except for the report on local government, the agenda for debate had not yet been finalised. â\200\234They want to see what comes out of the bilateral, among other things.â\200\235

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer will lead the state delegation at the bilateral, to be held outside Pretoria.

After a planning committee meeting at Kempton Park yesterday,

Mr Meyer confirmed that the government would be handing in its submission on regional powers only next week, but denied it had been delayed because of the bilateral.

Also speaking-after the-planning committee meeting, ANC secretary-general and chief ANC negotiator Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said things were â\200\234going according to planâ\200\235.

Negotiators next week would attempt to get the process to pick up speed with regard to constitutional issues.

Ciskeian chief negotiator Mr Micky Webb, whose party has often been accused with its allies of stalling talks, was also looking forward to a â\200\234usefulâ\200\235 week. â\200\224 Sapa

SR

Belgium refusesâ\200\231 visas for AVF

POOR CONDITIONS

broken windows and no electricity or doors.

Guguletu pupil protest

Staff Reporter

Siviwe Primary School pupils Zandile Nkosi, 11 (left) and Monwabisi Ndima, 12, study in classrooms with electricity or ceilings and the play-

for which all candidates would be eligible. National Education Co-ordinating Committee spokesman Mr Mike Maile said the extra time should be used constructively. The Congress of South African Students and the Azanian Studentsâ\200\231 Movement welcomed the delay. Mr Alan Tonkin, of the National Education and

becomes  
Â®  
law just  
Political Staff  
THE boycott of the remainder of the parliamentary session by the CP initially robbed the House of Assembly of a quorum to pass the Independent Broadcasting Authority bill yesterday. While the decision by the house was unanimous in favour of the bill, there were only 86

Picture: BENNY GOOL

Training Forum, also welcomed the news. â\200\224 Sapa  
â\200\230\*[edla bill From page 1

PRETORIA. â\200\224 A high-profile visit by the Afrikaner-Volksfront to Europe has been placed in the balance by the Belgian governmentâ\200\231s refusal to grant visas to members of the delegation. The Belgian Embassy here said an application

Groenewald has rejected because he had not given the reason for

by the AVEâ\200\231s Gen Tietl"

TEACHERS and pupils at Guguletuâ\200\231s Siviwe Primary School held a picket yesterday to protest â\200\234appallingâ\200\235 conditions and an acute lack of facilities.

Acting headmaster Mr G S Tyabashe

said the school had been repeatedly  
vandalised. Windows had been

broken and doors, chairs, lightbulbs

and art equipment stolen.

â\200\234The school is not conducive to ef-  
fective learning,â\200\235 he said.

â\200\234Some classrooms have no doors,  
ground is in a state of disrepair.â\200\235

Mr Tyabashe said staff and pupils  
were vulnerable to disease as toilets  
were unhygienic. The school had too  
few blackboards and no administra-  
tion block. Every chair in the tiny staff  
room had been stolen.

The Department of Education and  
Training had responded to repeated  
requests to upgrade the school by say-  
ing it had insufficient funds.

The DET could not be contacted as  
their offices were closed.

MPs present to vote.  
Chairman Dr Helgard  
van Rensburg then  
called a second vote.  
One minister, Dr Kraai  
van Niekerk, was rushed

in and tgree MES were  
founi-â\202 to boost e tota

0 90, the quorum  
needed for the house.  
The measure, which  
deregulates the .air-  
waves, was passed  
unanimously in the

' risks will be diminishing

his visit. â\200\224 Sapa

other two houses.

FHomelands lost,  
overspent R50m

Political Staff

WARNING lights started flashing yesterday for the non-independent homelands.

Auditor-general Mr Henri Kleuver yesterday detailed the overexpenditure and losses of nearly R50 million since 1989 by five administrations. This included a 230% increase in 283 incidents of theft from KwaZulu.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's KwaZulu administration overspent by nearly R26 million in the 1991-2 financial year. In one incident the interior ministry was robbed of R17 217 worth of guns, cash, and stores.

Earlier yesterday Parliament passed the Self-governing Territories Constitution Amendment Bill granting Pretoria the right to manage fire

entire administrations of the territories. R e N ey, P N i e

Two train

killings as

East Rand simmers

JOHANNESBURG. Two people died in train attacks on the Reef on Thursday and yesterday, police said.

As security forces and peace monitors struggled to cool tension in East Rand townships, five more people were killed in Katlehong, Thokoza and Daveyton on Thursday night.

Seventy-seven people have been killed in the area this week.

Police found the corpse of an unidentified man with gunshot wounds on a train travelling from Soweto to Braamfontein at 1am yesterday.

Early on Friday, a badly injured man was found next to the tracks be-

tween Wadeville and Katlehong stations, also on the East Rand.

On Thursday the body of a man was found at Langlaagte station.

Four people were injured when thrown off a train near Germiston.

At least 102 people have died in train violence this year.

Â® Natal police said three people died yesterday in clashes in Bham-

-bayi, north of Durban.

Ten men were shot and wounded when gunmen stormed the KwaZulu transport depot in Newcastle yesterday in an attack police linked to feuds between bus and taxi operators. â\200\224 Sapa

s e

mâ\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

After his UN address, Mr Mandela spoke to the World Economic Development Congress, a body of more than 300 international companies and investors, urging business leaders to seize the moment and invest in South Africa.

President FW de Klerk also urged investors to focus on South Africa.

Speaking live on a nationwide American breakfast show, Mr De Klerk said: â\200\230â\200\234South Africa has a tremendous future. We have not nearly fully unlocked our potential.

â\200\234Yes, there are risks (to investors), but the

almost week by week as from now.â\200\235

First reactions at home and abroad welcomed the leadersâ\200\231calls, although the PAC appealed to the United Nations and United States to ignore them.

PAC secretary-general

Mr Benny Alexander  
said it was wrong for  
Western countries to en-  
gage in programmes of  
economically propping  
up the â\200\234current aggres-  
sive ruling classâ\200\235.

o New York mayor Mr  
David Dinkins called for  
a repeal of a New York  
City anti-apartheid law  
he said could free as  
much as \$40 billion  
(about R136bn) in city  
pension funds for invest-  
ment in South Africa.

e In Boston, the gover-  
nor of Massachusetts  
signed a legal measure  
to lift economic sanc-  
tions against South  
Africa. â\200\224 Sapa-Reuter

PAC arrests

B

for abduction

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â\200\224 BACK PAGE

Ribn CORPORATE

PREVIEW OF OUR  
FLY-AWAY CONTEST

CONSCIENCE

â\200\224 PAGE 2

â\200\224 PAGE 3

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{NEW YORK. â\200\224 The US Senate last  
i night unanimously lifted sanctions  
| against South Africa â\200\224 immediately  
| after ANC president Mr Nelson Man-  
'dela told the United Nations it was  
time for non-military sanctions to go.  
The Senate approved legislation  
lifting economic sanctions imposed  
by more than 160 local and state gov-  
ernments. The bill was approved  
without debate.  
. The Commonwealth said it would  
begin lifting sanctions immediately.  
i Australian Foreign Minister Mr Gar-  
o eth Evans announced the immediate  
M lifting of all trade, investment and  
'{ financial embargoes. The European

i that its sanctions would go but is to address the question in eight days.

President Bill Clinton yesterday called for the removal of remaining economic sanctions against South Africa and said Commerce Secretary Mr Ron Brown would lead a trade mission to South Africa.

He also said Washington would remove remaining federal sanctions by taking steps necessary to permit lending to South Africa

ld non- acla market de-

ilm South Africa as they were

to breaking down barriers of apartheid. s

The president said he would also

offer incentives for investment in

'Sanctions  
tumble as  
Mandela

gives sign

SIGNAL  
Mr Nelson Mandela

South Africa and consider sending Peace Corps ,volunteers.

Addressing the UN committee on apartheid, Mr Mandela said the international community should take notice of the decisive advances that had been made in the cause of democracy in South Africa, and that

these advances had become enshrined in the laws of our country.

We are therefore ready to address such matters as the security of investments, repatriation of profits and dividends, competitive rates of taxation and stable and predictable public policies.

However, Mr Mandela said arms, nuclear and oil embargoes should be maintained until the new government had been formed.

Ovation

The question of the oil embargo would be left to the discretion of the UN General Assembly.

He assured them an ANC-led government would create the conditions for investor confidence.

an undertaking on violence, Mr Mandela said: We will leave no stone unturned in the struggle to ensure that both political and communal violence are addressed effectively.

Delegates gave Mr Mandela a standing ovation at the end of his address.

@ Wall St homes in on SA Page 5

To page 2

A SEMI-AUTONOMOUS Volkstaat could be in the pipeline for the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF).

In Christian Science Monitor and London Times reports yesterday, sources said a deal was struck between the ANC and the AVF that the right-wing group will land.

The agreement reportedly follows a secret meeting six weeks ago between AVF leader General Constand Viljoen and

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela. .

The reports were published as the ANC

and AVF met for high-level talks between

By EUNICE RIDER

A RUNAWAY bus  
slammed into parked  
cars in Kloof Nek Road  
after its brakes failed  
yesterday â\200\224 but the 65  
schoolchildren on board  
miraculously escaped  
injury.

A woman in one of the  
cars, which was hit head-  
on and pushed several  
metres before being  
flung into New Church  
Street, was badly in-

jured.  
.. Mr Enooch Mnavihali\_\_

I

contest the April 27 election in exchange  
for a semi- autonomous Afrlkaner home-

â\200\230Compromise on volkstaatâ\200\231

The Monitor said the AVF has proposed  
an area shaped like a three-pointed star  
that includes Pretoria and large tracts of

General Viljoen and ANC chairman Mr  
Thabo Mbeki.

Mr Mandela said in New York yesterday:  
â\200\234We cannot accept their demand (for a  
Volkstaat) in the way that they have put it  
< but there is room for compromise.

â\200\234What we are not going to have is any  
ethnic solution. But a people can have a

\_region in which to run their own affairs.

â\200\234It is the task of the ANC to address the  
fears of some members of South Africaâ\200\231s

~white mincrity â\200\235 he told reporters.

A senior AVF official quoted by the  
Monitor said: â\200\234I can confirm that there has  
been a follow-up initiative to the initial

meeting between Viljoen and Mandela  
and that a positive outcome is expected.

â\200\234It is a very sensitive matter, and I am  
unable to say anything further,â\200\235 he said.

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Kloof Nek hor

the Free State.

The ANC and AVF issued a joint state-  
ment yesterday following the leaks about  
the talks. Signed by Gen Viljoen and Mr  
Mbeki, it said discussions had been held  
at leadership level in the past two weeks  
and more were planned.

The statement said that while no agree- Â\$  
ment was reached on a â\200\234volkstaatâ\200\235, both

parties agreed positive economic growth [

should be encouraged by ensuring peace.

The talks were held to reduce polarisa- i  
tion and possible war â\200\234which would not be  
in the interest of anyone. of or the country

as a wholeâ\200\235. â\200\224 Political Staff, Sapa

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