

Parliament

Reports by

Sapa

Govt perturbed at suggestions of 'White veto'

SUGGESTIONS at Codesa, and echoed in the international press, that the government wants a "White veto" in the new constitution were perturbing, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Tertius Delpont, said yesterday.

Speaking during debate on the Constitutional Development Budget vote — he is also the government spokesman on Codesa, he said this had apparently been deducted from the government's insistence that a senate should also play a role in

the constitution-making process in the transitional phase.

The government view of such a senate was well-known: That the body's composition should reflect regional and minority (on a regional basis) interests.

"How this could be construed as a "White veto" is difficult to understand...Codesa will not agree to what amounts to a "White veto".

Referring to a request by the MP for Tokomrus, Mr Miley

Richards, that the government should clearly express itself in favour of federalism, Dr Delpont said "I have no problem with this".

He had adopted a clear standpoint in Codesa's Working Group Two that the matter should be approached pragmatically and in a spirit of compromise, and not fall into an academic debate between preferences for federalism or a unitary state.

Dr Delpont said there were two main possibilities that the ANC had

found "so objectionable" in Working Group Two:

- the notion that a government of national unity, making provision for a multi-party executive, should govern South Africa perhaps for more than a "very short time-span"; and

- that regional government should be instituted, with Codesa agreeing on the boundaries, powers, duties and functions of regional governments as a starting point.

It emerged clearly in the National Party's proposals that an executive authority should include the leaders of the most important parties in South Africa.

"...therefore we like to talk of a government of national unity, or a government of national reconciliation, or a government of national reconstruction".

It seemed the ANC was saying that such a government would be able to fulfil its task within a six-month period. But this was unrealistic.

Dr Delpont said the government's insistence on the establishment of a system of autonomous regional government was not exclusively rooted in one-sided and ideological preferences.

"Nevertheless, it is of course true that surely the most fundamental characteristic of a democracy is that government must take place 'by the people and for the people'."

The government's view was that justice could best be done to a fully democratic government at regional and local level, because these levels were physically the closest to the people.

'Codesa groupings have common belief'

EACH political party or grouping at Codesa had its own agenda, but they all had one thing in common — a belief that the negotiating process should continue towards an acceptable form of power sharing, Mr Myburgh Streicher (NP De Kuilen) said.

Speaking in debate on the Constitutional Development vote, he said it was simply not true to say Codesa was an auction of White rights.

South Africans had to talk to one another and they knew that apartheid

was dead.

Whites were past the stage of trying to cling to political power.

Codesa II had shown clearly that there were a few sticking points in the process, but a temporary illness did not make the patient terminally sick.

According to the CP leader Andries Treurnicht another doctor and another diagnosis were now necessary, but if a CP doctor were called in he would give an incorrect diagnosis, would not be able to supply any medicine and would send

an unaffordably expensive bill.

The Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, Mr Jac Rabie, urged the Labour Party to see through the ANC's double agenda and to stop acting like "little mongrel dogs" around the movement.

The National Party was now really the National Party of SA because it represented all races and as a result its support base was expanding at an unbelievable rate.

The CCB knows who killed Webster — Ferdi

Sowetan / May 22 / 1992

MR FERDI Barnard, the man at the centre of allegations of State-sponsored killings and harassment of anti-apartheid activists, makes no apology for his shadowy role in the service of South Africa.

"My record is rotten with violence," the 33-year-old former spy said. "But I don't need amnesty. There's no fear in my heart that I will ever need anything like that."

Barnard, a convicted murderer who complains business contacts think of him as "James Bond", added: "I don't believe there will be any type of Nuremberg trials in this country, because they will sort that out at the negotiating table."

He denies accusations that he carried out two of Southern Africa's most notorious assassinations, saying a former colleague in a secret army unit might know the truth about them.

The burly former drug squad detective served three years in jail from 1984 to 1987 for two unrelated murders of suspected drug dealers.

In March 1988 he joined the Civil Co-operation Bureau, an army special forces undercover unit which is accused of killing and harassing black activists.

Officials of the unit, now disbanded, showed strong opposition to President FW de Klerk's political reforms. They told a judicial investigation into violence that their job was to "maximally disrupt the enemies of the State" at home and abroad. The unit has destroyed files on its work inside South Africa.

For the past three years newspapers have regularly splashed Barnard's photograph across front page reports linking him to the 1989 killings of South African academic Dr David Webster and an anti-apartheid Namibian lawyer, Mr Anton Lubowski.

FOCUS

In late 1989 Barnard was detained for three months in connection with the killings but released for lack of evidence.

In an interview at a friend's house, Barnard suggested a CCB colleague might know the truth about the murders, adding: "If anyone was trained to kill, it would be him."

Barnard described himself as a political moderate who joined the CCB because it paid well.

All he did, he said, was use contacts in the underworld, "mostly Mandrax, diamond and weapons smugglers", to gather intelligence on enemies of the State.

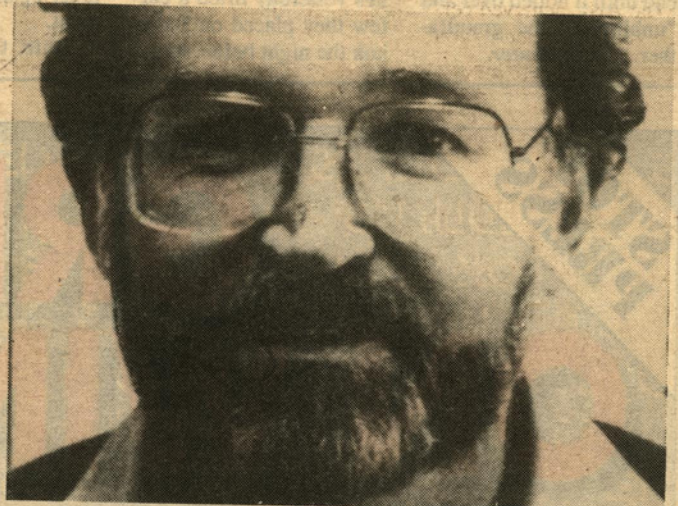
"I lost everything when I was in jail. All of a sudden I had R5 000 a month. I had a brand new car, my petrol was paid for. It made it so much easier for me, that I could live like anybody else. You can buy a woman a present if you want."

"That to me was like a godsend. I grabbed it with both hands."

Barnard says the CCB's work was needed at the time but became increasingly irrelevant as the reform process proceeded.

"People there did brilliant work, believe me. I was one who operated alone, going into a black township without backing at night to monitor certain people's movements."

"It was intelligence concerning anything that damages the economy - laundering money, drug smuggling, weapons smuggling, politically motivated actions against the country, African National Congress activities, MK



David Webster, who was killed in 1989.

(ANC armed wing) activities, you name it.

"If you do the crime, you must do the time. It's a motto of mine. You must face the consequences," Barnard said.

"But nobody (in the CCB) ever asked me to do anything illegal or to do any strong arm tactics or any rough work."

Hopes of uncovering the truth about the killing and others like it have risen this year with the start of talks on a transition from white rule to democracy.

The ANC says it will guarantee amnesty if people who carried out political killings confess, so as to wipe the slate clean and ensure that there is no repetition. Police have been unable to solve dozens of murders of activists.

Barnard, denying new allegations that he currently works for the army's intelligence department, said he doubted the killers of Lubowski and Webster would ever apply for amnesty.

"If it was done (by) the intelligence world, I doubt it very much because that world is a murky world of shady characters and nothing is

really as it seems. There'll be no smoking gun."

Barnard estimates he has had 200 stitches in his body from being stabbed five times and shot once in the course of his career, which included a stint as a Johannesburg club bouncer.

"I can be violent but I'm not a guy that goes moving around looking for trouble," said Barnard, who is about 2m tall and weighs 105kg.

Barnard, who now earns a living by recovering stolen commercial property, said he wanted a normal family life.

But he says he is continually haunted by his violent past.

He tried debt collection work, but people he visited recognised him from newspaper photographs and asked for police protection.

He said businessmen impressed by his CCB service now offered him money to beat up rivals. "I think they're stark raving mad. People are trying to misuse me. What they see in the papers, to them that's for real. (It's like) I'm the biggest James Bond and I'm scared of nothing." - SA Press Association-Reuters

Codesa could be back to square one

THE African National Congress has gone into serious consultation with its constitutional committee to review the collapse of negotiations in Codesa's Working Group 2.

In the meantime, there are fears that negotiations between the ANC and the Government could revert to square one if Codesa's management committee cannot reach agreement on how to resuscitate the talks.

Codesa's management

By ISMAIL I. AGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

committee meets on Monday.

The ANC's constitutional committee has over the past two days been locked in serious discussions after announcing earlier this week it had withdrawn all compromises made in Codesa's Working Group 2 - which dealt with constitutional principles.

Talks in Working Group 2, which centred on the per-

centage majority required to pass a new constitution, the question of a senate and regional or minority representation, ground to a halt as the Government initially wanted a three-quarters majority and the ANC a two-thirds majority but compromised and settled on 70 percent.

The Government also wanted a senate filled with minorities which would

hold veto powers over a democratically elected constitution-making body.

One of the ANC's chief negotiators in Working Group 2, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, said his organisation regarded the failure of Codesa 2 (to ratify agreements reached) as "an extremely serious matter".

"After five months we have nothing to offer the public."

Moosa said the ANC would withdraw all com-

promises it had made at Codesa, and that it would start widespread consultations with its regional structures to, among other things, re-assess the way forward.

The Minister yesterday reacted with concern over the ANC's announcement that "they would start anew" in Working Group 2 negotiations, adding that the Government believed that agreements reached in other working groups should stand.

Clerics appeal for peace rallies

WEEKEND MERCURY

23-05-92

CAPE TOWN—Violence has again gripped the country and churchmen have moved to bring the country's three most powerful leaders together in joint peace rallies.

Parts of Natal have been identified by the Government as among the worst-affected areas in the recent escalation which is threatening to turn 1992 into one of the most violent years on record.

The South African Institute of Race Relations yesterday estimated that 2 800 people could die this year if violence continued at present levels.

Deputy Minister of Justice Danie Schutte revealed that in March almost 300 people were killed — the highest figure since August, 1990 — and more than 250 in April.

He identified Natal, with 86 fatalities in March and 55 in April, as one of two regions "primarily identified with violence". Trouble spots in the province were Empangeni, Imbali and Umlazi.

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

The other region being ravaged by violence was the PWV area, said Dr Schutte.

Yesterday President de Klerk held a meeting with a delegation of church leaders to discuss violence and the National Peace Secretariat met in Johannesburg to discuss the issue.

A delegation of church leaders who met with President de Klerk yesterday have moved to bring the country's three most powerful leaders — Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr de Klerk and Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi — together to address joint rallies.

It is understood, President de Klerk was sympathetic to the proposal on condition both other leaders agreed.

The churchmen, led by the general-secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, presented a

memorandum on the violence to President de Klerk.

They charged that recent exposures on the involvement of security forces in violence had "led to a loss of confidence in the police by the majority of South Africans".

They pointed to the alleged training of Inkatha Freedom Party members at a secret SADF base in the Caprivi, the assassination of Matthew Goniwe, the Trust Feed massacre and the incident at Phola Park involving the 32 Battalion.

These "all serve a trend of a deterioration of the relationship between the community and the police, as well as with the Government in general", said the memorandum.

It charged that the violence was "orchestrated and controlled".

It said Government should assert its "political authority on the security forces".

Power struggle has just begun

WE are learning an important lesson. It is that, despite negotiations, no ruling class gives up power and privilege without a struggle - no ruling class voluntarily abdicates from power.

The Codesa experience is a good example. Up to the time of writing, Government representatives were making concessions on minor issues. But on the central issue of power they have refused to budge.

It is important that we concentrate on this major issue - not on petty details in the piles of agreements which will come out of Codesa.

The issue of power raises the questions: who exercises power, who controls the negotiation process, what is the objective of the process and will the agreements predetermine the outcome or will they allow for democratic decision-making by all the people?

The ANC achieved certain victories when it won

The Government and the ANC have hardened their stands after last weekend's deadlock. In this article, reproduced from the Western Cape's *South* weekly, DULLAH OMAR, of the ANC's constitution committee gives a personal view of the stalemate.

the Declaration of Intent and the Terms of Reference of the various Working Groups at Codesa.

But, compared to the major issues at stake and the tasks ahead, central to which is the achievement of an elected Constituent Assembly with sovereign powers to draw up a new constitution, these victories must not be over-stated.

Elected body

For example, on the constitution-making body (which Working Group 2 is dealing with), the regime has agreed to an elected body to draw up the constitution.

This sounds like an advance on the regime's previous position.

However, an elected body is not a Constituent Assembly.

A Constituent Assembly is a single-chamber body

elected on the basis of one person, one vote by all the people of South Africa, including the homelands, with sovereign power to draw up and adopt a new constitution.

Many agree that such a body should adopt the new constitution on the basis of a two-thirds majority. No other body or structure should have the power to vet its decisions.

President FW de Klerk envisages a structure with two chambers - one which will be based upon one person, one vote and a second in which minority parties would dominate.

The ANC has dubbed the second chamber the House of Losers. In terms of De Klerk's proposals, it would be able to veto decisions of the democratically elected first chamber.

On the issue of transitional arrangements

(Working Group 3), there are similar problems. De Klerk is not prepared to give up the sole monopoly of power which presently resides in his hands.

The Government is saying: "You can have your interim governing council and you can have your multiparty commissions - as many as you like - and we will listen to you, but real power will remain in our hands."

No sense

"Because you cannot have two parallel governments existing side by side," they say.

Of course, its reasoning does not make sense because, through constitutional amendments, it is possible to create the kind of sovereign structure proposed by the ANC. It's a question of the regime clinging to power.

If the Government has its way, it will ultimately be in control over all aspects of the election process and even the result.

The regime is putting up a facade that it is interested in democratising the country. Because of the serious crisis it is in, it has no option but to concede some version of one person, one vote.

However, it is determined to create structures and procedures to nullify one person, one vote.

Without majority rule as a very minimum, there can be no settlement.

Remember the Smith-Muzorewa attempt to prevent majority rule in Zimbabwe a decade ago. Remember also the slogan of the Patriotic Front at the time: "No independence without majority rule."

But let us not pretend that the winning of a democratically elected Constituent Assembly or a formula for majority rule will be the end of the struggle. Far from it.

It will be a victory but it



FW de Klerk ... a structure with two chambers.

will also open a new phase of struggle.

For the simple reason that a one person, one vote constitution will not end monopoly domination of South Africa's economy, the homelessness and poverty of our people or the imperialist domination of the sub-continent and the stranglehold of the so-called new order.

About three decades ago a leading Kenyan political figure Mr Odinga Odinga, wrote a book entitled *Not Yet Uhuru*.

It was a devastating account of how the struggle of

the Kenyan people had been aborted by the independence negotiations.

This may also be true for Zimbabwe's negotiations at Lancaster House.

South Africa will escape this fate if the working people use the opportunity provided by the political processes to embark upon a programme of struggle to end capitalist exploitation.

The lessons our people have learnt in struggle over the past 20 to 30 years will stand them in good stead.

Numsa, workers lose their appeal

Sowetan 22 May 1992

AN APPEAL by the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa and 17 of its members against a judgment of the Labour Appeal Court was dismissed by the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein yesterday.

The case arose from a wage dispute and disruptions at plants of Macsteel (Pty) Ltd, Germiston, in 1988.

An industrial court found that the collective overtime ban by Macsteel employees, with the knowledge and concurrence of the union, was neither unlawful nor an unfair labour practice.

The industrial court had found that the ban by employees of voluntary overtime in wage negotiations was a

legitimate industrial relations pressure tactic.

On July 24, 1990 Mr Justice WJ Hartzenburg and assessors, in the Labour Appeal Court, set aside the industrial court's determination and substituted an order that the union's conduct to introduce, instigate and persist in an overtime ban was an unfair labour practice.

Yesterday Mr Justice Goldstone said there were ample grounds for the lower court to hold that the overtime ban was an unfair labour practice. There was no reason to interfere with the order made by the Labour Appeal Court.

Mr Justice van Heerden, Mr Justice Smalberger, Mr Justice FH Grosskopf and Mr Justice Nicholas (acting judge of appeal) concurred. - *Sapa*.

Toll-free hotline for pensioners

A 24-hour toll-free telephone service would be instituted where black social pensioners could air their grievances, the Minister of Local Government, Mr Leon Wessels, told Parliament on Wednesday.

Speaking during an interpellation debate, he said pension and disability grant payments - made by the Provincial Administrations - were complicated by the high illiteracy rate, rapid urbanisation and identification problems.

The payments were being done with compassion by officials and no malice was borne by them at any level.

Mrs Carole Charlewood (DP Umbilo) said the current pay-out system resulted in chaos, deprivation, illness and even death for the elderly and disabled.

There were reports of old people collapsing regularly at the pay-out points, having walked all day and sat up all night to get into the next day's queue.

Many were turned away being told "you're too young."

Rural leaders sidelined: PAC

Sowetan 22 May 1992
By RUSSEL MOLEFE

TRADITIONAL leaders were being excluded from Codesa because the system they represented was regarded as backward and barbaric, Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu said this week.

Makwetu was addressing more than 200 traditional leaders at Lebowakgomo Showgrounds in Seshego on Wednesday.

He said traditional leaders were required to be satisfied "with a goodwill gesture" of their presence at Codesa as observers since their contribution would be again regarded as irrelevant.

Calling on the traditional leaders to join hands with the PAC, Makwetu said the land question could not be solved without the direct involvement of the rural poor and traditional leaders.

He appealed to them not to allow themselves to be used against their own people.

Sharp rise in killings

Sowetan May 22 1992

THE number of political assassinations since the start of the reform process in 1990 is five times that of the preceding five years, the Human Rights Commission revealed yesterday.

The HRC said in a report released yesterday that 119 people had been eliminated in "low intensity conflict" methods used "to frustrate and destabilise the liberation struggle".

The report points out that during the five years from 1985 to 1990, which encompass the years of the State of Emergency, 45 political deaths were recorded.

During the same period five people disappeared without trace and 160 attempted murders were recorded.

The figures for the 28 months from February 1990 to April this year were five

By MATHATHA TSEBU
Investigations Editor

times higher with 119 deaths.

Of these, more than 100 were "clearly identifiable as belonging to the anti-apartheid camp", some as officials, members or family members of activists.

The HRC said recent revelations in the media about alleged State involvement in the murders of activists raised questions about the role of the National Security management in the continuing killings.

The increased tempo of politically motivated killings was further evidence, "if it were needed", that elements existed within State structures which had no interest in a peaceful advance to genuine democracy, the HRC said.

African States call for closer regional trade

LUSAKA - The presidents of Zambia and Botswana have called for strengthened regional trade and co-operation as a way of boosting the weak economies in Southern Africa.

Speaking in Lusaka, Botswana President Quett Masire said countries in the region should ensure that trade between them was consolidated.

"This is even more apparent now that South Africa has joined the league of democratic countries in the world and Southern Africa in particular," he said.

Masire was speaking at an official dinner hosted for him

by Zambian President Frederick Chiluba on Wednesday night.

"It is regrettable that trade among developing countries in Africa is minimal compared with developing countries," Chiluba said. "It is time that we boosted trade amongst ourselves now."

Masire said his country would assist in hastening food relief moving through Botswana.

The two leaders began bilateral talks yesterday on, among other things, the effects of the drought in the region, including the shipment of food relief from overseas through Botswana. - *Sapa*.

Cosatu angry at Mayekiso arrest

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions on Wednesday warned that any action against Alexandra Civic Association chairman Mr Moses Mayekiso would provoke "major reaction" from its 1.5 million members.

Cosatu was reacting to the arrest and appearance in court of Mayekiso and three others on charges of illegal possession of firearms.

Mayekiso, who is also general secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, and three "bodyguards" were arrested in Alexandra township on Tuesday night. He was found in possession of two Makarov pistols.

The four men appeared in the Wynberg Magistrate's Court on Wednesday charged with the illegal possession of firearms.

Cosatu said it viewed the arrest of the four men as a "concerted campaign by the police and the Government to strip us of any measures we undertake in an effort to defend our lives".

It said that if Mayekiso had acquired or

possessed arms illegally for his defence, the Government should take the blame.

"After receiving death threats and being subjected to constant surveillance, Mayekiso applied for a legal firearm through the African National Congress and has since received no response from the police.

"The police have also failed to assure him of his safety despite being on a hit list of their hit squads, which convinces us that they have no interest in defending those who are opposed to the policies of the Government."

In a separate statement, Numsa said it was calling for all charges against its leader to be dropped as it had "convincing evidence" that Mayekiso's name appeared on several hit lists and he had been under surveillance by unknown people "for a long period".

"Numerous Numsa staffers and members have been murdered and their houses burnt, but no serious action has ever been taken by the SAP," the statement said.

Police 'taped Judge Didcott's calls'

NATAL MERCURY 22/05/92

JOHANNESBURG—The security police kept a dossier on, and taped the private telephone calls of, Natal Judge, Mr Justice John Didcott, a former security police colonel has told the Vrye Weekblad newspaper.

The newspaper yesterday evening released a copy of the story it intends publishing today concerning an interview conducted with Colonel John Horak, who was under cover as a senior journalist at the Rand Daily Mail, the Sunday Express and the Star for several years.

In the interview Col Horak confessed that while he was desk chief at the security police headquarters in Pretoria, he kept a thick file on Mr Justice Didcott.

The file included several transcripts of the Judge's private telephone conversations.

A spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order last week denied a report that Mr Justice Didcott's telephone had been tapped and that a file was kept on him.

The spokesman also said police had no knowledge that Col Horak once tried to leak information on Mr Didcott's past as a Nusas and Liberal Party activist to an Afrikaans newspaper reporter.

Col Horak's reaction was indignant: "How dare the

minister's spokesman declare me a liar when the police know full well it was the truth?"

He claimed he had attempted to smear Mr Justice Didcott by leaking information from the secret file to the press on the direct orders of his security police superiors. "I never did anything that was not an order," he said.

Col Horak said he had complained to the SAP's senior legal adviser, Brigadier Koos Joubert, who agreed the reaction from the minister's office was "a mistake".

Brig Joubert advised Col Horak to "put the matter straight without divulging more details of police actions of the time", Vrye Weekblad said.

The report said Col Horak challenged the minister's office to ask his commander at the time if he (Horak) had acted on his own or whether he was ordered to leak information on Mr Justice Didcott to the newspapers.

The Law and Order spokesman, former Star journalist Captain Craig Kotze, said: "We categorically deny that the SAP at any stage listened in on the telephone conversations of Justice Didcott. If telephone conversations were listened to, it happened unlawfully and Vrye Weekblad is requested to make available the witness who alleges this." — (Sapa)

Without Buthelezi

'SA is condemned'

LONDON—IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi must be involved more closely in the peace process or the country "will almost certainly be condemned to continuing instability and violence", according to the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies.

In its 1991-92 Strategic Survey released yesterday, the institute said: "The positive (referendum) vote has ... strengthened (President de Klerk) for his long-delayed confrontation with those in the security establishment who have been stoking black-on-black violence for their own purposes.

"As negotiations move into the final stage, however, the

most immediate and important task facing both Mr de Klerk and (ANC president Nelson) Mandela is the need to involve Dr Buthelezi more closely in the process, to allay his fears of exclusion and to accommodate at least some of his ambitions in the interim government and beyond.

"Failure to do so will almost certainly condemn SA to continuing instability and violence."

It concluded: "On March 17, 1992, Mr de Klerk persuaded white SA to finally turn its back on the country's apartheid past. His — and Mandela's — biggest remaining challenge could be to avoid a Zulu veto on its future." — (Sapa)

Split emerges as group demands Winnie's return

JOHANNESBURG—A split emerged within the African National Congress yesterday over Winnie Mandela's resignation as head of the ANC social welfare department.

A newly formed support group, from within the ANC PWV Women's League, publicly demanded her reinstatement as head of the department.

Members of the group occupied the PWV Women's League office in central Johannesburg for most of the day, until they received a reply to their petition from ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, whose office is a few blocks away.

The group calls itself the "Social Welfare Support Committee".

According to a spokesman for the committee, Mr Ramaphosa relayed a message that the matter would be dealt with when ANC president Nelson Mandela returned from his Nordic trip.

"We are crying for Mama," said spokesman Sally Peterson, a member of the PWV Women's League regional executive committee, referring to Mrs Mandela. — (Sapa)

ANC best hope for new SA, says Haswell

FORMER Democratic Party MP, Mr Rob Haswell, one of the five DP MPs who defected to the ANC, said last night he had joined the ANC out of conviction that it offered the country "by far our best hope of attaining a truly new South Africa."

Addressing a large and enthusiastic crowd in the Pietermaritzburg City Hall at an ANC Natal Midlands region meeting, Mr Haswell who is the city's deputy mayor, said he wanted to help build "a really new Maritzburg" which meant allocating land and finding funds to house its poor people close to work.

Mr Haswell shared the stage last night with former DP colleague Mr Pierre Cronje; ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa and ANC natal Midlands region deputy chairman Reggie Hadebe.

Mr Cronje said the only organisation which could lead "the second liberation struggle" to rid the country of real apartheid, poverty and hatred among people was the ANC. — (Pietermaritzburg Bureau)

Business leader warns workers

NATAL MERCURY 22/05/92

Bruised economy 'can't take strike'

CAPE TOWN—Companies could be forced to take "the strictest possible disciplinary measures" if the general strike being threatened for next month by the ANC and Cosatu went ahead, Sacob director-general Raymond Parsons warned last night.

The "battered and bruised" state of South Africa's economy had been aggravated by prolonged recession and drought, he told the Tygerberg Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

"To impose a general strike on these economic circumstances could have negative consequences for the workers themselves, who can ill afford to jeopardise their jobs or income in these tough times."

Mr Parsons said he believed that most employers were likely to take the usual stance of "no work, no pay" if the ANC-Cosatu alliance gave the green light to a strike when they met to decide on the is-

Political Staff

sue on May 28.

Cosatu has mentioned the possibility of a five-day strike to press home its demand for the speedy installation of an interim government.

Mr Parsons said yesterday that Sacob estimated that if a two-day general strike was observed it would cost workers about R250 million in lost pay. For workers and their families this was about 10% of monthly earnings.

"In the present difficult economic climate and poor business conditions a general strike in the near future could force companies to take the strictest possible disciplinary measures.

"This must be seen against the background in which retrenchments and job shrinkages are already inevitably taking place. I appeal to those who have to take the decision to bear these realities in mind," he said.

CAPE TOWN—The Government has warned that mass action could delay the transition to a democratic constitution.

Constitutional Development and Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said there was "no room and no need" for the ANC to embark on a programme of mass action in a bid to speed up the transition to democracy.

Mass action could "bedevil the process", said Mr Meyer.

He remained "positive"

'No need' for ANC mass action

Political Correspondent

that work left unfinished by the now suspended Working Group 2 and other matters could be resolved "in a fairly short time".

There have been indications that the ANC and its allies are preparing to embark on a mass action campaign

following the failure of the Codesa 2 plenary session to reach substantial agreement.

Mr Meyer said the gap between the current tri-cameral constitution and the envisaged final constitution for a democratic South Africa was so vast that "it might be good to have a reasonable period of transition" to bridge the gap.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delpoort acknowledged that there were significant differences between the Government and the ANC when it came to time frames for the proposed interim or transitional constitution.

He did not believe the ANC's insistence that a final

constitution be written in "merely six months" was reasonable as "constitution-making is too serious to be dealt with in this way".

He stressed during debate in Parliament on the Constitutional Development budget vote that federalism was the only way in which the diverse cultures of South Africa could be accommodated.

He pointed to Natal, saying it could well require a special dispensation to accommodate the Zulu king.

SADF plans 'include MK'

NATAL MERCURY 22/05/92

CAPE TOWN—The South African Defence Force has already started bilateral talks with Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) on the shape of the future defence force. It was revealed for the first time yesterday.

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer told a media briefing that the talks were being held "to see how arrangements can be made to rationalise not only the defence forces of the TBVC states, but also paramilitary forces like MK".

Mr Meyer said the Government and ANC had achieved about 80% agreement in talks about the "principles" of the rationalisation process.

His comments yesterday are the first indication that the SADF and MK itself are

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

engaged in talks and an apparent signal that the issue is close to resolution.

But Mr Meyer stressed that the termination of the armed struggle and ANC compliance with "outstanding" agreements from the DF Malan and Pretoria Minute accords was a Government pre-condition to the rationalisation process.

He welcomed ANC leader Nelson Mandela's comment in Oslo this week that the armed struggle was not an option if negotiations fail.

My Meyer said at a media briefing yesterday that "we welcome that indication".

"It is the first clear indica-

tion ... from the ANC that they will terminate the armed struggle and (it) means the ANC also knows the (negotiation) process is irreversible," said Mr Meyer, who is relieved of the Defence portfolio at the end of the month.

Mr Meyer made it clear that the Government would not proceed with transitional arrangements unless the armed struggle was abandoned.

Speaking in Oslo on Tuesday, Mr Mandela appeared to give a clear and unconditional indication that the ANC would not go back to the armed struggle.

According to Reuters, the ANC president said in response to a question about talks and the armed struggle that: "We are optimistic, but

we have made it clear that we are embarking on negotiations not because it is the only method open to us.

"(But) if you want us to go to armed struggle, we won't do that. We are an organisation of peace," said Mr Mandela.

He added that a general strike was one alternative that could be used if negotiations broke down.

Mr Meyer yesterday refused to be drawn on a question of whether he had "full confidence" that members of the security establishment had not been involved in the assassination of anti-apartheid activists.

He said he would return to the issue in the Defence Budget vote next week.

Swedes to look at funding of ANC

STOCKHOLM—Swedish Parliament will consider next week whether to continue Sweden's vital funding of the African National Congress, officials said yesterday at the close of a two-day visit by ANC president Nelson Mandela.

The Swedish International Development Authority is recommending an allocation of 110 million crowns (about R53.2 million) to the ANC in the year starting July 1 compared with 120 million crowns (R58 million) this budget year.

"Of course, we will reach a point at some stage where it is no longer possible for us to support the ANC as such," Mr Johan Brisman, head of the authority's southern Africa desk, said.

Prime Minister Carl Bildt said after a meeting with Mr Mandela on Wednesday that when SA adopted multiracial democracy, Sweden could not keep supporting only one party.

Opposition Social Democrats will ask Parliament to approve the R53.2 million request on Wednesday during a debate on trade sanctions against SA, a parliamentary spokesman said. — (Sapa-Reuter)

Reef erupts in an orgy of violence

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—The Reef erupted yesterday as rampaging Soweto pupils set a woman alight, police and gunmen exchanged fire in the Phola Park squatter camp and train violence flared up.

At least 11 people were reported killed in the latest violence.

Troops were rushed to Soweto yesterday to help quell the third day of rioting by thousands of pupils who ran riot, stoning vehicles and homes and setting them alight.

Volatile Phola Park on the East Rand was turned into a battlefield yesterday when police and unknown gunmen exchanged heavy gunfire.

Police alleged the gunmen were attacking security forces from behind a "safety shield of children and women, knowing the gunfire could not be effectively returned".

Four men died in a resurgence of Reef train attacks on Wednesday. Yesterday's unrest report said the men died in two separate incidents on the East Rand.

In Alexandra three people were killed yesterday morning when an unknown gunman opened fire on a minibus, apparently shooting indiscriminately. Another three people were injured.

De Beer 'hopeful' over Codesa work

JOHANNESBURG—The daily management committee of Codesa had done constructive work at its meeting on Tuesday and it was hoped that the Transitional Executive Council could be legislated for before the end of the present session of Parliament, DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday.

He told an SA British Trade Association lunch that the DMC hoped that agreements reached by the working groups at Codesa could be reinstated in time for Parliament to legislate for the council.

The agreements reached by working groups had almost been derailed at the second plenary session of Codesa at the weekend when the working group dealing with constitutional principles failed to agree on the majority required in an interim parliament to vote in the clauses of a new constitution. The group could also not agree on the role of a second house of the interim parliament.

Those dealing with transitional arrangements made the implementation of its agreement on the creation of a TEC dependent on Working Group 2 reaching agreement.

"Group 2 reported the absence of agreement (to Codesa 2) and rendered the agreement in Group 3 invalid."

Dr De Beer said the lack of agreement had reduced Codesa's second plenary session to a "damp squib".

Only by placing the need for a democratic future higher than party-political ambitions could Codesa be put back on track. — (Sapa)

ANC 'in joint govt'

CAPE TOWN—The ANC and the National Party would govern jointly as neither party could survive without the other, Dr Johan Steenkamp (NP Umhlatuzana) said yesterday.

Speaking in the Constitutional Development Vote debate, he said the ANC had to dismiss immediately any ideas of domination.

Mr Thabo Mbeki would jointly hold the foreign affairs portfolio with Mr Pik Botha and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Chris Hani would have a hand in the running of the Defence Force.

"I do not know if Mr Joe Slovo would be able to manage a trade and industry post and Mrs Winnie Mandela would not be given the social welfare portfolio."

It was impossible to accommodate all South Africans with their wide diversity in one political party.

The current power struggle in the country was a dangerous game and the ANC and its ally the SA Communist Party had to give up its dream of absolute power. — (Sapa)

What legitimacy has ANC got?

WHAT happened to "freedom of the Press", "investigative journalism" and similar balderdash?

What is the reason that the Press, as well as the government-controlled TV, never hesitate to hammer the government, yet they treat the ANC, PAC and SACP with the greatest reverence: Let me quote the latest two examples:

Saturday night we heard Mr Slovo informing the TV and local/foreign journalists that "the government is afraid of democracy" and Sunday Mr Mandela, for the umpteenth time, again labelled the government "illegitimate".

Fair enough, looking at it from a traditional, Western parliamentary,

democratic viewpoint the South African Government was elected by the White minority, which is hardly 20 percent of the total population.

But at least this 20 percent took part in a free and fair election, where several parties contested the seats and the voters were given the opportunity to exercise their free will and eventually they got the government they deserve.

But this means that the government is at least "20 percent legitimate".

However, there was nobody among the Press and TV representatives who had the guts to ask Mr Mandela what legitimacy the ANC can claim?

Who elected the ANC officials, who are they representing (certainly

not the Zulus and not even the other Black nations who are well represented at Codesa), where and when did this democratic election take place, and who were their opponents?

Until Mr Mandela gives a satisfactory reply to these questions, he should refrain from labelling the government "illegitimate". After all, 20 percent is more than nothing.

And as for Mr Slovo's lecture concerning democracy, it was a sad event that nobody dared to laugh when a Communist, who always "wins" unopposed elections with 99,8 percent, shows how to be a hypocrite.

Z KARMOS

Alberton

Demeaning, sneering criticism

THE Citizen is a pleasure to read. Its wide coverage of news, both local and international, is terse, factual and unslanted in contents and captions.

Its leaders are worth reading because they are balanced and well thought through. Alone among papers in the country, it has no ideological bias, other than a sound patriotic South African realism. Its analysis of cultural activities is on a par with the best in the country.

The demeaning, sneering language used in "Spate of Afrikaans LP's" in Gordon Engelbrecht's Take Note on May 16 was, therefore, a jarring sound.

I agree that Afrikaans music should be published on a much more selective basis, both as regards the quality of the music itself as the vocal quality.

"If the garra-garra brigade really have their broekies in a knot, then they should take comfort from the justified assumption that seemingly anyone who can sing or play

an instrument and happens to be named Van der Merwe or Visagie is instantly a potential recording star", is, therefore, fair comment, albeit acidly put.

Records such as Hoe Groot is U (Hymns sung by Rina Hugo, Carike Keuzenkamp and Gé Korsten) and Gé Korsten's Lied van my Lewe, however, do not fall in this category.

To refer to Hoe Groot is U as "Boere Gospel" and fit only for "converts

and those who enjoy reading funeral notices", and to Gé Korsten's record, "But would I play it a second time? Would you skinny-dip at a sewerage farm", is not clever but in very bad taste.

Incidentally, the term "Die Taal" (should read "The Taal"), dug out by Engelbrecht, is a very old derogatory reference to Afrikaans, the use of which went out with Lord Milner.

H du TOIT

Pretoria

Probe all

I MUST echo the Rev Peter Hammond's opinion (The Citizen, May 19).

I cannot understand why the crimes of the UDF/ANC/SACP over the past years are not being "investigated" and tried by newspaper.

Yet our glorious Press is quite happy to do this for alleged crimes, in 1985, by supposed government agents.

In fact, some probably were jailed and have now been set free as "political" prisoners.

Surely, a crime against "the people" applies to all. Let justice be done and may no individual or organisation be exempt from investigation.

Mrs D MARITZ

Phalaborwa

Secrecy is paramount

IN what appears to be an on-going trial by speculation in the media of the security forces, a number of worms are crawling out from the once termite-proof structure.

The radical Press once again makes a splurge about "safe houses" and "secret networks" allegedly operated by the SAP.

So what's new! The CIA, Mossad and other foreign national security forces all follow the strategy pattern. Indeed, the British MI5 has taken over the responsibility for unveiling the destructive and death-dealing schemes of the IRA.

As with those Judases who betray their oath of secrecy to their own country to the media, so there are those anarchists who cross the floor. However, it is the latter who need highly secure protection from their former comrades who need to eliminate them before they give state evidence.

In the RSA's present situation, characterised by crime and near-anarchy, mostly caused by essentially foreign trained and AK-47-armed terrorists of various tribal orientations, secrecy is paramount if we are to uncover and deal with the perpetrators of the ongoing internecine violence in the townships.

SELWYN

Pretoria

Ron Schurink suggests a way out of the impasse

THE STAR 22-05-92 Why not try this road, Codesa?

SO A kink in one of the interlocking and superimposed mazes Codesa is trying to traverse has held it up.

South Africans now have a better idea of the complexities of interim government and a new constitution.

Maybe it's time for real simplicity.

Our society has to be restructured precisely because its guiding institutions and privileges excluded the majority of the population. But there has been one facet of society we are all "in" willy-nilly — as limited purchasers or giant marketers, labourers or managing directors — and that is the economy.

Doesn't it make sense, as we move towards a new order, to

first carry unity and common effort through to new institutions? Can't we thereby avoid division over voting percentages and an upper chamber?

As I move around among businessmen, I find many instinctively understand how a universal poll for an economics parliament could ease our path.

It would transfer huge power to the majority quickly and smoothly, without every nook and cranny of proposed societal change having to be investigated in case it should hold a nasty surprise for someone.

Across the world today, advanced and advancing societies are moulding themselves round their economies rather than time-worn nation-state institutions and

so becoming much more business-like.

In the last century Abraham Lincoln and his like in the United States identified a new and better national core — "government of the people, by the people, for the people".

But we cannot doubt that today they would also be in the Von Hayek-Fukuyama fan club — reaffirming and advancing the link between democracy and free-enterprise economic progress.

From some of our people, of course, we could expect a huge outcry that an economics parliament was a "capitalist con" to preserve privilege for the minority. That would be absolutely untrue.

As the European Parliament

gains authority at the expense of 12 national parliaments, democracy is not being diminished but rather enhanced as it gets a different focus.

In this country, an economics parliament would serve and not undermine the paradigm of Lincoln.

Non-interim and functioning with all state-side levers of the economy (including the Budget) in its hands, it could work wonders for the spirit of our people. We could become so much more perceptive about getting out of our other mazes.

Codesa should seriously consider changing tack. □

✠ Ron Schurink is a specialist writer on financial affairs.

The Star Friday May 22 1992 11

Time to consider bombs, necklacing

Members of the DP have, over the years, been vociferous in demanding the withdrawal of the troops from the townships, and in calling for inquiries into police actions. As a result, many police have been severely punished. Some have received the death sentence.

Fair enough, you may say, but what about the other side of the picture? How many inquiries have there been into necklacing murders, the stabbing and murdering of innumerable people and deaths and injuries by bomb blasts? The DP now demands an inquiry into the deaths of four UDF activists who were killed in 1985. What about an inquiry into the Pretoria bomb blast which killed 21 people and injured 200?

Joe Slovo was suspected of master-minding many of these acts of terrorism from Mozambique. He doesn't ever seem to have been subjected to an inquiry of any sort.

A list was published well over a year ago: a preliminary list of dead, murdered, tortured and

missing ANC/MK cadres in ANC punishment camps. Those who have managed to return to South Africa say "they were sickened to find that the very people who had tortured them for wanting democracy in MK and the ANC, were negotiating with the South African Government for what they called a 'New Democracy' for the people".

The hundreds, if not thousands, of these people in ANC punishment camps were South African citizens. Why has there been no demand for an inquiry into these camps which have been known to exist for years, and are alleged still to be holding over 200 prisoners?

Members of the Returned Exiles' Co-ordinating Committee (Recoc) have tried in vain to get some action from South Africans. The United Nations blew Sharpeville and the Biko case sky-high, but deaths and torture in ANC camps are ignored by the UN and the DP.

Gwen Baragwanath
Lydenburg

Now Nelson warms a chair where arch-Broeders sat

THE wonders of the New SA never cease. Try this: Nelson Mandela is now warming a chair occupied for decades by the Afrikaner Broederbond.

The University of the North, once figureheaded by arch-ideologues of apartheid such as Dr WWM Eiselen and Professors Potgieter and Boshoff, is now in the hands of the ANC.

Pendulum-like, the chancellorship of Turfloop "bush" college has swung from the far right to the left of the political spectrum.

Intriguingly, the change of power goes beyond Pietersburg in what appears to be a systematic ANC strategy to take over past domains of apartheid rule.

Recently, too, Walter Sisulu became chancellor of the University of Venda and last year, Oliver Tambo was installed as ceremonial head of Fort Hare.

Now word is about that next, the liberation movement is targeting the pride of liberalism (Wits), the bulwark of capitalism (UCT) and the citadel of Afrikanerdom

(Stellenbosch).

Eina! But these days, even the unthinkable is rapidly becoming thinkable.

□ □ □

ASKED about bomb allegations against Koos Botha MP that first appeared in Rapport recently, the pious Andries Treurnicht deftly sidestepped by saying: "I never read newspapers on Sunday."

Assuming the good doctor reads papers on Tuesdays, it cannot have escaped his notice that a few more of his senior CP men are having to help the police with their inquiries, as they say, over a bomb blast.

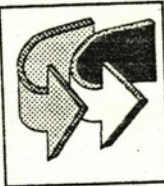
Maybe Dr T could spend next Sunday praying for guidance on the moral dilemmas that arise. Or doesn't he have any?

□ □ □

UNLIKE his predecessor, President de Klerk isn't used to taunts about failing to cross the Rubicon.

But at Codesa 2, Nelson Mandela ended his speech by appealing to De Klerk to cross the hack-

The
Inside
Track



neyed stream.

Asked to comment, FW said: "When I look back, I can't even see the Rubicon any more."

□ □ □

ANOTHER leader whose strictures stung the Government was Transkei's Bantu Holomisa.

It was too much for the Ministers in the front row when Holomisa — who came to power via a military coup — accused them of being dictators.

"Us, dictators?" came an indignant interjection from the team which often demands that Holomisa keep his promise of returning Transkei to civilian rule.

"Yes, that's what I said, dictators," said the general, unabashed.

□ □ □

LAST Sunday, day after Codesa 2, was the 37th anniversary of the first breakaway of Afrikaner intellectuals from the NP.

It was on May 17 1955 that a petition by 13 senior academics at Pretoria and Unisa, protesting against the removal of coloured voters from the Cape common roll, appeared in The Star.

Their dissent duly led to their being cast out of the Afrikaner establishment as "traitors" and "kaffirboeties".

WHO does the Government think it's fooling when it tries to obfuscate the SADF's credibility crisis by raising allegations of murder in ANC camps?

Those may be no more defensible than security force murders, but anyway Pretoria is comparing apples with pears.

One point to be noted is that taxpayers pay for security forces, and don't expect their money to be misused on dirty tricks against fellow South Africans.

□ □ □

IN THIS day and age, I suppose one shouldn't have been surprised by the ad in Business Day where a familiar face caught the eye.

The SABC's Freek Robinson it was ("Artes Award winner 1992") with a caption offering "All your professional and entertainment requirements under one wing".

This firm of "creative brokers" went on to list its detailed services: "Celebrities, masters of ceremony (sic), bands, comedians, public speakers, corporate extravaganza, flower arrangements, invitations, stage, decor, background music, string quartets, corporate themes".

No doubt Freek fits in under the head of celebrities and MCs rather than comedians or flower arrangements.

□ □ □

SPARE a thought for the National Council of Women — presumably an outfit acutely aware of gender discrimination — which recently complained about The Star sending a male reporter to cover the

opening of its congress.

A PR person couldn't be convinced that The Star doesn't discriminate between male and female reporters. She politely requested that a woman cover the next day's discussions.

A woman, she said, would understand the issues better.

□ □ □

A MEMBER of John Major's new Cabinet, Virginia Bottomley, made a big impression in her first speech to the House of Commons, The Observer reports.

Some sexists attributed her confidence to the startling pink outfit she wore. One male colleague punned admiringly: "I have seen the fuchsia, and it works".

□ □ □

A QUOTE from Winnie Mandela: "Politicians are not lovers."

Ja-nee, Sauer isn't convinced. Think of Allan Boesak.

Hector Sauer

The Daily News / May 22 / 1992

Call for Winnie to get job back

Daily News
Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: A group of women from the PWV region of the ANC women's league yesterday marched to the organisation's headquarters to demand the return of Winnie Mandela as the head of the department of social welfare.

In a memorandum handed to ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, the women also called for the re-instatement of Mrs Mandela's alleged lover, Dali Mpofu, who was sacked from his position as the deputy head of the organisation's welfare department.

The memorandum also called on the ANC to refrain from interfering with the domestic affairs of some of its leaders by applying pressure on them.

ANC women's league group hand in demand

"The ANC is charged only with the task to liberate us from the tyranny of racial oppression known as apartheid," the statement said.

A spokesman for the women, Sally Peterson, told a Press conference in Johannesburg that more than 700 women had gathered at the leagues's offices to deliver the memorandum.

She denied that there was a march or a sit-in at the offices.

Only two women had handed the memorandum to Mr Ramaphosa, who then told them the matter would be dealt with when ANC president Nelson Mandela returned

from his overseas trip in two weeks.

Ms Peterson said the women were upset because several requests for a meeting with Mrs Mandela had been ignored by the regional executive committee of the league.

"We were refused access to see Mama. We then sent a letter saying we needed her at Phola Park because children were being tear-gassed and women were being raped. Mama was helping us all ... we are crying for Mama."

Asked if it was not right that Mrs Mandela should step down pending the outcome of her appeal against kidnapping charges, Ms Peterson replied that whatever the courts found would be "this justice that we get as blacks. We won't judge her the way the law does".

Material on Chief Lutuli sought

SIR — We are currently working on a video biography on the life of the late Chief Albert Lutuli, Nobel Peace Prize winner 1960.

One of the difficulties is finding material, anecdotes, letters photographs, reminiscences etc.

In particular his life before he became politically active is not well documented.

We appeal to anyone who may be able to help at all to contact us by writing to us at 15 Somme Road, Durban or by telephoning at (031)287304.

PETER CORBETT
CHARLOTTE OWEN
Durban



Chief Luthuli.

Political assassinations soar

Killers on the rampage

THE STAR

22-05-92

Staff Reporters

The reform era has become the bloodiest period of South African history — and 1992 is set to become one of the most violent years on record, unrest monitors warned last night.

The warnings came as brutal attacks continued on the Reef yesterday, with at least five people being killed and many injured as gunmen and roving groups of youths ran amok.

If the violence continues at its present levels, 2 800 people could die in political unrest before the end of the year, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations. (SAIRR).

And the Human Rights Commission said yesterday that the rate of political assassinations in the reform era of the '90s was more than five times that during the repressive period of 1985 to 1989.

John Kane-Berman, executive director of the SAIRR, said that if the violence continued at its present rate, 1992 would be second only to 1990 as the most violent year recorded in SA history.

In the first four months of this year, 923 people had been killed. A total of 12 867 people had been killed for political reasons since September, 1984.

The total rose by three in Alexandra yesterday in a typically callous attack.

In a dawn attack in First Avenue, Alexandra, a passing minibus was raked with AK-47 gunfire. The 28-year-old driver and a passenger were killed instantly.

A second passenger later died in the Alexandra Clinic. Two other injured commuters were treated at the clinic and transferred to Hillbrow Hospital. None of the victims had been named by last night.

In Soweto, where tensions have been heightened by a pupil boycott and teachers' protests, an unidentified woman was stoned and then set alight outside house No 1689 in Meadowlands Zone 5 yesterday.

She died on the scene.

Police spokesman Lieu-

tenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn said a 16-year-old boy fleeing from attackers in Meadowlands Zone 1 was cut down by gunmen armed with automatic rifles at the entrance to the hostel.

Colonel Halgryn said that at 11 am police dispersed a group of armed youths and seized two shotguns.

By 2 pm youths had set at least three delivery vehicles alight — two in Meadowlands and one in Orlando East, Colonel Halgryn said.

Phola Park on the East Rand was relatively quiet yesterday after heavy exchanges of gunfire between police — using sharp-point ammunition — and gunmen late on Wednesday night.

In its unrest report for Wednesday, the SAP said four men were killed in another spate of attacks on Reef train commuters.

● Political killings soar in reform era — Page 5

DP: Committees should monitor expenditure

The Citizen / 22 May 1992

PARLIAMENTARY

standing committees should be appointed to monitor the expenditure, administration and policy of each state department and associated companies, Lieut-Gen Bob Rogers (DP Walmer) said.

Speaking during debate on the Constitutional Development vote, he said a similar system had been introduced in the British House of Commons.

All parties would be represented proportionately on such committees, which would have the authority to call on Ministers, officials and other specialists to appear be-

fore them.

Mr Fanie Jacobs (CP Losberg) said the biggest deficiency in the "De Klerk/Mandela plan" was that provision was only being made for those propagating power sharing, and not for those in favour of self determination.

The CP had chosen the path of peaceful bargaining to put its nation's case, but if this did not work, "we will use every method".

The government should not accept that Codesa would have the last say on a new constitution for South Africa —Africa's

history had shown that even the "prettiest constitution" could be "thrown out of the window".

Mr Michael Abraham (DP Tongaat) said power sharing would fail unless all parties had the will to make it work.

90 sentenced to death in 1991

NINETY people had been sentenced to death in 1991, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said.

In a written reply to a

question from Mr Peter Soal (DP Johannesburg North), Mr Coetsee said the courts would continue to apply the law and pronounce death sentences despite the suspension on the execution of those sentences.

"The State President will also continue to consider possible reprieves in those cases in which the Appellate Division confirms the death sentence, because it would be grossly unfair to keep prisoners who may benefit from reprieve on death row."

Death sentences would not be carried out pending the outcome of negotiations on an interim Bill of Fundamental Rights, he said. —Sapa.

Codesa a political miracle — Carlisle

CODESA was a political miracle which had achieved through negotiations what was normally only accomplished on the battlefield, Mr Robin Carlisle (DP Wynberg) said.

Speaking in the Constitutional Affairs vote debate, he said negotiations should never be discarded.

At present the ANC and the National Party

were reaching for their traditional weapons —the NP time, and the ANC falling back on mass mobilisation.

Both would have violent repercussions.

The NP was playing for time because every delay extended its stay in power, time would favour it electorally against the ANC and it was aware the ANC needs to be seen to

deliver something to its constituency.

"The increasing intolerance of the NP and the ANC in insisting they be the only players must inevitably escalate violence."

Antidotes to this struggle were a liberal democratic option which recognised the federal imperative, and Codesa, which should not be discarded.

Ferdi makes no apology for serving SA

FERDI Barnard, the man at the centre of allegations of state sponsored killings and harassment of anti-apartheid activists, makes no apology for his shadowy role in the service of South Africa.

"My record is rotten with violence," the 33-year-old former spy told Reuters. "But I don't need amnesty. There's no fear in my heart that I will ever need anything like that."

Mr Barnard, a convicted murderer who complains business contacts think of him as "James Bond", added: "I don't believe there will be any type of Nuremberg trials in this country, because they will sort that out at the negotiating table."

He denies accusations that he carried out two of southern Africa's most notorious assassinations, saying a former colleague in a secret army unit might know the truth about them.

The burly former drug squad detective served three years in jail from 1984 to 1987 for two unrelated murders of suspected drug dealers.

In March 1988 he joined the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB), an army special forces undercover unit which is accused of killing and harassing Black activists.

Officials of the unit, now disbanded, showed strong opposition to State President De Klerk's political reforms. They told a judicial investigation into violence that their job was to "maximally disrupt the enemies of the state" at home and abroad. The unit has destroyed files on its work inside South Africa.

For the past three years newspapers have regularly splashed Mr Barnard's photograph across front-page reports linking him to the 1989 killings of South African academic David Webster and an anti-apartheid Namibian lawyer, Anton Lubowski.

In late 1989 Mr Barnard was detained for three months in connection with the killings, but was released for lack of evidence.

In an interview at a friend's house, Mr Barnard suggested a CCB colleague might know the truth about the murders, adding: "If anyone was trained to kill it would be him."

He described himself as a political moderate who joined the CCB because it paid well.

All he did, he said, was to use contacts in the underworld, "mostly Mandrax, diamond and weapons smugglers", to

gather intelligence on enemies of the state.

"I lost everything when I was in jail. All of a sudden I had R5 000 a month. I had a brand new car, my petrol was paid. It made it so much easier for me, that I could live like anybody else. You can buy a woman a present if you want."

"That to me was like a godsend. I grabbed it with both hands."

Mr Barnard says the CCB's work was needed at the time but became increasingly irrelevant as the reform process proceeded.

Operated alone

"People there did brilliant work, believe me. I was one who operated alone, going into a Black township without backing at night to monitor certain people's movements."

"It was intelligence concerning anything that damages the economy — laundering money, drug smuggling, weapons smuggling, politically motivated actions against the country, ANC activities, MK activities, you name it."

"If you do the crime, you must do the time. It's a motto of mine. You must face the consequences," Mr Barnard said.



FERDI BARNARD ... makes no apology

"But nobody (in the CCB) ever asked me to do anything illegal or to do any strong arm tactics or any rough work."

Mr Barnard, denying new allegations that he currently works for the army's intelligence department, said he doubted the killers of Mr Lubowski and Mr Webster would ever apply for amnesty.

"If it was done (by) the intelligence world, I doubt it very much because that world is a murky world of shady characters and nothing is really as it seems. There'll be no smoking gun."

He estimates he has had 200 stitches in his body from being stabbed five times and shot once in the course of his career, which included a stint as a Johannesburg club bouncer.

"I can be violent but I'm not a guy that goes moving around looking for trouble," said Mr Barnard who is 1,88 m tall and weighs 105 kg.

Mr Barnard, who now earns a living by recovering stolen commercial property, said he wanted a normal family life.

— Sapa-Reuter.

Demand for senate saw deadlock at Codesa

The government's last-minute insistence on provision for a senate with veto rights over a final constitution had caused the deadlock in Codesa's Working Group Two, Mr Clifflie Nasson (LP Bokkeveld) said yesterday.

Speaking during the Constitutional Development vote, he said the government had then used its proposal for an upper chamber as a "bargaining chip" in getting the ANC to agree to a 75 percent majority needed to approve a final constitution.

The government representative, Dr Tertius Delpont, had indicated that the proposal for a senate could be dropped if all parties agreed to a 75 percent majority.

The ANC had compro-

mised on the internationally-accepted 66,7 percent majority needed to approve a constitution and had agreed to 70 percent, but this was not acceptable by the govern-

ment.

Mr Nasson called on the National Party to withdraw its demand for a senate and to accept 70 percent majority approval of a new constitution.

CP 'A victim of circular thoughts'

THE CP was a victim of its own circular thought, with no answers to constitutional developments, Mr Piet Swane-poel (NP Nom) said yesterday.

Speaking during the Constitutional Affairs Vote debate, he said the

CP was still trying to define key concepts of its policy, creating the impression that members did not know what they were talking about, or said what they liked.

The CP would have to hurry up if it wanted to join the final stages of drawing up a new constitution at Codesa.

The problem with CP thought was that it had become stuck in a bog of indecision, lack of direction and stagnation.

Because of this, the CP felt alienated and threatened.

The CP would not emerge from its bog, but rather take its bearings from will-o'-the-wisps. — Sapa.

CP 'stands to gain much' at Codesa

THE Conservative Party would gain far more through negotiations at Codesa than it would by not negotiating, Mr Palanisamy Devan (Sol Cavendish) said yesterday.

Speaking in the Constitutional Affairs Vote debate, he said as long as there was distrust at the negotiating forum there would be no progress towards the future.

He called for reconciliation between the ANC and the National Party saying: "Reconciliation is to negotiations what fresh air is to living".

Turn to 'volk' and use vote — Hartzenberg

THE government should turn to its "volk" and a general election before finally capitulating at Codesa, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg (CP Lichtenburg) said yesterday.

Speaking during the Constitutional Affairs debate, he said the government was allowing itself to be manipulated at Codesa, while the NP was duty-bound to return to its people before any serious changes took place.

When problems arose at Codesa, government negotiator Dr Tertius Delpont ran to the State President, and the ANC to the streets.

Practically nothing had come of claims that far-reaching decisions would be taken at Codesa II. Not only had nothing happened at Codesa II, but the parties had reverted to their positions

before Codesa I.

True democracy could not be based on the government demand for minorities to have veto rights against the majority.

"That is a successful recipe for war."

In a true democracy, the majority ruled itself and minorities. Minority rights and true democracy were mutually-exclusive concepts.

The CP would fight the ANC and the SACP to the bitter end if they tried to impose majority domination on the country.

Ethnicity was no longer a swearword. It was rejected by the ANC which feared losing support to ethnic organisations.

The CP stood for a confederal model, based on ethnic partition.

"The alternative to Codesa is partition, ethnicity and confederation."

Joint ANC Nat govt, says NP

THE ANC and the National Party would govern jointly as neither party could survive without the other, Dr Johan Steenkamp (NP Umhlatuzana) said yesterday.

Speaking in the Constitutional Development Vote debate, he said the ANC had to dismiss immediately any ideas of domination.

Mr Thabo Mbeki would jointly hold the Foreign Affairs portfolio with Mr Pik Botha and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mr Chris Hani would have a hand in the running of the Defence Force.

"I do not know if Joe Slovo would be able to manage a trade and industry post and Mrs Winnie Mandela would not be given the social welfare portfolio."

It was impossible to accommodate all South Africans with their wide diversity in one political party.

ANC's mass action plan 'borders on blackmail'

THE ANC's attempts to suspend agreements reached in Codesa's four other working groups and resort to mass action because of the deadlock in constitutional negotiations, bordered on blackmail, Dr Boy Geldenhuys (NP Brentwood) said.

Speaking during the Constitutional Development debate, he said the threat of mass action was a form of intimidation which was in conflict with the letter and spirit of the National Peace Accord.

The deadlock in negotiations at Codesa was symptomatic of a fundamental difference of interpretation between the government and the ANC on the concept of "multi-party democracy".

The ANC remained committed to a winner-takes-all model while the National Party favoured a power-sharing model.

The definition of multi-party democracy should therefore be put on the agenda for discussion in Codesa's Working Group

Two.

Mr Kobus Beyers (CP Virginia) said if the government was seriously committed to maintaining law and order, it would suspend negotiations and act decisively to end the violence.

The National Party's constitutional vision for the future was no more than the ideals and policies of the Democratic Party, which the NP had fought for decades in Parliament.

Ferdi makes no apology for serving SA

FERDI Barnard, the man at the centre of allegations of state sponsored killings and harassment of anti-apartheid activists, makes no apology for his shadowy role in the service of South Africa.

"My record is rotten with violence," the 33-year-old former spy told Reuters. "But I don't need amnesty. There's no fear in my heart that I will ever need anything like that."

Mr Barnard, a convicted murderer who complains business contacts think of him as "James Bond", added: "I don't believe there will be any type of Nuremberg trials in this country, because they will sort that out at the negotiating table."

He denies accusations that he carried out two of southern Africa's most notorious assassinations, saying a former colleague in a secret army unit might know the truth about them.

The burly former drug squad detective served three years in jail from 1984 to 1987 for two unrelated murders of suspected drug dealers.

In March 1988 he joined the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB), an army special forces undercover unit which is accused of killing and harassing Black activists.

Officials of the unit, now disbanded, showed strong opposition to State President De Klerk's political reforms. They told a judicial investigation into violence that their job was to "maximally disrupt the enemies of the state" at home and abroad. The unit has destroyed files on its work inside South Africa.

For the past three years newspapers have regularly splashed Mr Barnard's photograph across front-page reports linking him to the 1989 killings of South African academic David Webster and an anti-apartheid Namibian lawyer, Anton Lubowski.

In late 1989 Mr Barnard was detained for three months in connection with the killings, but was released for lack of evidence.

In an interview at a friend's house, Mr Barnard suggested a CCB colleague might know the truth about the murders, adding: "If anyone was trained to kill it would be him."

He described himself as a political moderate who joined the CCB because it paid well.

All he did, he said, was to use contacts in the underworld, "mostly Mandrax, diamond and weapons smugglers", to

gather intelligence on enemies of the state.

"I lost everything when I was in jail. All of a sudden I had R5 000 a month. I had a brand new car, my petrol was paid. It made it so much easier for me, that I could live like anybody else. You can buy a woman a present if you want."

"That to me was like a godsend. I grabbed it with both hands."

Mr Barnard says the CCB's work was needed at the time but became increasingly irrelevant as the reform process proceeded.

Operated alone

"People there did brilliant work, believe me. I was one who operated alone, going into a Black township without backing at night to monitor certain people's movements."

"It was intelligence concerning anything that damages the economy — laundering money, drug smuggling, weapons smuggling, politically motivated actions against the country, ANC activities, MK activities, you name it."

"If you do the crime, you must do the time. It's a motto of mine. You must face the consequences," Mr Barnard said.



FERDI BARNARD ... makes no apology

"But nobody (in the CCB) ever asked me to do anything illegal or to do any strong arm tactics or any rough work."

Mr Barnard, denying new allegations that he currently works for the army's intelligence department, said he doubted the killers of Mr Lubowski and Mr Webster would ever apply for amnesty.

"If it was done (by) the intelligence world, I doubt it very much because that world is a murky world of shady characters and nothing is really as it seems. There'll be no smoking gun."

He estimates he has had 200 stitches in his body from being stabbed five times and shot once in the course of his career, which included a stint as a Johannesburg club bouncer.

"I can be violent but I'm not a guy that goes moving around looking for trouble," said Mr Barnard who is 1.88 m tall and weighs 105 kg.

Mr Barnard, who now earns a living by recovering stolen commercial property, said he wanted a normal family life.

— Sapa-Reuter.

Demand for senate saw deadlock at Codesa

The government's last-minute insistence on provision for a senate with veto rights over a final constitution had caused the deadlock in Codesa's Working Group Two, Mr Clifflie Nasson (LP Bokkeveld) said yesterday.

Speaking during the Constitutional Development vote, he said the government had then used its proposal for an upper chamber as a "bargaining chip" in getting the ANC to agree to a 75 percent majority needed to approve a final constitution.

The government representative, Dr Tertius Delpont, had indicated that the proposal for a senate could be dropped if all parties agreed to a 75 percent majority.

The ANC had compro-

mised on the internationally-accepted 66.7 percent majority needed to approve a constitution and had agreed to 70 percent, but this was not acceptable by the govern-

ment.

Mr Nasson called on the National Party to withdraw its demand for a senate and to accept 70 percent majority approval of a new constitution.

CP 'A victim of circular thoughts'

THE CP was a victim of its own circular thought, with no answers to constitutional developments, Mr Piet Swane-poel (NP Nom) said yesterday.

Speaking during the Constitutional Affairs Vote debate, he said the

CP was still trying to define key concepts of its policy, creating the impression that members did not know what they were talking about, or said what they liked.

The CP would have to hurry up if it wanted to join the final stages of drawing up a new constitution at Codesa.

The problem with CP thought was that it had become stuck in a bog of indecision, lack of direction and stagnation.

Because of this, the CP felt alienated and threatened.

The CP would not emerge from its bog, but rather take its bearings from will-o'-the-wisps. — Sapa.

CP 'stands to gain much' at Codesa

THE Conservative Party would gain far more through negotiations at Codesa than it would by not negotiating, Mr Palanisamy Devan (Sol Cavendish) said yesterday.

Speaking in the Constitutional Affairs Vote debate, he said as long as there was distrust at the negotiating forum there would be no progress towards the future.

He called for reconciliation between the ANC and the National Party saying: "Reconciliation is to negotiations what fresh air is to living".

CITIZEN 22-05-92

Mass action won't solve SA problems, says Meyer

By Brian Stuart
CAPE TOWN. — The threatened use of mass action by the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance was "certainly not the way we are going to solve problems in South Africa", Mr Roelf Meyer, Minister of Constitutional Development, said yesterday.

Negotiations were under way, and Mr Nelson Mandela, president of the ANC, had said in Norway that there could be no return to "armed struggle".

There was a positive spirit in Codesa about resolving problems, and even the differences that had arisen last week in Working Group 2 could be worked out.

"I'm still positively inclined to say we can resolve even those outstanding matters in a fairly short time. This will enable us to go back to a plenary session of Codesa and get the necessary agreements."

"I would also like to re-

fer to the use of mass action to develop political objectives. Mass action can bedevil the democratic process, and all participants should carefully consider their positions in connection with mass action, and the effect it will have on negotiations.

Agreements

"There is no reason whatsoever, at this point, why we can't process in the fastest possible time towards reaching agreements in Codesa," Mr Meyer said at a media briefing on Codesa issues.

Codesa's Management Committee would meet on Monday, and he was confident this could move the process further towards resolving the remaining problems.

"There is no need for mass action or anything of that nature, because the government and other parties are prepared to

move forward and find solutions to the outstanding differences.

"So there is no room and there is no need for mass action. It raises serious questions about the intentions of mass action at all."

Mr Meyer said Mr Mandela's statement in Oslo was the first clear indication that the ANC would end the armed struggle.

"It means that the ANC also knows that the process is irreversible, and they are preparing to participate, hopefully as a political party, in the process leading up to an election and towards preparatory arrangements."

Condition

"The main condition that has to be resolved before we can move into any form of transitional arrangement, is the termination of the armed struggle."

gle.

"That is the condition, and we have made it very clear to the ANC."

Asked about the ANC's statement that it might withdraw its "concessions" made at Working Group 2, Mr Meyer said this suggested that negotiations on these issues might have to start anew.

"As far as we are concerned, the agreements reached in other working groups should stand. Certain matters have been resolved, and we should be prepared to follow up those agreements, such as legislation in certain circumstances."

In Working Group 3 there had been agreement on a transitional executive council and sub-councils. However, Codesa 2 had not confirmed these and other agreements, so there would have to be another plenary session of Codesa to reach formal agreement before implementation could take place.

The ANC was suggesting it would stall on the activities of all other working groups until there was agreement on Working Group 2 issues.

Symptom

Dr Tertius Delpont, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, quoted the ANC's Negotiation Bulletin as stating the deadlock over percentages was a symptom of a much deeper problem.

"We were forced to deadlock rather than make such an unacceptable compromise."

Assassinations: Govt to answer allegations

CAPE TOWN. — The government will give Parliament a full response next week to allegations that senior security force officers were involved in the assassination of activists.

The former Minister of Defence, Mr Roelf Meyer, gave the media this undertaking when answering questions at a weekly briefing on Codesa here yesterday.

He said he would raise the matter in the debate on his Budget vote next week and answer the alle-

gations as completely as the sub judice rule would permit.

Mr Meyer was asked why the government had not yet commented on the authenticity of documents alleging the official sanctioning of the assassinations of Matthew Goniwe and others. He was also asked whether he was able to give assurances that he had full confidence that senior Defence Force officers had not been involved in sanctioning the assassinations.

He pointed out that

there was a judicial inquiry in progress and "I have not had clear advice on the sub judice rule". He hoped to be advised by next week when the matter came up in his departmental Budget vote.

"Then I will have a clearer position on what I can and cannot say," he said.

In the meantime he could but repeat the State President's assurance that the government and the State Security Council at no time sanctioned such killings. — Sapa.

DP: Committees should monitor expenditure

The Citizen 22 May 1992

PARLIAMENTARY
standing. committees should be appointed to monitor the expenditure, administration and policy of each state department and associated companies, Lieut-Gen Bob Rogers (DP Walmer) said.

Speaking during debate on the Constitutional Development vote, he said a similar system had been introduced in the British House of Commons.

All parties would be represented proportionately on such committees, which would have the authority to call on Ministers, officials and other specialists to appear be-

fore them.

Mr Fanie Jacobs (CP Losberg) said the biggest deficiency in the "De Klerk/Mandela plan" was that provision was only being made for those propagating power sharing, and not for those in favour of self determination.

The CP had chosen the path of peaceful bargaining to put its nation's case, but if this did not work, "we will use every method".

The government should not accept that Codesa would have the last say on a new constitution for South Africa —Africa's

history had shown that even the "prettiest constitution" could be "thrown out of the window".

Mr Michael Abraham (DP Tongaat) said power sharing would fail unless all parties had the will to make it work.

90 sentenced to death in 1991

NINETY people had been sentenced to death in 1991, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said.

In a written reply to a

question from Mr Peter Soal (DP Johannesburg North), Mr Coetsee said the courts would continue to apply the law and pronounce death sentences despite the suspension on the execution of those sentences.

"The State President will also continue to consider possible reprieves in those cases in which the Appellate Division confirms the death sentence, because it would be grossly unfair to keep prisoners who may benefit from reprieve on death row."

Death sentences would not be carried out pending the outcome of negotiations on an interim Bill of Fundamental Rights, he said. —Sapa.

Codesa a political miracle — Carlisle

CODESA was a political miracle which had achieved through negotiations what was normally only accomplished on the battlefield, Mr Robin Carlisle (DP Wynberg) said.

Speaking in the Constitutional Affairs vote debate, he said negotiations should never be discarded.

At present the ANC and the National Party

were reaching for their traditional weapons — the NP time, and the ANC falling back on mass mobilisation.

Both would have violent repercussions.

The NP was playing for time because every delay extended its stay in power, time would favour it electorally against the ANC and it was aware the ANC needs to be seen to

deliver something to its constituency.

"The increasing intolerance of the NP and the ANC in insisting they be the only players must inevitably escalate violence."

Antidotes to this struggle were a liberal democratic option which recognised the federal imperative, and Codesa, which should not be discarded.

CITIZEN 22-05-92

'Workers will lose in general strike'

Citizen Reporter

CAPE TOWN. — The general strike proposed by the ANC and Cosatu next month could lead to "the strictest possible disciplinary measures" by employers, including further retrenchments, Mr Raymond Parsons, director-general of the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) warned yesterday.

Addressing the Tygerberg Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Mr Parsons said South Africa had to build investor-friendly policies in order to succeed in a highly competitive world.

There was no other way to reduce unemployment and raise standards of living than to increase economic growth. This meant that investment would have to be increased substantially.

The ANC and Cosatu had suggested a general strike in June in support of various political and economical demands, and a final decision was to be taken on May 28.

"I do not wish to comment on the merits of the political strategy that may be behind such an option, but I do wish to warn on the likely economic consequences of a general strike at this stage."

"We already have a picture of a battered and bruised economy, aggravated by a prolonged recession and drought.

"To impose a general strike in these economic circumstances could have negative consequences for the workers themselves, who can ill afford to jeopardise their jobs or incomes in these tough times."

Mr Parsons said most employers were likely to take the stance of "no work, no pay". Sacob had estimated that this alone would cost workers and their families about R250 million a day in lost pay, or about 10 percent of monthly earnings.

"In the present difficult economic climate and poor business conditions, a general strike in the near future could force companies to take the strictest possible disciplinary measures.

"This must be seen against a background in which retrenchments and job shrinkage are already inevitably taking place.

"I appeal to those who have to take the decision to bear these realities in mind."

The Daily News



FOUNDED IN 1878

Gerrit Viljoen

— can he last?

The Daily News / 22 May 1992

THE lesson of the beleaguered Dr Gerrit Viljoen is a crisp and clear one. No government can afford to continue giving shelter to a cabinet minister whose performance has fallen short of what the tax-paying public demands. The longer it attempts to do so, the wider the infection spreads. Individual ministerial responsibility becomes collective cabinet responsibility; a lame duck ministry becomes a lame duck cabinet. The quality of government spirals downward.

Nothing could illustrate this better than the Viljoen case, where there is a strong suspicion that it is not just his health which prevents his taking up the post of Acting State President, in the absence overseas of Mr De Klerk, but the cloud hovering over him of the Department of Development Aid scandal. Nobody has suggested that Dr Viljoen is anything but an honest man. However, he did preside for years over a department which a Supreme Court judge has found to have been rotten and corrupt to the core, its officials having filched millions, if not billions, in public funds. Dr Viljoen cannot escape the political fall-out. The principle of a cabinet accountable to Parliament for its stewardship of the public purse is an unforgiving one.

Over the years the Nationalists have treated the public service as their fiefdom and have allowed the principles of cabinet responsibility to go by default. But every now and then even they find it impossible to continue protecting their own. Prime Minister John Vorster attempted to use the State Presidency as a lifeboat following the Information Department scandal. But the pressure countrywide for his being called to account swelled so inexorably that he had to resign.

In cash terms, the Information scandal was a bagatelle in comparison with the DDA affair. If John Vorster at the height of his power could not be saved, how can Dr Viljoen continue in office?

CYRIL RAMAPHOSA WILL BE NEXT PRESIDENT: CRONJE

The Daily News May 22 / 1992
Daily News Reporter

CYRIL RAMAPHOSA is to be the next State President of South Africa, Pierre Cronje, Independent MP for Greytown, predicted at an African National Congress meeting in the Pietermaritzburg City Hall last night.

Mr Ramaphosa, secretary-general of the African National Congress grinned broadly and waved at Mr Cronje when he said that it was an honour to share a platform with Mr Ramaphosa.

"Comrade Cyril is running the members of the Government into the ground," Mr Cronje said.

He is one of five former Democratic

Party MPs who signed up as members of the ANC last month.

The ANC, Mr Cronje said, would have to conduct a second liberation struggle to rid the country of real apartheid in the forms of poverty, hatred and inequality.

"These things will not disappear overnight when a new constitution is accepted.

"The ANC, which has been fighting for decent values, is the only organisation that can bring all types together in South Africa."

Mr Cronje said that the Government's propounded power-sharing and democracy were two different things: "The State President has the gall to say that his small party must be part of the future government. We say the Government has messed things up. What would the present Government — that has allowed violence, corruption and a Trust Feed — bring into a new government?

"We say to Mr F.W. de Klerk: 'Stand aside so that the people can bring about a real democratic future'.

"Mr Hernus Kriel, Minister of Law and Order, said that the Trust Feed massacre took place in 1988, but I told him that the cover-up of Trust Feed took place at the end of last year."

Mr Ramaphosa branded last week's Codesa 2 talks a failure and said the ANC would have to review its strategy, including taking mass action in a bid to bring about power-sharing.

He told ANC supporters at the Pietermaritzburg City Hall that the Convention for a Democratic South Africa talks slid off track when the ANC realised that the Government had "no intention" of power-sharing and had reneged on many of its promises to the organisation.

But he stressed that while the ANC was disillusioned about the lack of progress at Codesa, "it doesn't mean we are going to walk away from Codesa".

A Daily News Correspondent writes from Cape Town that the Government is preparing "positive proposals" to break the Codesa 2 deadlock and is confident continuing negotiations will succeed.

And, while it insists the constitution-making process should not be bound by restrictive time constraints, it rejects ANC qualms that its intention is to engineer a protracted transitional government.

Government negotiators Roelf Meyer, Minister of Constitutional Development, and his deputy, Tertius Delpert, were speaking to newsmen yesterday.



An unidentified woman is in flames after being attacked and set alight during fighting between Mzimhlophe residents and Meadowlands Hostel dwellers in Soweto yesterday. The woman later died.

Pic: MBUZENI ZULU

Woman burnt to death as violence claims 10 more

A WOMAN was stoned and burnt to death and two men, including a security guard, were shot dead during fighting near Meadowlands Hostel in Soweto yesterday.

Police said more than 10 people were killed and several injured in separate incidents of violence on the Reef and at Heidelberg yesterday.

Four men were killed on Wednesday night in renewed attacks on train commuters.

An armed gang attacked commuters on a train travelling between Wadeville and Elsburg stations on the East Rand and the four men were thrown off the moving train.

One of them died from a bullet wound in the

By RUTH BHENGU

chest and the other three sustained serious injuries.

In another incident in the same area police found the bodies of three men after they had apparently been thrown from a moving train.

In Alexandra Township three people were killed and three injured when gunmen shot at a minibus with an AK-47 rifle. Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said the attack occurred about 5.25am.

Witnesses to the Soweto incident said the woman, believed to have lived at Meadowlands Hostel, was attacked by residents.

To page 2

Residents set up 22-5-92 crisis committee THE STAR in Phola Park X

By Peter Wellman

Phola Park, trying to raise its head above dust, rocks and gunfire, has formed an interim crisis committee (ICC) to liaise with the security forces over "constant raids, harassment and intimidation".

Aubrey Lekwane of Lawyers for Human Rights this week defined these concerns in a hot little prefab hut during a press conference to launch the seven-member committee.

He claimed there had been "intimidation and arrests of key people working on this (committee) process and incessant SAP and SADF raids", as the background to it.

Training

Committee member Christina Sebezo said there was an interim residents' committee in Phola Park, which had agreed to the ICC handling "the crisis with the security forces" while it ran the community's day-to-day affairs.

The ICC said the seven members belonged to either various political organisations, or none, and would not reveal individual affiliations because they wanted to keep politics out of what they were trying to do for residents.

Police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman last night spoke of a different Phola Park, where the ANC had been training self-defence units and sending people outside the country for further training.

"Conflict began a few years ago between Zulus and Xhosas, and the area has become heavily politicised," he said.

"The defence units have fired on the police. Four of our men and a traffic officer have been killed this year. We cannot use our full firepower because they fire from shacks containing small children who can hardly walk."

The committee says most of the violence comes from the SAP, with night raids, indiscriminate shooting at huts, and constant searches that leave shacks damaged and fences smashed.

They seemed exasperated at what they see as a continuing pattern of violence and harassment against them, but were rarely able to produce specific, detailed allegations against the security forces.

However, committee member Richard Bhala-tyeni said he was arrested last Thursday with eight others, and police at Wynberg police station had placed a telephone book on his head, and hit his head with a hammer until his nose bled.

He had been photographed, finger-printed, but not charged before being released last Friday, he said. But he had not yet laid a charge against the police. Mr Lekwane said Lawyers for Human Rights would assist him to do this.

The committee may have come just in time, for the area is turning into a war zone.

The Star was guided around the squatter camp yesterday by a resident who spoke of disguised vehicle traps dug into the rocky dirt-roads. She said they were for self-defence against the raids, and Captain Opperman said they were there to immobilise police vehicles so that gunmen would have easy targets.

Packed

He also said he hoped "desperately" that the ICC was able to stop violence in Phola Park. "The wagon must go forward now," he said.

There are few roads, and several ranks of roughly built shacks packed densely between them. And there are no lights, so if there is shooting in the camp at night it is almost impossible to work out where it is coming from.

Another source of tension is that the committee says residents have been driven against their will by taxi drivers into nearby Mshayafe hostel, an IFP stronghold.

Xhosa-speaking residents had been killed, said the committee, and it was gathering evidence and details.

Political killings THE STAR 22/05/92 soar in reform era

Political Staff

The rate of political assassinations in the reform era of the '90s is more than five times that which prevailed during the extremely repressive period of 1985 to 1989, says the Human Rights Commission.

"During the short 28 months from January 1990 to April 1992, HRC records show a total of 119 political assassinations, over five times the rate of such murders during the emergency years," an HRC press statement released yesterday reads.

The organisation argues that the toll "is evidence, if it were needed, that there are elements within State structures who have no interest in a peaceful advance to genuine democracy. There is therefore great urgency about placing them under the control of an interim authority representative of all South Africa's people".



Murdered activist ...
Matthew Goniwe.

The HRC's records for 1985-89 indicate there were 45 assassinations, five disappearances and 160 attempted assassinations of anti-apartheid activists.

Activists

In relation to this era, the revelations concerning the assassination of Matthew Goniwe and three other Cradock activists in June 1985 "has

again raised the question of the role of the National Security Management System in the elimination of political opponents during the era of total strategy", comments the HRC.

The organisation argues that there is no reason to believe that a large number of the assassinations in the '90s originate from a different source than those of the '80s.

"Over 100 of these victims are clearly identifiable as belonging to the anti-apartheid camp, either as officials or members of organisations or as family members, friends and associates caught in the firing line."

Noting that the reform era has also been a time of extreme destabilisation, the HRC states: "This greatly increased tempo of political assassinations is in keeping with the escalation in the use of the method of 'low-intensity conflict' that has been employed to destabilise and frustrate the liberation struggle".

The Citizen/22 May/1992

Generals talk to ANC on future army

CAPE TOWN. — South African generals had begun direct talks with the African National Congress about the shape of a post-apartheid army that could include former ANC guerrillas, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

It was the first indication that the government and ANC guerrillas had joined politicians in discussion about the integration of the two forces.

Mr Meyer — also Constitutional Development Minister and the government's chief negotiator in multi-party talks for a transition from White rule to

democracy — said no agreement would be implemented until the ANC formally abandoned its armed struggle against apartheid.

"That is our condition and we have made it very clear to the ANC," he said at a news conference.

The ANC suspended operations of its military

TO PAGE 2

Generals talk

FROM PAGE 1

wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) after State President De Klerk had freed ANC leader Nelson Mandela from prison and started exploratory talks about democracy.

But the ANC has so far insisted it cannot disband its army and surrender its weapons until the government has handed over to an all-race interim administration.

ANC spokesman Dr Pallo Jordan said generals of the defence force had so far refused to talk directly to MK commanders. He could not confirm that talks were now under way.

Mr Meyer said the defence force had started

talks with MK about the shape of a post-apartheid defence force on the understanding that implementation of any agreement would be conditional on the formal ending of the armed struggle.

"The process of bilateral discussion between the defence force and the ANC has already started ... with a view to rationalising not only (homeland) defence forces, but also paramilitary entities like MK.

"The principles on which a defence force of the future would be based ... have in terms of bilateral discussions so far received at least 80 percent approval," Mr Meyer said. — Sapa-
Reuter.

Citizen / 22 May / 1992

NP, CP hold talks

FROM PAGE 1

dent De Klerk or Dr Andries Treurnicht.

Responding to inquiries about the talks, Mr Meyer said: "The important point to stress is that we have never indicated that we would try to force the CP into Codesa. That is for them to decide.

"Of course we would like to see them at Codesa, because that is the most important negotiating vehicle in this country's history, involving all major groupings in the country.

"If the CP is a major

player, then they should be there. But if they are not prepared to take part, it's up to them. But we haven't limited discussion with them to Codesa.

"The government is prepared to talk with the CP on the whole issue of their possible participation in the negotiating process as such, and not necessarily only at Codesa."

Referring to Mr Koos van der Merwe, MP for Overvaal, who was recently evicted from the CP, Mr Meyer said he could only participate in Codesa on the basis of

being part of a political party or organisation.

"Maybe a suggestion to Mr Van der Merwe would be to try and develop that possibility as soon as possible.

Mr Meyer heads the three-man government group, which includes Dr Tertius Delport, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, and Dr Boy Geldenhuys.

The three-man committee of the CP comprises Mr Chris de Jager (Bethal), Mr Schalk Pienaar (Potgietersrus) and Dr Corne Mulder (Randfontein).

CAPE TOWN. — The government and Conservative Party have held their first bilateral meeting in an attempt to determine an agenda for future discussions, Mr Roelf Meyer, Minister of Constitutional Development said yesterday.

"The purpose of the first meeting was to explore whether there is a basis on which the government and the CP can talk.

"The first meeting was positive from that angle, and we will shortly have another meeting to seek agreement on an agenda."

Mr Meyer said he expected that once an agenda was set, there would be discussions at a "high level", although not necessarily involving either State Presi-

TO PAGE 2

Nigerian crooks prey on SA businessmen

By Carol Hills

NIGERIAN crime syndicates are targeting South African businessmen with million-dollar scams aimed at laundering drug money through South African bank accounts.

Businessmen are being lured to Nigeria by "princes" and "chiefs" on

promises of export deals worth millions of US dollars.

They are being assured of a high percentage cut on surplus government contract money for the use of their bank accounts.

A Pretoria businessman, who asked to remain anonymous, lost more than R20 000 in an

Nigerian deal.

He was forced to flee Nigeria, believing he would be kidnapped and held for ransom, after he

refused to do business with the Nigerians.

"I never say I left Nige-

TO PAGE 2

CITIZEN

22-05-92

Buthelezi

WE have expressed our disquiet over the way in which Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, has been seemingly sidelined at Codesa.

The IFP has a delegation led by its chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose, but Chief Buthelezi is unable to attend because Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini has not been granted full rights at Codesa.

Whether the king is being excluded to keep Chief Buthelezi out, or is being excluded because the ANC does not want the king added to the anti-ANC grouping at Codesa, is not clear.

But we have warned often enough that there cannot be any lasting peace if the Zulu king is not given the chance to take part.

He is the king of all Zulus and commands the loyalty of all Zulus. He cannot be treated as a person of little consequence.

We also do not think that making it impossible for Chief Buthelezi to take part in the proceedings augurs well for the future either.

Yesterday the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies, one of the world's top think tanks, underscored the point we have been making.

"As negotiations move into the final stage, the most immediate and important task facing both (State President) De Klerk and (African National Congress president) Mandela is the need to involve Buthelezi more closely in the process, to allay his fears of exclusion and to accommodate at least some of his ambitions in the interim government and beyond.

"Failure to do so will almost certainly condemn South Africa to continuing instability and violence."

It is a warning that dare not be ignored.

There is a tendency to write Chief Buthelezi off, as the government and the ANC negotiate the future between them, with Codesa virtually a rubber stamp.

The deadlock in Working Group Two is one between the government and the ANC.

The rest of the committee do not seem to be able to exercise any decisive influence, either being aligned to the ANC or the government.

There have been mutterings that the Inkatha Freedom Party is holding up agreement at Codesa, but it has nothing to do with the impasse over the constitution-making body.

There is also a tendency to write Chief Buthelezi off because the IFP accepted funds from the police for a rally.

There is more than a suspicion that he might have been deliberately trapped.

Whether this is so or not, the ANC has made good use of the matter to label him a government stooge, which he patently is not.

Chief Buthelezi was also bitterly attacked for opposing sanctions.

Again, this should be considered something very much in his favour, since sanctions have brought misery to hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of Blacks.

The fact that he did not take part in the armed struggle is also held against him by the Black liberation organisations.

Yet his moderation should have made him all the more acceptable to those organisations that rejected violence and preferred a peaceful settlement.

As for his political nous, the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba proposals seem, in retrospect, to have been an ideal way of resolving the political future of that region. It is a pity the government would not countenance the plan at the time.

But there is more to it than political wrangling.

The battle between the ANC and IFP for supremacy in the townships has cost thousands of lives.

In the welter of accusations and counter-accusations, it is clear that neither side can be absolved.

It is desperately important that they lay down their arms — and get their followers to stick to peace at every level.

For if that does not happen, the bloodletting will continue long after a settlement is reached.

The future cannot be decided without Chief Buthelezi; consequently, as the institute says, he must be involved more closely in the negotiations.

Firearms discovered on Roodepoort mine dumps

Crime Reporter

WEST Rand police, assisted by members of the South African Defence Force, scoured the Roodepoort mine dumps with metal detectors yesterday after detectives had dug up 48 firearms stolen during a R950 000 arms theft at Fidelity Guards' Maraisburg college earlier this month.

Liaison officer for the police, Capt Henriette Bester, said the discovery of the stolen firearms was

sparked off by the arrest of two Black men by Florida detectives.

In the raid on May 1 at the college burglars took 30 .38 pistols, 14 9 mm Parabellum Browning pistols, 12 R-4 rifles, 1 500 rounds of .38 ammunition and 1 900 9 mm rounds.

They cut alarm wires and broke through a wall to get into the strong-room, after breaking into several offices, presumably to look for the keys of the vault.

At the time of the burglary police said Fidelity Guards used the firearms for training purposes.

The security company has offered a reward of R10 000 for any information leading to the recovery of the firearms or the arrest and conviction of the culprits.

Yesterday about 100 members of the SADF joined the detectives in their search for the remaining eight missing firearms and ammunition.

FOR the first time, Inkatha leaders have been directly linked to township violence — as well as the wave of attacks on Reef trains over the past year.

And notorious PWV Inkatha Youth Brigade leader Themba Khoza has been specifically named as having ordered attacks by Inkatha followers on African National Congress members.

The Goldstone Commission heard in Pretoria on Wednesday that Inkatha leaders on the Reef had urged their supporters at Soweto's Nancefield Hostel to attack ANC members and community residents.

A witness — identified only as O1 — testified that the leaders had encouraged the hostel dwellers to fight ANC people, particularly in the light of attacks on Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) supporters in Thokoza at the time.

The commission heard how Khoza, Inkatha executive member in the Transvaal, Musa Myeni and West Rand Inkatha chairman Humphrey Ndhlovu had cautioned supporters not to say anything to the police if they were arrested for being in possession of guns or for murder — and even if they were tortured. The hostel dwellers were reassured that lawyers would be arranged for them in these circumstances.

The witness, who said he had become a police informant, also testified that Zulu leaders had addressed the men on various occasions and had mobilised them for train attacks while he was living at the hostel.

"I made it my business to go to all the meetings that

Witness O1 tells of Inkatha hit-men

A former hostel dweller has provided the first direct link between Inkatha leaders and township violence and train attacks. By LINDA RULASHE

I could possibly attend at the hostel," he said, adding that all the residents were expected to show support for the IFP. "I pretended I was a strong supporter."

At some of the meetings, some leaders, "especially one Ntombela", asked people to volunteer to help in attacks on township residents: "He used to issue a challenge ... to the effect that if anyone was brave and was prepared to use spears and pangas, they could join his group."

The witness told the commission, which is chaired by Judge Gert Steyn and is investigating violence on trains, that he had come to Soweto from Natal in 1989. He moved into Nancefield Hostel in October 1989 and

lived there until November 27 1991.

"At first the situation was peaceful, but tensions later developed between the different ethnic groups. Consequently, the non-Zulus disappeared because of the tension and for fear of being attacked by Zulu residents."

Counsel for Inkatha, Louis Visser, asked the witness whether he was an Inkatha member. "I was just a follower because I did not have a place to stay. I had to stay at the hostel," he replied.

"What's first got to do with it?" retorted Visser. "I didn't ask you that question. I asked you if you were a supporter."

"I was staying at the hostel," maintained the witness. "If you are a resident you have to be involved with what they are doing and you have to follow them."

"So you involved yourself in Inkatha matters?"

"I had to."

Asked whether Khoza had actually said the hostel

dwellers should attack people in the township, the witness answered: "Yes. He was stressing that people should go and attack the ANC. He said more than 150 IFP leaders had been killed and so that same number of ANC people should be killed."

Judge Steyn asked: "The jackpot question is, why were these attacks actually launched?"

The witness replied: "Most of the people in the township are ANC and the hostel people are Inkatha."

"People were killed, it was said, because there was (ANC leader Nelson) Mandela and (Inkatha leader Mangosuthu) Buthelezi. The Zulus would not allow themselves to be ruled by a Xhosa and the Xhosa would not allow themselves to be ruled by a Zulu."

"What would the ANC then do in these cases?" asked Judge Steyn.

"They were afraid of hostel people. If they saw hostel people walking alone, they would have the chance to attack them."

"But what would they do exactly?"

"They would stab and burn them."

Judge Steyn probed further: "Is the violence coming from both sides?"

"Yes," said the witness, "but mostly from IFP members because the ANC would usually run away."

Asked whether there were any other reasons for the violence between the two groups, the witness contended that although he was not a train commuter, he had heard that ANC people used to sing, ululate and insult Buthelezi.

"What was the reaction then from Inkatha?" asked Judge Steyn.

"That would be addressed if there was a meeting and then after that insult, it resulted in fighting. Members of Inkatha started hitting back at them."

The main Zulu leaders who lived at the hostel and were involved in the meetings — some of which were attended by all the hostel dwellers, in excess of 8 000 people — were *indunas* with the names of Zondi, Ntombela, Mbatha, Madundo, Gasa and Makhunga, he said.

"They called on the Zulus to attack people in the community. There were in fact various attacks by hostel dwellers on members of the community living in the township," said the witness.

During one of these attacks, on residents in Pinville, the witness accompanied a group of hostel dwellers in a taxi. They shot at people who were standing outside a house. "I heard on the radio the next day that about six people were killed."

After this incident, the group met in Ntombela's room at the hostel, where he wrote down the names of those who had gone on "the mission".

Mbatha, a senior *induna*, had said at various meetings that guns had been bought and that there was going to be fighting. "He also said the police would not conduct any searches at the hostel and that this had already been discussed with the police," he said.

"In fact, the police did not come to search the hostel at all in 1990 and only did so once in 1991, after I had given them information which led to the arrest of some people."

The witness said he went to the police after hearing about a reward offered for information concerning possession of illegal weapons. He was registered as a police informant and was given a code name.

"I was aware of various IFP supporters having firearms at the hostels. During the second half of 1990 I went to the Protea Police Station and met Detective Warrant Officer Sijala Sibihe, who is in the firearms unit and was involved in implementing the reward offer."

"I was introduced to a Captain Kruger and I gave him information about people who were in possession of firearms. Acting on this information, the police went to the hostel and found the firearms. I was paid for the information I gave."

"Captain Kruger told me to continue working at the hostel to obtain further information and report it to the police."

The witness said he had told the police that he was prepared to give evidence in court, despite his identity being known by some of the hostel dwellers who were arrested by the police for the train attacks. However, he was not called to testify in court.

Towards the end of 1990, the witness informed Kruger about a man called Mshangane who possessed guns. Mshangane was arrested, but was later released.

In 1991, the witness pointed out people on three occasions. Two men he had pointed out, Zwane and Mbuyisa, were later arrested. Further arrests could not be effected as police had to leave the hostel when residents chased them away, he said.

Counsel leading evidence for the commission, Johan du Toit, asked the witness whether he had made any sworn statements when he gave information to the police. "No, because they did not say I should do so," he replied.

On June 24 1991, he continued, the hostel dwellers were called to a meeting by Zondi, who told them an IFP member had been killed on the train that day and that a revenge attack had to be

● To PAGE 7

THE DAILY NEWS, FRIDAY, MAY 22, 1992

Tongaat-Hulett acquires Ntumeni sugar mill

Financial Reporter

TONGAAT-HULETT Sugar has acquired Ntumeni sugar mill, which is in liquidation, for R4 million.

Although the Eshowe area mill will not re-open this season, the executive chairman of the company, Dick Ridgway, said today "a large proportion" of mill employees would be re-employed.

Cane that normally would go to Ntumeni would be re-routed to the company's Amatikulu mill for the remainder of the season, a solution made easier by the greatly reduced pressure on the facility as a result of poor crops caused by drought.

The "financial well-being" of staff re-engaged but not kept busy on the delayed annual maintenance programme would be assured and they would continue to live in company housing and receive the group's medical benefits, he said.

The rescue of the loss-making mill, which was wound-up early this year after the Transvaal owners failed to pay some growers for cane deliveries at the end of last season, is the salvation of the small farmer development programme by the sugar industry in the area.

Mr Ridgway expected that the number of small-scale growers would about double from the present 1 800, while resuscitation of the mill would pave the way for more commercial farmers to enter the industry.

Controversy has dogged the mill since its closure, with the former part-owner, Pretoria businessman and farmer Johnny Henn, accusing the sugar industry of closing ranks to squeeze him out of the business so he could not usurp cane from the area, which traditionally — if illogically — has always been transported to Tongaat-Hulett's more distant Amatikulu mill.

Mr Henn produced copies of minutes of meetings which suggested the industry deliberately delayed deregulating the grower quota system to prevent Ntumeni claiming Amatikulu cane to bolster its supplies, which had dwindled largely as a result of sugar land being lost to timber growers.

The industry rejected the claims, maintaining Ntumeni caused its own downfall by failing to stimulate small-grower production.

Mr Ridgway said today cane supplies to Ntumeni would be increased "by the development of small, black cane growers in the area, which would be facilitated by the commitment of substantial financial resources and technical expertise by the company".

"The encouragement of small cane growers has been an ongoing policy of Tongaat-Hulett Sugar and we have made extensive contributions in this regard over a long period in the Maidstone, Darnall, Amatikulu and Felixton areas," he said.

Post-apartheid military policy takes shape

Reuters News Agency

CAPE TOWN, South Africa — South African generals have begun talks with the African National Congress on the shape of a post-apartheid army that could include former ANC guerrillas, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

It was the first indication that the government and ANC soldiers had joined politicians in talks about the integration of the two armies.

Mr. Meyer, the constitutional development minister and the government's chief negotiator in multiparty talks for transition from white rule to democracy, said no agreement will be implemented until the ANC formally abandons its armed struggle against apartheid.

"That is our condition and we have made it very clear to the ANC," he said at a news conference.

The ANC suspended operation of its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), in 1990, after President F. W. de Klerk freed ANC leader Nelson Mandela from prison. But so far it has insisted it cannot disband its army and surrender its weapons until the white government has handed the reins over to an all-race interim administration.

Mr. Mandela appeared to signal a softening of that position when he told a news conference in Oslo this week that the movement would not take up arms if the current talks failed.

Congress spokesman Pallo Jordan said South African generals have so far refused to talk directly to Spear of the Nation commanders. He could not confirm that talks are under way.

South Africa

A Pariah No More, But a Source of Aid

There seems little dispute that the end of the cold war gave President F. W. De Klerk of South Africa the opportunity to release Nelson Mandela from prison and legalize the African National Congress. No longer could it be argued that the congress was being run from Moscow with the idea of turning South Africa into a Marxist state.

For its progress toward democracy, Washington has rewarded South Africa

with its biggest hunk of aid on the continent: \$80 million distributed among nongovernmental agencies working in social services, housing and education.

With the prospects of a black-controlled government in sight and the industrial might of South Africa still intact, many African nations are looking to it for their economic salvation. African politicians are rushing to Johannesburg with trade delegations hoping a prosperous South Africa will provide the engine for their countries' own development.

That, some analysts believe, is tantalizingly possible.

Already South Africa has transformed itself from bully to benefactor. Military aid to the Savimbi forces in Angola stopped in the late 1980's and South Africa permitted the independence of its former colony, Namibia. In Mozambique, the South Africans say, they have severed aid to the rebels.

In both Angola and Mozambique, South Africa has established flourishing trade missions. In Zimbabwe, thousands of people line up daily outside the South African trade mission in the capital, Harare, to apply for business visas. Nine flights a week service the Mozambican capital, Maputo, from Johannesburg.

Mr. de Klerk recently visited several African countries, including Nigeria, whose President, Ibrahim Babangida, is the President of the Organization of African Unity and one of the chief crusaders against apartheid.

Wherever Mr. de Klerk went he preached regional co-operation with South Africa, insisting that trade, not

De Klerk, Mandela keep Codesa afloat

May 18/92
Parties remain split in democracy talks

BY PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK
Special to The Globe and Mail

JOHANNESBURG — Democracy negotiations hang on a slender thread despite a major salvage job attempted by South African President F. W. de Klerk and African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela at the second summit of the multiparty forum on the weekend.

The forum ended in disappointment and uncertainty, though the intervention of Mr. Mandela and Mr. de Klerk helped the key participants rise above the temptation to break off talks altogether.

Negotiations deadlocked on Friday when the government and the ANC and their respective allies were unable to compromise on the size of the majority needed for a national assembly to adopt a new constitution.

In back-to-back speeches on Saturday, Mr. Mandela and Mr. de Klerk praised the work done by the Convention for a Democratic South Africa and urged that talks continue.

"We've made remarkable progress, notwithstanding one important setback," Mr. de Klerk said. "The government has no hesitation in saying let us move forward and build on the foundation of Codesa 1 and 2 with a sense of urgency."

Mr. Mandela said: "Clearly, we cannot gather here today and send out a message to our country and the world that we have taken no steps towards the goal of ending the misery of our people. That is clearly impermissible."

The two leaders had an emergency meeting Friday night after talks deadlocked. Although unable to close the gap in their positions, they emerged evidently intent on giving the negotiating process a morale boost.

It was hardly the political showcase triumph that had been hoped for: instead of celebrating the end of the planning phase and the beginning of the real changeover to democracy, Codesa headed back to the drawing board.

Practical steps were taken at yesterday's session to move the talks forward in the near future. The five working committees that had been negotiating the different aspects of the transition process have been disbanded.

The management committee, an umbrella committee that has overseen the whole process, will tie up loose ends. This includes the task that Working Group 2 failed to complete, that of determining how and by whom the new constitution will be written and adopted, as well as the time frame in which it should take place.

A resolution was passed yesterday that the 19 political parties will reconvene for a third summit, Codesa 3, to be held during the current session of the tricameral parliament that adjourns before the end of next month.

To accommodate the transition process, the country's current, apartheid-based constitution was to be amended by the parliament.

It had been hoped that the necessary amendments would be ready in time to be acted upon by the current parliament, thus paving the way for an interim government by mid-year and elections for the constituent assembly by the end of the year or early 1993.

Whether it is possible to keep to such a schedule in the face of the recent setbacks is increasingly doubtful.

Eleven killed in latest unrest

Troops sent in as violence engulfs Reef

Business Day | May 22 / 1992

THE Reef erupted yesterday as rampaging Soweto students set a woman alight, police and gunmen exchanged fire in the Phola Park squatter camp and train violence flared up.

At least 11 people were reported killed in the latest violence.

Troops were rushed to Soweto yesterday to help quell the third day of rioting by thousands of pupils who ran riot, stoning vehicles and homes and setting them alight.

Volatile Phola Park on the East Rand was turned into a battlefield yesterday when police and unknown gunmen exchanged heavy gunfire.

Police alleged the gunmen were attacking security forces from behind a "safety shield of children and women, knowing the gunfire could not be effectively returned".

Four men died in a resurgence of Reef train attacks on Wednesday. Yesterday's unrest report said the men died in two separate incidents on the East Rand.

In Alexandra three people were killed yesterday morning when an unknown gunman opened fire on a minibus, apparently shooting indiscriminately. Another three people were injured.

In Meadowlands, Soweto, a 16-year-old youth was shot dead shortly after a gang of rioting youths killed a woman by stoning her and setting her alight.

The youths, roaming the streets in large gangs, were protesting against an increase in matric exam fees.

Earlier this week pupils killed a security guard by setting fire to him.

STEPHANE BOTHMA

Shooting battles also erupted between rival taxi operators in Soweto yesterday, but no injuries were reported.

Police spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman said yesterday police believed a "concerted terror onslaught" was being launched against them from Phola Park.

Police had come under several automatic gunfire and petrol-bomb attacks in the squatter settlement in the past two days, he said.

On Wednesday night, a police patrol was lured into an ambush and attacked with heavy automatic gunfire, but was unable to return fire effectively because their assailants were shooting from behind a "shield of innocent women and very young children", Opperman said.

The violence at Phola Park was not only aimed at the police, but also at members of the public, Opperman said. Several attacks on private and commercial vehicles had been launched from there in the past few days.

He warned people to be extremely careful when travelling near the area, and to keep away if possible.

Referring to earlier claims that the settlement was being used as a training camp for so-called "self-defence units" by Mozambican Renamo and Frelimo members, Opperman claimed the units were initiated by the ANC, but had since been taken over by criminal elements. The units were launching criminal attacks from the squatter camp into several other townships on the Reef.

Business Day | May 22 / 1992

Codesa stances slated by Zach

PARTY political ambitions reduced Codesa II to a beauty pageant, DP leader and Codesa management committee member Zach de Beer said yesterday while attacking the stance adopted by government and the ANC.

De Beer told the SA-Britain Trade Association in Johannesburg the ambitions of government and the ANC resulted in Codesa II's failure to deliver any significant agreements.

He said the major parties had been intent on scoring political points and had lost sight of the negotiating process's ultimate goal.

Codesa II, he said, was "a damp squib" which had developed into "a political beauty contest rather than a serious attempt to put together a constitution for SA".

De Beer suggested that after the March referendum result, government had re-entered negotiations with little inclination to compromise.

The ANC, on the other hand, had thought it was owed a favour for

ADRIAN HADLAND

encouraging a "yes" vote, and had sought concessions from government.

De Beer said the resultant deadlock had been caused by both parties looking for "victories rather than agreements."

"We must put our need for a future democratic SA higher than party political ambitions," he said. If this could be achieved, "Codesa will come back on track and will succeed".

In the week since Codesa II's plenary session, constructive work had taken place within the daily management committee through co-operation by all parties, he said.

Sapa reports that he said the committee hoped agreements reached by Codesa's working groups could be reinstated in time for Parliament to legislate for a transitional executive council.

The daily and full management committees of Codesa will meet again on Monday.



DP leader Zach de Beer, who yesterday told the SA-Britain Trade Association that Codesa II had turned into a "beauty pageant".

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

COMMENT

Detour ahead

THE next phase of political negotiations is going to be a trying one for all concerned. For the main players, having reached a critical point in the period leading up to Codesa II and failed to make the breakthrough, it is back to the drawing board — and also back to the posturing and sabre-rattling typical of such a phase. Levels of anger and uncertainty are bound to rise. The only comforting factor is the certainty that the protagonists will again approach, and eventually reach, agreement.

As shown elsewhere on this page, the difficulties are not just a matter of bloody-mindedness. The contrasting approaches of the ANC and NP power blocs reflect fundamental differences over their end goals. It is easy to become exasperated at the inability of the two sides to find a solution representing the "national interest" but, unfortunately, that cannot yet be. Decades of conflict mean there is no common national interest in South Africa. That may be achieved by the end of the negotiations, but it is naive to expect such a goal to be reached painlessly between parties who, a little more than two years ago, were deadly enemies.

This perspective should be kept in mind during the inevitable unpleasantness of the weeks ahead. Already the ANC has formally withdrawn earlier compromise offers and has threatened even to reconsider the basic parameters of the negotia-

tions, while government threatens that the ANC's new stance will delay progress.

The ANC alliance is going to have to weigh up the value of a harder line against the costs this will impose, given the urgency with which it wants the establishment of some form of interim government. The NP, for its part, may think it has time on its side in that it remains in formal control of government. But it has not fared well on the propaganda front, with allegations of security force misdoings and financial corruption being exacerbated by some questionable positions it has taken at the negotiation table.

The costs of the impasse will not, however, accrue only to the politicians. Threats by members of the ANC alliance to withdraw from the peace accord structures because of the security force revelations may be understandable on an emotional level, but may also be short-sighted. Economic take-off depends on a political settlement and the ending of violence. Each delay there holds up economic progress.

Further, it now seems likely that the country will be inflicted with another political stayaway, probably some time in July. Cosatu was looking for a pretext to mount what has become an annual demonstration of its mobilising power, and the political impasse provides it. The irony that the main victims will be the businesses which have supported organised labour's efforts to establish an economic forum will doubtless be lost on Cosatu.

School protest goes smoothly

The Natal Mercury / May 22 / 1992

SANDY COOK
Education Reporter

THE two-day protest by members of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union — which threw Reef schools into chaos yesterday — went off smoothly in Natal, with little disruption of classes.

National vice-president Duncan Hindle said today that protest action had taken place before and after school and difficulties had arisen only in schools where members of the Congress of South African Students stayed away in support of the protest.

"Many teachers arrived at schools to find empty classrooms," he said. "However, at no time has Sadtu called for teachers to boycott classes."

Thousands of teachers are expected to turn out for a protest march through the streets of Durban today afternoon.

The march will begin at Brook Street and end at the city hall, where union leaders will present a memorandum setting their demands to local representatives of education departments. The main demand is that Sadtu be accorded official recognition by the government.

Mr Hindle said the success of the protest was due in a large measure to the hands-off reaction of the authorities here as opposed to a confrontational reaction from teachers in Transvaal.

Yesterday, Mr Hindle and another national vice-president, Poobie Mcker, addressed schools in Umhlanga and Inanda on the subject of democracy.

"Our purpose was to explain to pupils, who in turn could explain to parents, what we are protesting about. We also wanted to make clear to pupils that we were not striking or staging a walk-down, contrary to some Press reports. Instruction time was not disrupted and teachers generally behaved responsibly."

I also addressed a mass meeting in Umhlanga last night which was attended by many parents who came out in support of our cause," he said. "All indications point to general support for Sadtu among parents in local communities."

SABC urged to resume broadcasts

The Daily News / May 22 / 1992

Daily News Reporter

THE SABC has been urged to resume Radio Zulu and CCV television broadcasts immediately — before the dispute with its 1 200 workers countrywide is resolved.

The call was made by the national president of the Southern Africa Black Taxi Association, Mr James Ngcoya, in a letter handed to the SABC yesterday.

Sabta is the latest organisation to call for the immediate resolution of the wage dispute between the SABC and members of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa which has paralysed all television and radio news coverage on CCV (formerly TV2/TV3) and black radio stations.

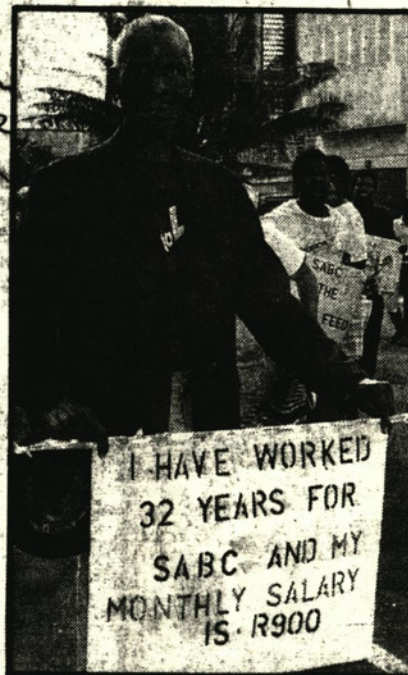
Others are the International Federation of Journalists, the African National Congress, the Azanian Workers' Union, the Azanian People's Organisation and Inkatha Freedom Party.

Mr Ngcoya said that as a result of the problems, millions of black people were denied a service for which they paid licence fees.

The Inkatha Freedom Party has also expressed its concern about the SABC strike.

SABC workers downed tools on Monday to enforce their demand for a wage increase of 20 percent.

Representatives from 20 organisations, including Cosatu and Nactu, the ANC, PAC and Azapo, yesterday met in Johannesburg to devise a "final offensive against the SABC", according to Mwa. Earlier yesterday, Cosatu and Nactu pledged their support for the strikers.



ONE of the strikers, William Sithole (60), has worked for the SABC for 31 years — and takes home R900 a month.

Mr Sithole is so determined to see what the outcome of their action will be that he refused to go home early when other strikers excused him because of his age.

When The Daily News team arrived at the Durban headquarters of the SABC, where the strikers have been gathering since Monday, Mr Sithole was singing and toyi-toying with them.

A cleaner at the SABC, Mr Sithole began work in Johannesburg in 1961, but later moved to Durban.

The Citizen / 22 May / 1992

Three killed in minibus ambush

By Sapa and
Citizen Reporter

THREE people were killed and two injured when a minibus was ambushed in Alexandra township early yesterday morning.

Police spokesman, Capt Eugene Opperman, said the incident occurred at around 5.30 am on the corner of Selborne and Second avenues.

The police were investigating the matter, Capt Opperman said.

The National Peace Accord Interim Crisis Committee for Alexandra (ICC), issued a statement saying a single unknown gunman ambushed the taxi.

"This appears to have been an individual acting independently, and his motive is not known," the ICC said. "No one had any quarrel with the owner of the taxi."

Both the ANC and the IFP disassociated themselves from the killings and condemned the act.

A Soweto woman died after she was stoned and set alight by youths rampaging through the township yesterday morning.

SAP liaison officer Lt-Col Tienie Halgryn confirmed.

The as yet unidentified woman was first stoned and then set alight in front of a house at Meadowlands suburb of Soweto. No arrests were made.

The youths swarmed into the streets, threw stones and set vehicles alight.

Two delivery vehicles in Meadowlands and one in Orlando were gutted by fire and a bus in Jabavu was stoned. There were no reported casualties.

Col Halgryn further said two shotguns were recovered after they had been dropped by youths running away from policemen.

The Internal Stability Unit of the SAP has been deployed in the township, supported by SA Defence Force troops.

Col Halgryn said the

situation was tense, but under control.

• In an incident apparently unrelated to the youth violence in Soweto, a meat delivery truck was hijacked yesterday morning and its security guard was shot dead.

The attackers escaped with the guard's shotgun. He was the second security guard to be murdered in Soweto in two days.

Also in Meadowlands, a 16-year-old youth was killed near the Meadowlands hostel, Lt-Col Halgryn said.

The man was running towards the hostel when several shots were fired from the residential area.

There have been no arrests.

In another incident, three people were seriously injured in a Meadowlands house yesterday morning.

A man walked into a private house just before 8 am and opened fire.



AS WATER sources run dry more cattle will die from thirst and water-borne diseases. This calf rests after a long walk to water.

Msinga's

The Daily News (May 22/1992)

agony

Boreholes drying up and crops failing

ROWS of multi-coloured containers lined up at boreholes and cattle being driven to water are an everyday sight in the arid rural parts of Msinga near Keate's Drift in the Natal Midlands.

The drought in Msinga, incorporated into KwaZulu's boundaries, has reached desperate levels and the locals have made urgent appeals for any possible assistance people or business can offer them.

Msinga consists of five chiefdoms in which people and cattle have adapted to dry conditions over the years. However, the drought has brought with it more hardship: boreholes are drying up, crops have failed and the education system is suffering.

The drought in Msinga has reached desperate levels. Boreholes are drying up, crops have failed and the education system is suffering. Report and pictures by **ANDRE JURGENS**

Agricultural officer Mr Andrew Mjawara has worked in the Msinga area for eight years.

He fears the worst if good rains do not fall before the winter months when cattle are expected to die in great numbers and malnutrition among the young spreads.

"The cattle have adapted to our stony dry ground by nibbling on patches of the sweet veld which gives them nourishment," he said.

"But the local people are concerned that the symbols of their wealth will die of thirst and disease in winter when water is more scarce. Already cattle have died.

"Trickling streams and springs have dried up, forcing the community living in isolated

areas to drive cattle long distances to water.

"Families living in the hills away from villages must drive cattle up to 15 kilometres to drink at Mooi River, a tributary of the Tugela River, which is the main source of water left for cattle here. This is exhausting for them and the cattle.

"Also, there is only one official water-cart in the whole area to take water to fill the dip tanks.

"Crops planted in fields last year have burnt out.

"Rainfall during planting season at the end of last year was poor and late rains this year were not in time to save dried out crops.

"Some people did not even bother to plant crops because conditions



A MOTHER prepares to carry water collected from a muddy pool from which goats, in the background, were drinking.

were so dry during the latter part of 1991.

"Even at our irrigation scheme signs of the drought are apparent. Water levels in the Tugela River have subsided, reducing the supply of water in our canal. This has affected the growth of green mealies which rural people rely on to generate money.

"An irrigated vegetable field, established on the bank of the Mooi River tributary, is divided into plots which all people, from near or far, grow vegetables on."

Transport for the average person in rural Msinga is either by donkey or foot. Dwindling water supplies means walking, in some cases, kilometres to fetch and then carry water back home.

"Life in this area is difficult because most of the people are women and young boys.

"The women have to fend for themselves. Most of their husbands are away working on mines or looking for jobs some distance away."

Shortage of water has also burdened the education system.

The principal of Nyoniwe High School, Mr A.M. Mzila, said: "I have an enrolment of 1 200 pupils who rely on a single borehole some distance away from the school to drink from."

Thirsty pupils bunk lessons to walk to the borehole.

"Many of the pupils come from afar and lodge with local people

from Msinga. They share a common problem of not being able to wear school uniforms all the time because the water shortage makes washing them difficult."

People wishing to offer assistance can phone the agricultural office at Tugela Ferry. Dial 0020 and book the call. The office can be reached on ext No 2.

Smoking: Death risks 'now higher'

LONDON. — More than one fifth of the developed world's population will die from the effects of smoking, according to a study published yesterday.

The report, published in the Lancet medical journal, said the risk of death from lung cancer and other diseases as a result of smoking tobacco was much greater than previously believed.

It said of a total developed world population of 1.25 billion people about

250 million — equivalent to the population of the United States — would die from smoking.

The forecast, based on a study of one million people, was made by Britain's Imperial Cancer Research Fund, the Geneva-based World Health Organisation and the American Cancer Society.

Professor Richard Peto, one of the report's authors, said: "Most people already know that smoking is dangerous, but most people don't realise

how enormous the risks are".

Dr Alan Lopez of the WHO said it had been believed previously that one quarter of smokers would be killed by their habit.

Earlier studies had proved inaccurate because people had not been smoking long enough. Now the long-term health dangers of smoking were showing up and the picture was worse.

The risks are substantially greater than was

previously thought," Dr Lopez told a news conference. "Persistent smoking will kill at least one third of smokers and that risk may even be as high as a half".

Cancers associated with tobacco include those of the lung, mouth, pharynx, larynx, oesophagus, kidney and bladder. Other conditions related to smoking include coronary, cerebral and vascular diseases and lung and respiratory complaints. — Sapa-Reuter.

Nigerian violence spreads, more dead

LAGOS. — Violence sweeping Nigeria spread to an overcrowded township of the inland capital Abuja and residents said some people had been killed.

Tension was also high in Enugu, an eastern state capital which spawned the Biafra rebellion and Nigeria's civil war in the 1960s.

Residents in Enugu said security forces moved in armoured vehicles to guard main roads in an apparent effort to stop student demonstrators joining supporters from other areas.

Abuja residents said Wednesday's fighting took place in Maraba township, 15 km from central Abuja. It followed religious and ethnic

battles which killed up to 300 people in and around the northern city of Kaduna.

"Some people were killed. It was very bad. The whole place is in disarray," a resident in Abuja, 700 km north-east of Lagos told Reuters.

The cause of the latest violence was not immediately clear.

Residents said many people in Maraba fled the area or sought sanctuary in the local police station.

Abuja is an incomplete city with more than 200 000 people, mostly civil servants. Its outlying districts are inhabited mainly by minority tribes.

The authorities decided to move the seat of government from steamy

Lagos to Abuja partly because the new capital territory is not dominated by any one of Nigeria's three major tribes.

Military President Ibrahim Babangida's official residence is in central Abuja, where Sudan's government and rebel factions are due to start peace talks on Sunday.

The latest violence started after a general security alert in the mainly Muslim north following the unrest in Kaduna, 180 km north of Abuja, on Sunday and Monday.

Security was also tightened in the largely Christian south after riots over poverty hit Lagos, Nigeria's biggest city, and general university student unrest. — Sapa-Reuter.

CITIZEN

22 / 05 / 92

Saturday, 23 May 1992

✕ 'Define goals of affirmative action'

AFFIRMATIVE action, if written into a constitution, would have to have definite goals if it was not to end up as a mere tokenism, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Tertius Delport, said yesterday.

Speaking during the debate on Constitutional Affairs, he said affirmative action had to

be aimed at bringing all people to a level where they could compete on merit.

Affirmative action should entail a decisive programme of development, bringing people to a point where such rectifying action was no longer needed. "In other words, wiping out the inequalities of the past."

Such second-generation rights could be built into a constitution, providing guidelines for government intervention in the development field.

As in the case of India and Ireland, the aims of social and economic development programmes could be described in a future constitution.

✕ No integration of MK into SADF: Govt ✕

THERE would be no integration of Umkhonto we Sizwe into the SA Defence Force but there were discussions on rationalisation, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, said yesterday.

Replying to the Constitutional Development vote debate, he said the rationalisation of the Defence Force would have to be implemented in terms of the Constitution and the Defence Act.

There were bilateral discussions underway between the government and the ANC on the future of the SADF but there had been no talk of integration.

One of the main points under discussion was an assurance that the ANC had accepted that the armed struggle was over.

Portions of other private armies such as the AWB's "ystergarde" and

the Azanian People's Liberation Army could be accepted into a rationalised defence force but violence against the State had to be foresworn.

Earlier Mr Frik van Deventer (NP Durbanville) asked for clarity on the MK issue that had emerged from a Press conference that Mr Meyer gave this week.

He asked whether the government still adhered to the view that MK first had to be dissolved and that its members could then join the SADF if they passed the necessary tests.

He also asked what the

government's stand on other private armies such as those of the AWB and the PAC was, and whether they would be treated on the same basis?

Referring to Codesa, Mr Van Deventer said that levelling the playing field was not a one-sided operation.

Mass action and intimidation were all factors that contributed to an unequal playing field.

If the ANC was serious about negotiations it should abandon these actions, as they made a farce of the talks.

Mass action won't solve SA problems, says Meyer

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — The threatened use of mass action by the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance was "certainly not the way we are going to solve problems in South Africa", Mr Roelf Meyer, Minister of Constitutional Development, said yesterday.

Negotiations were under way, and Mr Nelson Mandela, president of the ANC, had said in Norway that there could be no return to "armed struggle".

There was a positive spirit in Codesa about resolving problems, and even the differences that had arisen last week in Working Group 2 could be worked out.

"I'm still positively inclined to say we can resolve even those outstanding matters in a fairly short time. This will enable us to go back to a plenary session of Codesa and get the necessary agreements.

"I would also like to re-

fer to the use of mass action to develop political objectives. Mass action can bedevil the democratic process, and all participants should carefully consider their positions in connection with mass action, and the effect it will have on negotiations.

Agreements

"There is no reason whatsoever, at this point, why we can't process in the fastest possible time towards reaching agreements in Codesa," Mr Meyer said at a media briefing on Codesa issues.

Codesa's Management Committee would meet on Monday, and he was confident this could move the process further towards resolving the remaining problems.

"There is no need for mass action or anything of that nature, because the government and other parties are prepared to

move forward and find solutions to the outstanding differences.

"So there is no room and there is no need for mass action. It raises serious questions about the intentions of mass action at all."

Mr Meyer said Mr Mandela's statement in Oslo was the first clear indication that the ANC would end the armed struggle.

"It means that the ANC also knows that the process is irreversible, and they are preparing to participate, hopefully as a political party, in the process leading up to an election and towards preparatory arrangements.

Condition

"The main condition that has to be resolved before we can move into any form of transitional arrangement, is the termination of the armed struggle.

Assassinations: Govt to answer allegations

CAPE TOWN. — The government will give Parliament a full response next week to allegations that senior security force officers were involved in the assassination of activists.

The former Minister of Defence, Mr Roelf Meyer, gave the media this undertaking when answering questions at a weekly briefing on Codesa here yesterday.

He said he would raise the matter in the debate on his Budget vote next week and answer the alle-

gations as completely as the sub judice rule would permit.

Mr Meyer was asked why the government had not yet commented on the authenticity of documents alleging the official sanctioning of the assassinations of Matthew Goniwe and others. He was also asked whether he was able to give assurances that he had full confidence that senior Defence Force officers had not been involved in sanctioning the assassinations.

He pointed out that

there was a judicial inquiry in progress and "I have not had clear advice on the sub judice rule". He hoped to be advised by next week when the matter came up in his departmental Budget vote.

"Then I will have a clearer position on what I can and cannot say," he said.

In the meantime he could but repeat the State President's assurance that the government and the State Security Council at no time sanctioned such killings. — Sapa.

gle.

"That is the condition, and we have made it very clear to the ANC."

Asked about the ANC's statement that it might withdraw its "concessions" made at Working Group 2, Mr Meyer said this suggested that negotiations on these issues might have to start anew.

"As far as we are concerned, the agreements reached in other working groups should stand. Certain matters have been resolved, and we should be prepared to follow up those agreements, such as legislation in certain circumstances."

In Working Group 3 there had been agreement on a transitional executive council and sub-councils. However, Codesa 2 had not confirmed these and other agreements, so there would have to be another plenary session of Codesa to reach formal agreement before implementation could take place.

The ANC was suggesting it would stall on the activities of all other working groups until there was agreement on Working Group 2 issues.

Symptom

Dr Tertius Delpont, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, quoted the ANC's Negotiation Bulletin as stating the deadlock over percentages was a symptom of a much deeper problem.

"We were forced to deadlock rather than make such an unacceptable compromise."

Right-wingers 'must help beat ANC at polls'

Citizen Reporter

IT was essential for Rightist Afrikaners to participate in main stream politics, not only to further their cause for a "volkstaat", and to ensure their involvement in a future South Africa but also to help defeat the ANC in an inevitable one-man, one-vote election, according to Right-wing parliamentarian Mr Koos van der Merwe.

Mr Van der Merwe told students at the Potchefstroom University yesterday moderates would have to re-consider their differences in the event of a non-racial election, in which case "it would be

the duty of everyone to participate so the ANC can be defeated".

This was possible with the support of Whites, Coloureds, Indians and 15 percent to 20 percent of the Black population.

"There would have to be major adjustments by moderates, while the role of Rightists would be decisive."

Mr Van der Merwe, Member of Parliament for Overvaal, spoke of his recent expulsion from the Conservative Party, saying he had "been kicked out in the traditional manner" after certain policy differences between him and CP lead-

ership had been "chrysalising" for some time.

However, Mr Van der Merwe said his differences with CP leadership were, at least from his side, at an end.

A split was looming in the party between "old guard" and the "new Rightists" and, if the CP did not rid itself of "the old concepts" it would become progressively more irrelevant "and eventually wind up like the Herstigte Nasionale Party".

"My aim is to see to it that the Right-wing is, to an increasing extent, involved in main-stream politics. The days when

Afrikaners could stand on the side-lines are long past.

"I will also endeavour to curb Right-wing violence. There is no glory in violence — you get caught, you get locked up, you get put in jail. There are other ways to draw attention to the Afrikaner cause. The doors to negotiation are open to us to help find solutions to the country's problems."

Mr Van der Merwe also intended helping "in the drive for an Afrikaner state".

"There can be no solution in South Africa if the

Right-wing is not involved. One million or more people cannot be ignored."

He stressed that the Afrikaner would never "serve as compost" in the new South Africa, nor would he be transformed into anyone else, but wanted to remain a "proud and happy Afrikaner."

On the National Party, he said the main difference between him and that party was the fact that the NP had "abandoned all hope of ever establishing an Afrikaner state".

Buthelezi needed in peace process — London survey

LONDON. — Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi must be involved more closely in the South African peace process otherwise the country will almost certainly be condemned to continuing instability and violence, according to the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies.

In its 1991-92 Strategic Survey released yesterday, the IISS said: "On March 17 White South Africans defied their history, their fears and the gloomier expectations of a watching world to become that rarest of all political phenomena: a ruling tribe willing to shed its exclusive hold on power."

Examined

The institute devotes eight pages of its 248-page survey to a section entitled "South Africa: Disowning Apartheid".

The section examines the road to the historic referendum decision, the violence gripping the country, the deliberations of Codesa, and the role of

the country's various groupings.

The IISS said the SA Defence Force's resentments were many — "its diminished political role; its withdrawal from Namibia and Angola; the deep and continuing cuts in the defence budget; and its growing inability to enforce conscription on White youths".

Certain generals had made no attempt to conceal their contempt for President De Klerk's reforms, it said.

"Any threat of direct military intervention in the political process, however, has been averted by de Klerk's resounding victory in the referendum.

"The positive vote has also strengthened him for his long-delayed confrontation with those in the security establishment who have been stoking Black-on-Black violence for their own purposes.

"As negotiations move into the final stage, however, the most immediate and important task facing both De Klerk and African National Congress

president Nelson Mandela is the need to involve Buthelezi more closely in the process, to allay his fears of exclusion and to accommodate at least some of his ambitions in the interim government and beyond.

"Failure to do so will almost certainly condemn South Africa to continu-

ing instability and violence."

The IISS concluded: "On 17 March 1992 President De Klerk persuaded white South Africa finally to turn its back on the country's apartheid past. His — and Mandela's — biggest remaining challenge could be to avoid a Zulu veto on its future."

CITIZEN

Friday 22 May 1992

Black youths hate violence — study

THE impression that South Africa's township youth was violent, destructive and irresponsible was "at best a superficial snapshot", according to a pilot study conducted in Soweto.

The results of the study, details of which were released yesterday, found Black youngsters hated violence, were worried about teenage pregnancies and considered education "very important".

The study, carried out by the Partnership in Ad-

vertising agency and Integrated Marketing Research, also found youths "like chatting to their friends, dislike doing chores around the house, are fashion-conscious and believe that the most important way of improving race relations in South Africa is by communication".

The study — conducted among 100 Soweto youngsters — was to be extended to a nation-wide survey based on the pilot research, strategic plan-

ner Mr Gavin Heron said.

The study would also examine youth attitudes to advertising, their consumption patterns and brand loyalties.

"The media has created the impression of South African youth as a group of violent, destructive and irresponsible people," Mr Heron said.

"This is at best a superficial snapshot and there is much to learn about what lies beneath the surface."

Sapa.

Political killings need to be unmasked right to top

To make the inquest on David Webster's murder successful, we need disillusioned security forces people to rat on their former colleagues. We need either a hidden grievance or a new sense of morality on the part of such a person to lay open new evidence on the assassination forces.

It seems that only then will the issue of the murder of David Webster, former vice chairperson of the Five Freedoms Forum, be dealt with.

David Webster's murder can quite confidently be said to be at the direct order of the security forces, or at least stemming from the same ideology adopted during the P W Botha era. That ideology says that any political opponent is fair game.

More and more evidence is found in incidents such as the Trust Feed massacre and the Goniwe assassinations of security forces involvement in the murder of political opposition. We believe that David Webster was a similar case.

Up to now, the security forces have closed the door behind them in mutual protection. We think that for the sake of the future South Africa, political as-



David Webster . . . murder ordered by security forces, says a reader.

sassinations need to be unmasked right to the top, to the State Security Council.

De Klerk's government totally undermines trust in itself by being so hesitant in dealing with this issue.

Cecily Singer,
Five Freedoms Forum
Braamfontein,
Johannesburg

Probe all who ordered killings

The recent front-page reports of allegations concerning Government-sponsored hit-squads raise a number of questions.

If Government officials ordered assassinations of UDF activists, this is a very serious matter. However, the UDF's involvement in the burning down of over 2 000 schools and the necklace murders of over 800 black town councillors, businessmen and civil servants is also serious.

Surely, if the alleged actions of Government "hit squads" in 1985 are to be investigated "on the basis of extreme urgency", then the ANC's ongoing involvement in fomenting violence, especially against Inkatha leaders, should also be exposed.

Will racial discrimination ever disappear?

Sometimes I wonder if indeed racial discrimination and poor management will vanish completely in the black townships. Take Tembisa, for example.

There is only one tiny post office serving close to a million people and five queues protrude outside as long as 20 m.

The senior supervisor is only there to receive and dispatch documents, and not to chase his lazy subordinates . . . in case

if "justice would take its full course" on those who carried out counter-actions against the UDF and ANC, does this mean that those ANC/SACP/UDF officials who planted landmines in farm roads, limpet mines in shopping centres and car bombs in public streets would also face the full force of the law? Or is it forbidden to bring terrorist leaders to justice?

One MP speaks of "skeletons rattling in cupboards". These need to be exposed. However, what will be done about the thousands of corpses that have littered the streets? Are we now expected to believe that the ANC have never assassinated town councillors, policemen and other innocent people? Have

they hit back perhaps?

If you go to Tembisa Hospital, you follow very long exhausting procedures before meeting the unqualified doctors (trainees) from Medunsa. Then, after being qualified, they vanish to look for better pastures or to better hospitals. Whether you go there for the first time or a check-up, the minimum period you stay is two hours.

Electricity and water cut-offs

Chris Hani and Joe Slovo never ordered any bomb attacks or assassinations?

Selective indignation is unacceptable. Justice cannot be done when policemen are prosecuted but terrorists enjoy indemnity from prosecution.

(Rev) Peter Hammond,
Director, Cape Christian Action
Glosderry,
Cape Town

□ □ □

There is no doubt that a totally neutral person or body is the only fair way to get at the whole truth about the ANC's death camps.

While I warmly congratulate you on your leader (Opinion,

May 14), I would have liked the "may have to ask a neutral person or institution, a retired judge or Amnesty International, to investigate", at the end of it, to have been more strongly put as "should ask . . .".

I believe that we have not heard the last on this issue. Through pressure brought to bear overseas by people who want a plural democracy to succeed in South Africa — and who doubt the ANC's ability, in the light of its socialist/Marxist past, to bring this about — much more of a damaging nature will be heard.

A J MacCaulay
Johannesburg

Dangerous sprays

It should be remembered that teargas handsprays are for use only in self-defence and NOT as "toy water-pistols".

I recently saw two youngsters spraying at each other's faces. Children should be warned of the danger of misuse of these aerosol sprays and the damage that can be done to the eyes.

Mrs S Stubbs
Northcliff,
Johannesburg

are a daily occurrence with no warning whatsoever. As of now, we have no electricity and no reason is given.

It is now three weeks since the problem over the electricity supply occurred. But when water problems occur in Bedfordview it's news on Radio 702 and in the newspapers.

Storms Maseko
Endulwine Section,
Tembisa

For politicians, the media is ever the scapegoat

WHEN the chips are down the politicians automatically cast about for a scapegoat. Usually they blame the media for reporting their negligence or stupidity, as if somehow drawing attention to misdeeds is more wicked than the misdeeds themselves.

Thus we have seen again in the past week how the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, has berated the media for printing rumours and biased reports on corruption in government departments and on the alleged involvement of the security forces in the Goniwe murders in the Eastern Cape.

Kicking the media is of course an old and popular pastime of politicians of all persuasions. Mr Nelson Mandela and his ANC colleagues, particularly Mrs Mandela, do it too. But then no less a champion of democracy than a US President once said public criticism of an intemperate remark he made was the media's fault for reporting it — if it hadn't been reported no-one would've known he had made it!

As South Africa struggles to move towards becoming a brave new democracy one wonders how many politicians and other members of society truly understand the vital importance of a free and independent media. A free and independent media is the frontline of defence of any democracy. It is free only if it can report and comment on any issue fearlessly, and if there is a free flow of information at every level of society. It is independent only if it can stand on its own feet financially, in no way supported by funding from the state, political organisation or other interest group.

But do people like Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela, the two chief architects of our emerging democracy, understand this? Is Codesa as a group totally committed to the idea that freedom of speech, therefore a free media, is the very heartbeat of democracy? That it is in fact the guardian of all the other freedoms of democracy?

There are worrying signs that this is not always so. That while

most of the parties at Codesa pay lipservice to the idea of a free press they would too readily qualify this and water it down by placing all sorts of curbs on how the media may or may not operate.

There is much disturbing talk of the breaking of the so-called monopoly control of the SA media, an idea which is fuelled by former mainstream newspaper editors such as Mr Tony Heard and Mr Allister Sparks who frequently criticise their erstwhile employers.

Only this week, Mr Heard told the International Press Institute in a speech widely reported in South Africa that in spite of rapid changes in SA since February 1990 newspapers had failed to keep up with the pace. Mr Sparks berated the mainstream media on a radio programme for under-reporting aspects of the Goniwe murders, creating the impression that this kind of news was not regarded as important by "white" publications.

Criticism of this sort from

such eminent media personalities is grist to the mill of those who want to smash the existing media order in SA. There is much talk of breaking not only the Argus and Times Media "monopoly" of mainstream newspapers but also of the perceived monopoly of the means of newspaper production.

A lot of people are long on ideas on how and why to break the present media set-up but very short on just what it should be replaced with. If they are not careful they may well find that the politicians will gladly destroy the current media structures and substitute them with government-controlled newspapers *a la* Zimbabwe and Cuba.

The media companies are quite aware of the dangers bearing down on them as the New South Africa looms on the horizon. Already some observers believe that Argus and Times Media, for instance, might have to divest their interests in one another. Moves are being made to float off newspaper distribution as independent business

operations while it may be possible that eventually the publishing side of newspapers are completely divorced from the editorial side of some publications. There may also be a degree of "unbundling" as some newspaper titles are detached from others.

But as this process develops it will have to be remembered that the four main newspaper conglomerates in SA evolved because it made sound business sense to combine certain resources and share overheads. The Natal Mercury, for example, might have had difficulty surviving on its own, but its acquisition by Argus made it a viable business opportunity for the company and certainly helped save a long-established newspaper title. Yet Argus is criticised for "swallowing" the Mercury, as if it would have been preferable simply to have put it out of business.

If newspapers are to remain truly free and independent in the New SA they must continue to be financially free and independent. If future governments

are concerned about the "monopoly" control of the media they should level the playing fields for publishers by making it economically attractive for new newspapers to compete with existing publications. This can be done by giving all newspaper publishers, including existing operators, special tax breaks and incentives. This should include exempting all newspaper advertising and newsprint from VAT.

The newspaper industry must be broadened in a positive way by making it more viable, particularly for small companies, to invest in, and not by penalising and intimidating those who are already in it. This, together with a deeply entrenched constitutional right to have free access to information and freedom to publish without restraint or fear of reprisal will be the strongest guarantor of SA's democracy. All journalists, newspaper proprietors, advertisers and readers should fight tooth and nail to protect SA's rich media heritage and to expand it in a fair and democratic way.

NATAL

MERCURY

22/05/92

Racism marches on

ALTHOUGH Codesa is engaged in sensitive negotiations on the future composition and role of the SA Defence Force, the Government persists with amendments to the Defence Act to regulate white military conscription.

The broadening of the right to object to military service on moral and ethical grounds in addition to the existing provision for objection on religious grounds may be a positive step, but it falls far short of abolishing conscription altogether.

We have argued repeatedly for an end to white conscription and replacing it with a professional defence force of volunteers. The system of conscripting whites only is one of the few remnants of apartheid.

But apart from the discrimination against whites, the current system is disruptive of the labour market. By throwing a catch-all net, young men who would otherwise be commencing their tertiary education or their artisanship must now kick their heels in the army for a year. Meanwhile, thousands of youngsters in the other population groups who may jump at the opportunity to be gainfully employed by the SADF have little, if any, chance of being accepted.

White youngsters who object to doing national service without claiming objector status (in one of the approved categories) will, in terms of the proposed legislation, be imprisoned for 543 days. This would waste 18 months of a young person's life, apart from the fact that prisons are already overcrowded and some convicted murderers end up serving much shorter time.

The Government should withdraw this legislation and give priority to other pressing issues. Rather than try to continue patently outdated racial criteria for building an army, the SADF should take the lead in shaping our new society by throwing itself open to all South Africans on a voluntary, non-discriminatory basis.

NATAL

MERCURY 22/05/92

Right road

THE CHOICE of an elevated thoroughway to upgrade Durban's hard-pressed Umgeni Road gateway to the north is a triumph of reason and environmental awareness over purely monetary considerations.

The new arterial, if and when it is built, will run as a one-way pair between Goble and Adrain Roads, the incoming carriageway an elevated five-lane viaduct between the Lion Match factory and the railway reserve. The recommendation by the consultants is that this route be used in preference to upgrading Percy Osborne Road, thus avoiding a major impact on environmental and property values in this area.

In considering their options, the consultants have elected an approach that is far more expensive for the city, but far more in tune with the needs and desires of its citizens. The latter is one set of problems taken care of. Now all we have to wonder about is where, in view of the changing shape of society, the money is going to come from to pay for the more expensive option.

The other side ✓

The Natal Mercury May 22 1992

SIR — Members of the DP have, over the years, been vociferous in demanding the withdrawal of the troops from the townships, and in calling for inquiries into police actions. As a result, many police have been severely punished. Some have received the death sentence.

Fair enough, you may say, but what about the other side of the picture? How many inquiries have there been into necklace murders, the stabbing and murdering of innumerable people and deaths and injuries by bomb blasts. The DP now demands an inquiry into the death of four UDF activists who were killed in 1985. What about an inquiry into the Pretoria bomb blast which killed 21 people and injured 200?

Joe Slovo was suspected of master-minding many of these acts of terrorism from Mozambique. He doesn't ever seem to have been subjected to an inquiry of any sort.

The Aida Parker Newsletter published the "ANC's List of Shame" well over a year ago. It is a preliminary list of dead, murdered, tortured and missing ANC-MK cadres in ANC punishment camps. Those who have managed to return to South Africa say they were sickened to find that the very people who had tortured them for wanting democracy in the MK and the ANC, were negotiating with the Government for what they called a "new democracy".

The hundreds, if not thousands of these people in ANC punishment camps were South African citizens. Why has there been no demand for an inquiry into these camps which have been known to exist for years, and are accused of still holding over 200 prisoners?

Members of the Returned Exiles' Coordinating Committee (RECOC) have tried in vain to get some action from South Africans. The United Nations blew Sharpeville and the Biko case sky-high, but deaths and torture in ANC camps are ignored by the UN and the DP.

Lydenburg

GWEN BARAGWANATH

Starting to worry X

SIR — I'm starting to worry a bit about Mr Nelson Mandela.

Not entirely for the reasons which the prophets of doom have been suggesting, should he achieve high office; it's more a case of his personality-cum-aura when he appears on our TV screens.

Do I detect a higher degree of assertiveness? Are we watching a development where the cut and thrust of question and answer is changing to question and long-winded reply?

With a suggestion, also, of "Don't interrupt me while I'm speaking" thrown in for good measure?

I hope I'm mistaken, as I've suffered such a style for long enough and wouldn't want to go through it again.

But I do feel that Mr Mandela is starting to make me very much aware of the opposing point of view to his own, simply by giving me the impression that he doesn't believe there is one.

I'm sincerely hoping I'm wrong; I don't have another 40 years left.

NOT AGAIN

Rally round

SIR — Some 18 months back you were kind enough to publish a letter of mine which you headlined "Rally round Buthelezi." My letter to Natalians did exhort them to do just that. Unfortunately it does not seem to have had much support otherwise Buthelezi's position at Codesa would now be much stronger.

Come on, Natalians, it is not too late. Buthelezi is the only true Natal representative. The DP defectors have come out in support of the ANC and the Nats' record of support for Pretoria goes back 40 years.

Let's rally round our compatriots, Natal, and put that Cinderella image to bed for good.

Durban

LOU THOMPSON

Sacrosanct

THE STAR

agreement

22-05-92

TALK among political groups of pulling out of the National Peace Accord is deeply regrettable. Alleged security force complicity in violence demands a reconsideration of participation in peace accord structures, according to the PWV regions of the ANC, Cosatu and SACP.

The peace accord, unlike other political agreements, must be sacrosanct. To turn one's back on the only peace-making mechanism available is to say that war is the only alternative. For this reason the ANC's national leaders must immediately overrule their regional spokesmen, and reaffirm that it is the organisation's policy to take part enthusiastically and wholeheartedly in the peace structures.

Having said that, there are important lessons to be learnt from the fact that the withdrawal threat was made. It is in the regions — in other words, at grassroots level — that the real horror of the violence is being experienced, by all parties. The peace accord has not stopped the killing, and it is at least understandable that those who bear the brunt — the people who make up the chilling statistics in the "unrest report" each morning — should grow bitter.

The National Peace Secretariat is considering asking President de Klerk, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi to come together in a joint attempt to formulate proposals for stopping the flow of inflammatory political statements. This good idea should be implemented soon. Disillusionment can easily turn into open hostility.

The ill-considered ANC threat reflects another truth, however. There can be no doubt that the security forces are not trusted by the bulk of the black community, and new revelations merely tend to confirm long-held suspicions. The solution is multi-party control via transitional structures, but while we wait for that, Mr de Klerk could announce a fully fledged clean-up operation in the police and army.

He has been presented with quite enough circumstantial evidence to justify such a move, but has appeared evasive and reluctant to act. This inaction will lead, as surely as night follows day, to further dangerous rumblings in the townships about the worthlessness of the peace accord.

Negotiation guru

THE STAR

22-5-92

GERRIT Viljoen's vulnerability over the corruption scandal in his former department is regrettable for one reason. Whatever his deficiencies as an administrator — and they seem extensive — Dr Viljoen is a man of high intelligence. It would be a pity to lose his services as a negotiator.

Dr Viljoen has shown himself to be an able negotiator, with a cool head and an understanding that the negotiating process is a matter of give and take, of compromises as well as demands. His absence in the week before Codesa 2 may have contributed to the ensuing impasse. He might have been able to steady the overworked and pressured Tertius Delpont.

Dr Viljoen's skill as a negotiator has been recognised by Peter Soal of the Democratic Party, who prefaced his call for Dr Viljoen's resignation with an acknowledgment of his considerable abilities.

One way out of the dilemma is for Dr Viljoen to forfeit his place as the De Klerk administration's chief negotiator but to be incorporated into the National Party's team. He should pay for his incompetence as an administrator without depriving Codesa of his talents as a negotiator.

Namibia's two great disputes and debates

Gwen Lister, editor of *The Namibian* in Windhoek, begins a series of fortnightly articles on events in Namibia.

TWO of the most talked-about issues in Namibia at present are a dispute over ownership of a small island in the Chobe River and the controversial questions of the purchase of a presidential jet. Top level talks between Botswanan President Quett Masire and Namibia's President Sam Nujoma will take place this weekend in an attempt to resolve the island issue; and although still hotly-debated, the purchase of the jet for Nujoma has already been signed and sealed and is about to be delivered.

Recently Botswana raised its flag on the island of Kasikili in the Chobe River. The island is small, primarily used in the past for grazing by Caprivians.

And while Namibia's bilateral negotiations with South Africa as to the far more pressing issue of the future of Walvis Bay appear to have been placed on the back-burner, the Kasikili island dispute is hotting up.

It is not clear from available records precisely who owns the island, Namibia or Botswana, and the matter has yet to be resolved between the two countries. Historian Jeff Ramsay claims the island belongs to Botswana in terms of an agreement in 1890 between the British and Germans. After a clash in 1984 at Kasane between SADF and Botswana troops, a joint commission between the two countries also acknowledged it to be part of Botswana territory. Some Namibians, on the other hand, claimed that in 1982 Botswana conceded that the island was part of Eastern Caprivi.

Whatever the facts, Namibians, particularly in Caprivi, are getting worked up about the issue, and there are reports that the Botswana Defence Force is readying troops to keep Namibians away. It's unlikely that either country will be foolish enough to go to war over the marshy piece of land, and there is hope that when President Nujoma flies to Botswana on Sunday for talks about the disputed island, that the matter will be resolved to the satisfaction of both countries.

The other issue which is still being hotly debated is the question

of a presidential jet.

And while Namibia battles to combat the effects of the drought, and has launched appeals in the international community for drought aid, it was learned that the Namibian Government had clinched a R90 million deal with a French company for the purchase of a state-of-the-art French-built Dassault Falcon 900B.

It is also understood that it was this proposed deal which precipitated the resignation of our former minister of finance, Otto Herri-gel, who vacated his post recently for "personal" reasons. Reacting to public outcry, Namibia's information minister said the government is not insensitive to the realities in Namibia, including the drought situation and the need to redress social evils, adding that the decision had been taken only after "careful and mature consideration". It again emphasised the need for the president and ministers to maintain contact with the outside world, saying since independence the government has already spent about R3 million on chartering planes for their trips alone.

The diplomatic community in Namibia is reportedly also annoyed at the deal which is said to include two Puma helicopters, which are apparently very expensive to maintain and unsuitable for Namibia's purposes. One source described the French as "not immoral, but amoral" and claim that Namibia could have got a cheaper deal elsewhere.

The purchase has been accompanied by a lot of secrecy. While no one really disputes the need for the purchase of a presidential plane sooner or later, radio talk shows and readers' letters to newspapers are consistently questioning the timing of this luxurious purchase at this difficult time in Namibia's history while the drought bites and unemployment soars.

There is no likelihood of turning back the clock now, since the deal has gone through and the government is not prepared to renege on it, but it will take some time for the controversy to die down.

Back to Sarafina's roots

Following a 15-month sell-out season on Broadway, a tour of Europe, Japan and Australia, *Sarafina* finally reaches Durban. **STEPHEN COAN** spoke to its creator **Mbongeni Ngema**.

"FOR U.S. blacks, after Martin Luther King there is *Sarafina*," said Mbongeni Ngema. He is not being immodest, merely stating the truth; *Sarafina* has had an enormous impact on the world stage. "Though blacks in this country understand this, whites don't."

Sarafina will reach an even wider audience with the launch of the film version at the recent Cannes Film Festival. "It was overwhelmingly successful," he said. "We knew it would be accepted because it was a well-made film, but we didn't expect the reception it got."

Bringing his Broadway hit to Durban has proved to be a homecoming for Ngema. Born in Verulam, he spent his childhood in the rural areas around Mtubatuba and Nongoma before coming back to Durban to live in Umhlangeni.

Established as a professional musician, in 1976 a friend asked him to write the music for a play and Ngema found himself in the theatre. After working with Kessie Govender he went to Johannesburg in 1979, where he teamed up for two years with Gibson Kente.

Then he and Percy Mutwa created the now legendary *Woza Albert* — "it became a world phenomenon — it is always being performed somewhere in Europe".

Initially Ngema and Mutwa workshopped the piece for seven months. Then director Barney Simon, of Market Theatre fame, joined them for a final month to provide the finishing touches.

The success of *Woza Albert* put Ngema and his style of theatre on the world stage. It particularly impressed the legendary theatre director Peter Brook and Ngema found himself running workshops in Paris with Brook's actors. He was also offered a part in Brook's mammoth nine-hour production of *Mahabharata*, but his busy schedule ruled this out.

Back in South Africa he was working on *Asinamali*, workshopping it in Lamontville. Ngema began with a large group of non-professionals, providing basic dramatic training and voice lessons — "very much based on Grotowski" — Jerzy Grotowski, the Polish director whose book *Towards a Poor Theatre* outlines his method, the intent of which is to refine performance, to search for the essential gesture and achieve the ultimate honesty on stage. It is an approach that demands much of performers, and not for nothing is Ngema's company called Committed Artists.

In Lamontville the refining process continued — "and as the work intensified the smaller the group became".

Ultimately it was down to five, the final cast of *Asinamali* ("We won't pay") which drew much of its material and context from the rent boycott in Lamontville. It enjoyed enormous success in the townships where it articulated the frustrations, anger — and the laughter — of township life. "We went to perform it in La-

montville late one afternoon and we ended up running for five days with two performances a day."

Success was not without a tragic price. During a visit to Hammarsdale the cast was attacked and impresario Jeff Shange shot dead. "They thought they were killing me," said Ngema. "But unfortunately they killed my friend."

After a township tour on the Reef, *Asinamali* opened in the smallest venue at the Market Theatre in 1985. It ended up by scooping all the Vita awards of that year and went on to win international acclaim. It was the first of Ngema's plays to appear on Broadway and he received a Tony nomination for his direction.

Despite their success, *Woza Albert* and *Asinamali* remain essentially minimal theatre. What brought about the move to the fully-fledged musical of *Sarafina*? "The philosophy behind it was still the same," said Ngema.

"The previous plays were smaller-scale dramas but they played to huge audiences even though the techniques were so abstract. They were still entertaining and therefore commercially viable."

Why couldn't the same approach work on a bigger scale? So he set about marrying the "Western approach to musicals with something more compelling" — the energy and the commitment of his earlier pieces.

The marriage worked, the awards poured in, and it moved from stage to screen. (The same cast as the screen version — sans Whoopi Goldberg — can be seen in the Durban run.)

Despite all this international exposure, for Natalians — particularly white ones — Mbongeni Ngema is something of a well-kept secret. His theatre began as a theatre of protest in the townships and went on to become a theatrical phenomenon. Now he has come

back to Durban, no longer playing the townships but the stage of the Opera at the Natal Playhouse, a state-sponsored venue once anathema to the likes of Ngema.

He admits he never dreamt he would be performing under its roof. "But the release of Nelson Mandela wasn't dreamt of either when these government structures were created. But the 'revolution', if you like, must go everywhere. You can't hold on to old philosophies. This is a play for all South Africans. It's not just a black play. It is ours. It is our product. Both black and white must feel it is their own."

"We must open our arms and embrace one another. Here, for the first time the whole township will come — what can be better than that. It will be exciting for both audiences to sit next to each other and see South Africa pull together."

Sarafina opens in the Opera, The Natal Playhouse, on May 23 and runs until June 14.

THE NATAL WITNESS 22-05-92

NATAL WITNESS

Sadtu

22/5/92.

THIS week's action by teachers and others demanding recognition for the non-racial South African Democratic Teacher's Union draws attention to the unhappy situation in a troubled quarter. By and large, teachers are a conservative group and not given to radical action. Unionisation has uneasy implications for people who see themselves as professionals, albeit at the lower end of the professional earning spectrum and without the lustre of the law or medicine. Unfortunately, however, discriminatory education and governmental structures have impinged on teachers no less than the pupils they teach. While many white teachers feel that their interests are generally adequately represented, most others have reason to believe that they are ill-used and exploited to the point where the punching power of a union is their best defence. The trend abroad has been towards teacher unions, and this country is likely to follow suit.

Codesa's failure 'rests with F.W.'

by CRAIG URQUHART

THE failure of Codesa II rests on the shoulders of President F.W. de Klerk and the ANC's mass action strategy will now intensify in an attempt to "unblock the deadlock" in the negotiation process.

This was the view of the ANC's secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa who addressed hundreds of toyi-toying ANC supporters at the city hall last night at the start of a brief visit to Natal.

He said the ANC has been forced to review its position with regard to previous concessions it has made and it will now return to the drawing board.

"Mass action is going to be an important component of the review we are going to have," Ramaphosa said.

He said the South African Government has demonstrated that it is not willing to give up power easily and "we are going to have to take that power away from them".

However, he stressed that all is not lost with the Codesa process despite the setbacks of its second stage last week. He said South Africa is extremely fortunate to have the ANC "which embraces the aspirations of all our people".

Sharing the stage with Ramaphosa were local MPs Pierre Cronje and Rob Haswell.

Cronje said the country faces a long and hard struggle to completely rid itself of apartheid and the time has come for De Klerk to "step aside".

Deputy mayor Rob Haswell gave the forum a detailed explanation of the reasons for his defection to the ANC: "I have joined out of conviction — a conviction that they offer this country by far our best hope of attaining a truly new South Africa."

Sapa reports that Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer said yesterday that Codesa's daily management committee did constructive work on Tuesday and it is hoped that the transitional executive council could be legislated for before the end of the present session of Parliament.

Meanwhile, in Parliament yesterday, the Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Roelf Meyer, predicted that the negotiation process will go ahead right after the manage-



Local MPs Rob Haswell and Pierre Cronje with Colin Gardner, who chaired the meeting, and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa at the city hall.

ment committee meeting next Monday.

Suggestions at Codesa that the government wants a "white veto" in the new constitution are perturbing, the deputy minister of constitutional development, Tertius Delpoort, said yesterday.

Referring, during debate on the Constitutional Development budget vote, to a request by coloured MP Miley Richards that the government should clearly express itself in favour of federalism, Delpoort said: "I have no problem with this."

Angola '32' assaults denied

PRETORIA — A high-ranking officer in 32 Battalion, which fought alongside the SA Defence Force in the Angolan bush war, yesterday denied the unit had assaulted civilians in Angola.

Major Waldermar Andries Frey, who is managing the training division of the unit, said this before a Goldstone Commission committee inquiring into the battalion's alleged rampage through Phola Park.

Questioned by a member of the committee, Bob Tucker, he said the

unit is disciplined and members of the battalion are not allowed to attack civilians. And he added that if there were any violent acts from members it would not be as a result of training from his division.

Frey said the battalion, as far as he knows, never had any physical confrontation with the ANC in Angola. And he added that the unit has no enemy in the country and is presently only after criminal elements.

The inquiry continues today. — Sapa.

Free choice

ARRIVING back from Codesa 2, where the government's plan to railroad the ANC into a reverse Lancaster House settlement was rumbled (Nelson Mandela and Ian Smith would have changed places termswise, metaphorically speaking), I discovered that burglars had invaded our house. They walked off with the TV and other items. It comes as a great relief frankly, sparing us from the nightly ordeal of *Agenda* and offering the promise of kids who may now turn to books rather than the box.

The "low grade socio-economic break-in" as one colleague put it, surprised every one by the medieval ferociousness of the assault. Ignoring a neighbour's retainers awake not 50 yards away, the gang demonstrated an absolute contempt for the alarm (which predictably failed to go off), burglar bars, and 32 Battalion which law abiding citizens might have reasonably supposed would be in the vicinity keeping the peace (Khaba Mkhize and I share a common Sweetwaters sky).

They used something large and blunt to smash their way in, battering ram fashion. The noise must have been terrific, but nobody was curious enough to investigate. I don't blame them. Thereafter our uninvited guests had a party, watching TV, drinking quantities of best claret and finally absconding in the direction of a nearby plantation, shedding loot in weaving loops like clues to a paper chase. In this fashion much was recovered on the lawn, including a lethal 38 centimetre assegai blade attached to a handle — not something you would normally use to cut biltong with. This calling card was cause for sober reflection — what if someone had been at home when they made their raid?

I hope they enjoyed the booze. The haul was not large, but included an ancient bottle of anis with which I was intending to prime braaivleis fires, so old it was it had probably already converted to an absinthe. (Van Gogh is said to have cut off his ear under its influence.) The burglars are probably still sleeping off the effects. But this is a preferable punishment to being covered by the fleas of a thousand camels, a curse one correspondent in the *Witness* recently wished on a thief who stole his jacket!

At the *Witness*, my account of our little adventure raised barely an eyebrow. Several *Witness* staffers have been done over in recent months, so much so that it has become almost commonplace. But at least if your TV goes, that is something tangible, something you can put your hand on, unlike, say, ten percent of your pension fund which a socialist government might order to be put in a prescribed asset paying less than a market return.

This is theft of a different order, but I am put in mind of it because of a letter I received from a clutch of signatories I can only assume to be students, although if they are a product of the local campus then Heaven help us. In their letter, headed by Ulrich Nitschke, they query my contention in a recent leading article that you cannot have democracy without capitalism. It was the conclusion to a broader argument that by damaging the local economy the recent stayaway was actually damaging democracy. I had thought this would have been as self evident after all that has happened in the world during the past decade as the sun coming up. But no. "Democracy is not defined by capitalism," the letter says. "The very first philosophers of democratic thoughts defined democracy primarily in relation to human rights like those of free expression of political opinion, the right to vote in a free election and the right to free political assembly." The letter concludes somewhat huffily, "At least we hope that you will not continue with this kind of 'assault on democracy'".

Well, I have no quibble with that, and in days gone by when Rick Turner taught me philosophy at Stellenbosch University and I thought all property was theft, there was no keener supporter of Gramsci and the democratic road to socialism than yours truly. But times move on, and the Greeks who originally invented democracy have since sold their slaves. Today, democracy is not only about voting, but also about devising a system in which there is optimal free choice.

Imperfect it may be, but a better system than capitalism has yet to be devised for this purpose. That is precisely why much of the world has shed its socialist yoke. Full democracy is simply not possible in socialist, centrally planned and over-regulated societies. Despised she may be, but Mrs Thatcher freed British society from the straitjacket of socialism and years of over-regulation. British voters see the link between democracy and capitalism, and have returned a capitalist party to power for a fourth term.

Peter Berger's analysis (left), which has coincidentally just come to hand, may spark off a debate (for which we have Ulrich Nitschke to thank) on whether it is possible for socialism and democracy to coexist. Personally I don't think so but I am willing to be persuaded otherwise. Certain academic chums of my acquaintance, good friends but with differing views, are cordially invited to frame a reply!

Incidentally, heard the one about the new finance minister? You can Keys your money goodbye!

Capitalism = democracy

DOES political democracy require or depend upon a market economy? The answer is "yes". The evidence overwhelmingly suggests it.

That evidence makes possible three simple but far-reaching propositions. 1. There has been no case of political democracy that has not been a market economy. There has been no case of democratic socialism. 2. There have been numerous cases of non-democratic market economies. 3. When market economies are successful over time, democratising pressures are generated.

Clearly, one cannot discuss any of this unless one is clear about the terms one is using. Thus, someone will propose Sweden as a case of democratic socialism. It is not such thing.

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

By these definitions, Sweden (even in the heyday of Social Democratic governance) cannot be called socialist. The confusion here is between production and distribution. Sweden, like most other northern European democracies, developed generous welfare states — very elaborate systems of distribution and redistribution. But the welfare state, even in its Scandinavian apotheosis, continued to rest on a capitalist system of production; only the affluence created by the latter made this welfare state possible.

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

Does political democracy require private property, and if so, how much of it? The answer to the first question is almost certainly "yes". The answer to the second question: no one knows for sure. Could there be a market economy without private property? Could there be such a thing as "market socialism" — important enterprises remaining in public ownership but competing under market forces?

Theoretically, such a system can be imagined. Two societies that ran experiments with "market socialism" for 30 years were Yugoslavia and Hungary. Both failed. Can one explain the failure? Probably.

The entrepreneurial risk-taking and the financial controls over these risks depend on the motives of private owners — not so much because of the joys of ownership but because of the control that legally secure ownership bestows.

The manager of a socialist enterprise who is told by the economic command centres — which own his firm and which in a real sense own him — to go out and act as an entrepreneur is in fact told to do the impossible or the highly improbable: to stimulate capitalist entrepreneurship.

In practice, it seems, this simply doesn't work. What does work, up to a point, is releasing sectors of a socialist economy to private enterprise. This occurred in both Yugoslavia and Hungary, and it has been happening quite successfully in China.

What also happens in such cases, though, is that the capitalist sector develops a dynamism that will increasingly threaten the much less productive socialist sector — the development that keeps the Beijing gerontocracy awake at night.

Political democracy requires a market economy, and a market economy requires private property. But how much of it? What segments of the economy may be held in public ownership before the basis of democracy is threatened?

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

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

The libertarian view that each step in the direction of public ownership is a step towards despotism is not borne out by the evidence. On the other hand, given the empirical linkage between democracy and capitalism, policymakers would be well-advised to be cautious if moved to expand public ownership.

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

However, when it comes to limiting the role of the state in the economy, we are

One way to describe the relation between democracy and capitalism is to say it is asymmetrical. I regret this, I would much prefer a symmetrical relation, where the two institutional arrangements could be seen as the two sides of the same coin of liberty. Alas, they are not. The major contemporary falsification of the symmetrical view (the classical libertarian one) is constituted by the east Asian economic success stories. Here we have a vigorous capitalist dynamic, still far from its apex, in some ways more successful than the Western case. Every one of the post-World War 2 success stories — notably, the "four little dragons" of South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore — unfolded under non-democratic regimes. As to Japan, it has been a democracy since World War 2, but the period when it first established successful capitalism, the Meiji period, was anything but democratic in its political system.

One might ask how many Western societies could be called democracies at the

time they took off into modern capitalism — hardly England in the 18th century, the country where it all started. The U.S., in this as in many other matters, may be exceptional.

In view of this evidence, an intelligent argument has even been made to the effect that democracy is not the regime best suited for the period when capitalism is first established, though it is the regime most likely to emerge after a time of successful capitalist development.

There is no great mystery as to why capitalism is necessary for democracy. It provides the social space within which individuals and institutions can develop independently of state control. Conversely, the empirical correlation between socialism and dictatorship can be explained by the absence of such social space in a socialist system.

The anti-democratic effect of socialism is structural in origin, and not just the result of some variety of totalitarian ideology (such as Marxism-Leninism). To be sure, totalitarian ideas, such as that of society as an all-embracing fraternity or of the party as the infallible embodiment of the force of history, have served to legitimate socialist dictatorships and to inspire their cadres.

But socialism would make democracy highly unlikely even in the absence of such ideas. The explanation is simple. While there have been socialist Utopias envisaging the control of the economy by independent association of producers, these have remained just that — Utopias, empirically unrealisable, except perhaps in small communities or over short periods of time.

Under modern conditions, given the complexity of a modern economy, socialism invariably means control of the economy by the state.

Even the most retrained democratic state today has more power at its disposal than the most efficient despotisms of pre-modern times. Imagine Caligula with an empire-wide computer network, or Genghis Khan with helicopters, or for that matter Ivan the Terrible with a functioning Internal Revenue Service. To add to this armoury of power control over the economy is to bring about a quantum leap in power. Such power is difficult if not impossible to reconcile with democracy.

"Socialism . . . makes democracy impossible and ruins the economy."

back to the insight that there must be a threshold somewhere, but we are not sure where it is.

We do know the extremes. Socialism, the maximal role of the state in the economy, makes democracy impossible and ruins the economy. At the other pole, a minimalist, *laissez-faire* role of the state is empirically impossible, and there is no such case. Someone will certainly mention Hong Kong. It is no such thing, but rather an efficient, if thoroughly undemocratic, conspiracy of Chinese businessmen and British civil servants.

In between, there seems to be a good deal of leeway — say, between the U.S., a relatively modest case of state intervention, and much more statist cases like Japan or even France — all market economies, all democracies.

It is important to ask about, not so much the degree of state intervention, as the nature of it. Does state intervention in the economy move with market forces or against them?

Thus, arguably, the Japanese State intervenes in the economy without undermining the dynamics of the market; by contrast, it has been argued that the evolving bureaucracy of the European Community (the "Brussels syndrome") will damage the workings of the market economy.

Socialism can only be established by a titanic act of expropriation. But, given the condition of human life in society, property will inevitably spring up again. The socialist expropriation therefore cannot be a one-time-only event.

Socialism requires eternal vigilance. Such permanent expropriation, however, cannot be democratically administered. Those who are to be expropriated will organise and resist. Dictatorship is the only political solution to this problem.

If one understands these basic structural facts about a modern society, the talk of a "third way" between capitalism and socialism makes no sense at all. There is no "third way". There are, to be sure, modifications of the first and the second "ways". There are variants of capitalism, as there have been variants of socialism. Every economy is "mixed" in the sense that there is some combination of market forces and state intervention.

Capitalism has shown an enduring capacity to produce historically unprecedented wealth and to allow huge masses of people to benefit. Socialism has shown itself to be an unmitigated economic and political disaster.

As democracy requires a capitalist foundation, this foundation appears secure for the foreseeable future. Democratic capitalism thus appears to be the only way to go.

• Professor Peter Berger is director of the Institute for the Study of Economic Culture at Boston University. This is an edited version of a speech he gave to the Urban Foundation last week.