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Mandela Mania Nurtured by the Uninformed

By ANDREW STEPHEN
London Observer Service

here was something peculiarly saddening

â\200\224 infuriating, even â\200\224 about the

reception accorded Nelson Mandela upon
his arrival in America last week.

There he was, being compared not only with
Moses and George Washington and Martin
Luther King Jr. but even with Jesus Christ while
being propelled about in a bullet-proof
Mandelamobile to the cheers of hundreds of
thousands, 150 miles of specially-manufactured

ticker-tape raining down on him, a choir
exultantly singing the Hallelujah Chorus to
Americaâ\200\231s latest messiah.

Yes, on one hand it was an explosion of this
countryâ\200\231s idealism at its best, a quintessentially
American outpouring of good will and optimism

for the future. S '

" But it also showed a less heartening, lore

Quixotic side of America: its political

" immaturity and isolationism, and its naive
fondness and fads for glitzy international

celebrities from far away, little-understood

countries. Mrs. Aquino one year, Lech Walesa. -

' the next, then Gorbachev â\200\224 and now Nelson
Mandela. :

Such people become flavors of the month
here, and just about every American suddenly
acts as though they have known of them and
supported them all their lives. But then,
inevitably, disillusion sets in. The simplified
prism through which America sees the rest of
the world distorts perceptions.

In the celebritiesâ\200\231 own countries, life soon
appears more complicated than Americans
realized; the celebrities assume mortal rather
than Hollywood proportions, and their
superstardom fades away.

I say all this because Mangaâ\200\231s eight-city,

12-day tour here is of the utmost importance for
him, and hence South Africa. His success
depends on transforming his Hollywood persona
into that of a real-life politician, a flawed
human being like the rest of us who is willing to

grasp nettles that will teunwelcome o ULS,
leaders and people alike.

" He knows perhaps more than anyone, after
all, the might of the U.S. â\200\224 both in the past and
in the future. The United States had the pover to
have him imprisoned as a result of a CIA tip-off
28 years ago and, through trade, continued to
help sustain apartheid more than any other
country.

Then a miracle happened in the mid-1980s
(helped by the film Cry Freedom, I have long
suspected), and the United States woke up to the
realities of apartheid. There are still at least
120 U.S. companies with direct investments in
South Africa, nonetheless.

" Yet Mandelaâ\200\231s very honesty and integrity,
his unfamiliarity with the importance of the 30-

- second TV bite directed by the image-makers,

could itself hasten the process of disillusionment
with him: an alarming commentary, if ever
there was one, on the state of how opinion is
formed here.

It is only in the last few days, for example,
that Americans have begun to learn what
Mandela actually believes. It has been a shock

to many that â\200\224 notably unlike King â\200\224 he still -
believes in violence, in bombs and bullets that
kill and maim people.

Americans can be remarkably blithe about
this when the violence seems far away, but are

respect of it affecting them.

Then there is his courtship of Yasser Arafat, .
Fidel Castro and Moammar Gadhafi â\200\224 hate
figures here, the direct mirror-images of those
feted exotic superstars from abroad. -

The Zionist lobby here is already beginning a -

4 campaign against Mandelaâ\200\231s Arafat

connections. He has already seen him three
times since his release, more than other
international figure, and it was no coincidence
that President Bush severed relations with the
PLO on the very day that Mandelaâ\200\231s Canadian
Air Force jet touched down at Kennedy Airport.

Mandela has made no bones about why he :
champions such an unlikely trio: â\200\234They are -
placing resources at our disposal to win the
struggle,â\200\235 he said â\200\224 simply a clear warning to
Bush of the ANCâ\200\231s need for massive funding.
And the way Castro and Gadaffi run their own -

countries? â\200\234We have no time to look into the
internal affairs of other countries.â\200\235

Like his words on nationalization â\200\224 another
horror-word here â\200\224 this wasnot a reply the
image-makers would have recommended. Much
more of this kind of thing and Mandela will be
forgotten by America as quickly as he was

discovered.

The superstardom, the Mandelamania of
souvenir T-shirts and mugs, is still awash
throughout this country: but soon the realpolitik,
the hard talk from the Bushes and the Bakers
that bears no relation to the Hollywood glitz,
will begin.

And then we will learn how much of a hero

Nelson Mandela really is to America.

,â\200\230, Mr Dom; d Schuntema, 39-year-old former
- secretary of the Dutch Anti-Apartheid
Movement, is in an unenviable position. He
is distrusted in European? exile circles and by
the underground liberation movements in
" this country. He talked to BRUCE STEPHEN-

: SON of his dilemma.

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over sunrise to Holland, planning never to
be Number return

One in any emergency, at any ' In Amsterdam he studied
time. economics at the Free (Social-
Now form a picture in your ist) University and became in-
mind of a South African exile, terested in the whole European
as he sits at a Paris sidewalk anti-apartheid movement.
cafe, or in an Amsterdam W?mnd Schkqgteg:"Ã@s an
square. Perhaps a sensitive tated speaker. mo-
' face, a thin, artistâ\200\231s frame and tions, mind in overdrive and
. tortured memories of his moth- tail-off are all part of his
er country? i a3 conversation method.
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A man background my case â\200\224 is a
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f lmlnwhoh â\200\234So I got involved in the
-as a shift boss and Dutch student movements,
;Emmmmt mainly the economics action
;mnml-â\200\224m-m group at the university, that
. marked by other dissidents as had been formed as a rea
. â\200\234untrustworthyâ\200\235â\200\231 : against the tic Marxist-
| In October last year, Mr Leninism that was in European
Ã@ Schuitema came back to South politics at that time.
Ai-\201iui-\201tmutgnclui-\202nâ\200\230jai-\202d â\200\234I never could take that
poet Breyten Breytenbachâ\200\231s tui-\202 I used to see the South
name â\200\224 even if it had to be African Communist Party
#'done from the dock, with him- sometimes in London with my
self on trial. He was met at the colleagues who were members
mzi-\202hi-\201 father, a lawyer i-\201 the Dutch Communist Party,
--and the South African Security - and every time I came back
â\200\230Police. - with a guts ache. 'lâ\200\230hey sickened
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he was ally released â\200\234â\200\230lâ\200\230hcnlgothbï-\202lexoni-\202tee
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THE NEW, YORK TIMES INTERNA

â\200\230-.Mandela s Group Backs Deal orrlï-\201ajorlty Rule |

Contmued From Page A1
endorse it today AR TR e T
The congress negotiators task of
selling their ;deal to their. broad and
fractious leadership was complicated
when President de Klerk and his aides
+ described the deat as *â\200\230power sharing,â\200\235
"~ an emotionally charged expression
_that to many black leaders â\200\230means a
permanent whitÃ© veto. -
Anti-apartheid hard-liners hke Har-
ry Gwala, the firebrand who heads the
congressâ\200\231s war-torn Natal Midlands re-
gion, denounced anything short of full-
" fledged majority rule, tï-\202nd during a
three-day bate here, they called un-
suctessfully for a nationwrde member-
ship conference to debate the i issue.

st Dlssenslon In Congress â\200\231;

Even as the congress committee was
finishing its work.today, Chris Hani,
secretary: general of the Communist
Party and a congress leader, was pre-
dicting to a student audience in Cape
Town that the congress would reject
â\200\234â\200\230this business of five years.â\200\235â\200\235 Mr. Hani
said the unity government would en-
dure for perhaps nine months and then
step aside for new elections.

As is customary, when the congress
governing body finally voted this after-
noon the outcome was unanimous, al-
though some of the more outspoken
critics had gone to other engagements.

But President de Klerk, in an inter-
view televised here last Sunday, noted
approvingly. that the new president
;would not have as much power â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230as I
Have in terms of our present system.â\200\235
:Mr. de Klerk appoints and controls the
Cabinet and has no obligation to weigh
the views of minority parties. :

{ The agreement, by whatever name,

is a compromise, and-if -enacted=it |
would institutionalize an element . of
compromise in the future government.
{ Mr. de Klerk, who has long insisted
that a permanent consensus-style ar-
rangement be enshrined in the consti-
itution, has now. agreed to- only five

years After that, whites_ worried about their, futureâ\200\231 must count-on the legal checks and balances mcorporated ina new constitution.-

The congress, which had earher in-sisted on full majority rule, has now agreed to wait a bit, assuming that it will win big enough in the first elections

to enact most of its policies as the|. dominant force- in the umty govern-|

ment.

â\200\230The general strategy of inviting the minority into a coalition was embraced by the congress last year at the urging of Joe Slovo, the- Communist Party|â\200\231 chairman and a leading corigress nege-tiator... Mr. . Slovo contended - that abruptly cutting out the white minority would _leave civil' servants,. security

| forces and businessmen. embittered

and sow the seeds of a destructive backlash.

â\200\234The objective will be to unite our country, to bring about stability,- to insure we embark on a reconstruction program with other parties,â\200\235â\200\235 Mr. Ramaphosa said today. .

Mr. Slovo added that holding a second round of â\200\234full democracyâ\200\235, elections as soon as a new constitution was drafted would waste-time and money, â\200\230and probably produce an outcome little dlf!erent from the first elecuon

Compromise on Regional Issue

In their recent talks, the Govern-ment and the congressâ\200\231 have also reached a compromise on the divisive question of how to protect the interests of regions.

.The Government has dropped its demand that regional powers and borders be permanently entrenched before . elections, agreeing "instead to leave the final distribution of powers to

â\200\230the new-assembly. The congress, in |

turn, agreed that half of the assembly seats would be apportioned by regions, and that questions of regional power would require a two-thirds vote of those members

'hlghest priority. -

This agreement drew a passionate protest from Mr. Buthelezi, whose support is concentrated primarily in the far eastern Natal province. Along with a few other regional leaders, he has made strong regional powers his

" . Some Issues Unsettled

Congress and Government officials said many details remain to be negotiated, and a few major differences have yet to be bridged, including the future of the army and the police. -

The progress could also bog down because of the evident burnout of negotiators.

Mr. de Klerk is rumored to plan a major shake-up of his Cabinet, which has been visibly exhausted by trying to govern and negotiate simultaneously.

Mr. Mandela has canceled most of his public appearances on doctor's orders because of fatigue. He participated in Wednesday's debate on the future government, but was absent today.

Mandela's Visit Has Wide Impact

By MARCIA KUNSTEL
. © 1990 Cox News Service

WASHINGTON — Nelson Mandela's regal sweep down Washington's corridors of power and his tumultuous welcome throughout urban America seem to have ensured at least for the short term that there will be no deviation from the U.S. policy of keeping sanctions on South Africa.

Mandela was less successful in gaining full-

acceptance of the African National Congress as the preeminent organization capable of leading his country to democracy.

Washington analysts and officials interviewed at week's end said they believed no movement easing sanctions would be politically possible soon, even if the legal, technical conditions are met.

"I think it made it more difficult for anyone, in Congress or in the administration, to even think about lifting sanctions," said Democratic Rep. John Lewis of Atlanta. "His presence became a major plus for the whole movement to keep sanctions."

Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), the House minority whip, agreed that Mandela's tour served to reinforce the sentiment for maintaining sanctions.

"I think he had the negative effect of reminding people with his references to violence that the African National Congress is not in the tradition of Martin Luther King Jr. He made it less likely that the U.S. government will provide direct aid [to the ANC]," Gingrich said Friday.

An administration official, who asked not to be further identified, said Mandela's talks with President Bush and Secretary of State James Baker provided a very good opportunity to hear his views on the developing negotiating process.

"On those terms, there was general agreement between us that apartheid must go and the negotiating process must be pursued," he said. "Beyond that I can't say he changed anything."

The administration will take no action on sanctions without full consultation with Congress, he said, but was quick to point out that some of Mandela's blunt comments raised eyebrows among some members of Congress. He suggested that might have an impact on congressional attitudes if the ANC is perceived to be dawdling on negotiations after Mandela returns to South Africa. . . .

Analyst Pauline Baker of the Carnegie Endowment for Peace likewise said that the situation on the ground in South Africa will affect policies coming out of Washington. -

Issues must be resolved on both the white and the black sides in South Africa before full-scale talks can begin, she said, and until there is clearer movement toward the negotiating table it will be politically dicey here to take any action on sanctions.

In any event, Baker said, she expects no sanctions to be lifted before the November elections because the - administration seems to be divided on the issue, and because members of Congress will be reluctant to - counter the swell of support that generally followed Mandela across the country.

Mandela's extraordinary welcome is going to make everybody think twice before they do anything

- controversial domestically, Baker said. It certainly brought it home to the 'administration that they can't do anything without consulting Congress.

- She also cautioned that Mandela's promises on violence and his embrace of radical figures could come back to haunt them later. If the ANC comes

~ closer to wielding power in South Africa, it will be held - more closely accountable for such statements, she

id. :
i Besides addressing Mandela's effect on U.S. policy, Lewis also spoke to a much deeper and more personal impact he believes the visit of this aging black nationalist will have on this country, especially among blacks. : :

I think in the black community engendered a new sense of pride, a greater self-confidence, a greater sense of optimism. I don't think there has been a greater personality on the American scene since Martin Luther King Jr., said Lewis, who manned the trenches in King's movement 30 years

ago.

MAGNUS, COSATL
2 JOIN SHOOTIN(

By Tony Stirling, Martin McGhee and Sapa

THE war of words over the Sebokeng shooting of 11 people intensified yesterday.

The Minister of Defence, Gen Magnus Malan, challenged ANC Deputy President, Mr Nelson Mandela, to substantiate information he had regarding the shooting incident by making it available to the official inquiries.

The Defence Force had convened a board of inquiry and a police investigation was under way.

It appeared from reports that Mr Mandela

had condemned the SADF prematurely and had even found it guilty on the grounds of untested information, said General Malan.

On Tuesday Mr Mandela placed the blame for the deaths on Inkatha and the SADF, whose actions he called reckless.

Yesterday Cosatu

claimed that White men wearing balaclavas were involved in the attack by Inkatha vigilantes on the Sebokeng hostel, that Inkatha vigilantes were trapped in the hostel, and that, troops, called in to rescue the vigilantes, opened fire without warn-

TO PAGE 2

Troops outside a burnt hostel in Vosloorus yesterday. African National Congress deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, met police to discuss ways of ending the faction fighting in townships around Johannesburg which has claimed over five hundred lives in recent weeks.

Mandela wants design of new home â\200\230similar to prison houseâ\200\231

J_OHANNESBURG: The African National Congress (ANC) deputy president Nelson Mandela is building a house in the Transkei â\200\224 with similarities to the house in which he was held in the Victor Verster Prison, Paarl.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus today said Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s ancestral home at Q&mu, near Umtata, was being upgraded.

Costs were not being paid by the ANC, she said. ks Y

Mr Mandela had requested a design that was â\200\234very Africanâ\200\235 but which had similarities to the suburban-style house on the prison farm where he was held from December 1988 until his release in February this year, she said.

The â\200\234welcoming aspectsâ\200\235 of the prison house â\200\224 where he had his first â\200\234sense of mobilityâ\200\235 after 26 yearsâ\200\231 confinement in a cell â\200\224 would be included in the new Transkei home.

While the Qunu house was still in the planning stages, it is expected to be similar in size to Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s new Orlando West, Soweto, house.

It would have to be able to accommodate Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s entourage and to - facilitate all his work requirements, Ms

. S
Marcus said.
It was unlikely to become a holi-

- day home because Mr Mandela did not find it easy to take holidays. _

On his release from prison Mr Mandela had attempted to take a one-month holiday but had only been able to manage three-and-a-half days.

Mr Mandela visited Qunu â\200\224 where he still has relatives â\200\224 in April.

He was building the house in the area where he was born because he did not wish to lose his roots, Ms Marcus_s_aid.

Transkei's military ruler, Major General Bantu Holomisa, said tribal chiefs had given Mr Mandela a plot following his release from prison.

Mr Mandela was building the house in his private capacity and would receive no funding from the Transkei government.

I regard Mr Mandela's desire to have this house in exactly the same light as a request by any individual who wishes to maintain ties with his ancestral home, Major-General Holomisa said. ~

Mr Mandela is currently in the Transkei.

THE continuing violence in South Africa was tearing the country apart, and having a terrible bearing on future international business prospects, Mr John Carlisle, Conservative British Member of Parliament said yesterday.

Addressing more than 1000 parents, pupils and staff members at the Hilton College speech day, Mr Carlisle urged those with an influence to come forward and stop this desperate situation.

The violence was having a terrible effect on the influence of Western businessmen looking to invest in this country, said Mr Carlisle, who is a regular visitor to South Africa.

| Country torn by violence: Carlisle %
" The British()vzrvl;li~\202eqtgw'i~\201sâ concern
. country. 4% Â¥, BN (S

Mr Carlisle said South Africa had been the convenient whipping boy of the nations for too long; and the target of the far left for too long ' to remember.â\200\224
â\200\230Daily News reporter. .| @ &/ .7y â\200\231
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about the economic prospects; in South Africa. It was also concerned about the
-almost inability of the African National

Congress to â\200\230mp\Ã@}into top political gearâ\200\235,
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â\200\234We want to'seÂ¢ & more mature Nelson Mandela, and a pre mature; political or-

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ganisation which we are sure will have a
 major part to play in
 the future of your

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Buthelezi confusion

SIR With regard to the invitation to
 talk peace that Nelson Mandela has
 extended to Dr Buthelezi, it will be
 interesting to see whether or not the
 latter once again scuppers the propos-
 al.

I find it a little confusing that a
 man who is continually announcing to
 all and sundry that he will go any-
 where and do anything to help imple-
 ment peace in Natal is now nit-pick-
 ing and endangering the proposed
 meeting over the ANC's choice of his
 prepared title.

VICTORIA OSTRER, Bluff

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| Major setbac o

THE start of the electoral process in Angola this week marks the first of many steps in that country's transition to democracy and peace. It is a process that has important lessons for Mozambique.

After years of a bloody war that has virtually ppled this otherwise natural resource-rich nation, the warring es in Angola have said they will honour the outcome of the two-day voting, which ends

Y. They have even gone further and agreed on the formation of a government of national unity, whatever the outcome of the elections,

Angola was a battlefield of some of the most serious fighting ever witnessed in Slost-inde dÃ©nt Africa, vet the bitter enmity took cognisance of the ove national quest fgr peace. Whatever the outcome. Angolans have demonstrated that they want to start afresh, to give the country a chance to rebuild itself from the ruins of a decade and half of fighting, and to turn swords into ploughshares. .

This is a deveiopment that puts Mozambique in icular and South Africa in general under enormous pressure to give democracy

and geace a chance.

ut the disclosure last m"â\200\231%ht that Mr Afonso Dhlakama, theieadex i ut 3

- zambique would follow the Angolan example. /
th President Mligabe and President Masire of Botswana had
gfone everything possible to secure a lasting settlement to the war in

â\202¬ onus is now on the MNR to demonstrate its desire for peace, whatever its understanding of this is, Otherwise what does become very clear is that Mr DhlaEa.maâ\200\231s : i
peac]teir wle)re nothing but grandstamggs , something mh;agy suspected.

The MNR leader knows that he has little support, and requires

to market his sation to the Mozambican people, as an alter-native to President oaquim Chissanoâ\200\231s government. But in this he â\202¬S a number of very real and serious problems. His is the only group in the history of guerilla organisations that chose to feed on the

sation has no clear political agenda, but
damning reports â\200\224 one by

Robert G rsony in 1988 and the other more recent one published last month by Africa Watch, a US-based organisation set up in 1988 to monitor and promote observance of internationally recognised human rights on the African continent. : .

- The Gersony report concluded that the MNR had no political l;_r[<l>-gramme and made no effort to explain its efforts to the people. His verdict: The MNR was blood and subjected people in ozambique to an â\200\234extremek' highâ\200\235 level of violence, â\200\231l'heleigre, there was
no way the MNR t the support of the Mozambicans.

Four years after th:mon ,report, Africa Watch notes the â\200\234ex-.traordinary cruelties of the M i'l forcesâ\200\235 and reports that the MNR has be(mâ\200\230Â»exceptionaï¬\202y brutal: i -

Unlike Unita in Anggla, the MNR has had no proï¬\201ra._mme of mass

tion, largely because it has always been convinced that it can shoot its way into waer and into Maputo.

i

who was leading it up the garden path. . ,

- Three options remain: the first is to prevail upon both South Africa and the MNR handlers in America to force the movement to commit itself to peace, and act accordingly in the greater interests of Mozambique and the people Mr D _purports to represent. The second is a military one, but that would be tragic. :

... Of course, the third would be to find an alternative MNR leader, and help him to elbow out Mr hlakama. Al kol it

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94 JOHANNESBURG South: Afd â\200\231

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to power {wo years ago. ;. 0
z:Mandela,-on-a visit to Spain, rett-,
{ erated demai-\202dï-\202 that. Ã«Vlok md D e,
fense Minister Magnua â\200\230Mala
resignâ\200\231 (as :a condition â\200\234for ta.lkg#
among the' government and bla%ip
leaders on a new constitution. ;r;,â\200\230 Ã£
- â\200\234H .the government is. sei-\201o :
committed to the peaoe processâ\200\231 it
must dismiss them,â\200\235 the daily. El
ePendlente quoted the A.QC
dent as saying. s
The ANC has repeatedly aocused,
government. security â\200\230forces of asâ\200\235
sisting_ Inkatha-.in â\200\230blackjtownship.
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:6,000 lives ln'the pas fi e'years
7 ANC: hei-\202dq ers in'Jo
â\200\230burg sald . ithe' goVernirent Was '
â\200\234pursuing a- twln traclc strategy, of
posing a8 committed to peace while"
waging tuthless war against the |
democratic movÃ@ment.â\200\235 :
Criticism,_of the government
â\200\230came fromâ\200\231 across the political |
- spectrum., â\200\234The whole Cabinet
. ghould resign on the basis of col-
â\200\234lective ~ responsibillty," #aid . An-
- dries Treurnicht, leader of the pro-
apartheid Conservatlve Party

~ S. Africa
paid rivals
;of-Mandela

5 Revelatton threatens
:powerâ\200\224sharlng efforts

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5 JOHANNESBURG, South Afri-

.ca â\200\224 The government admitted
â\200\230Sunday an additional \$600,000 in

: gecret funds were. channeled to a. |

: Â«black political group, broadening
: @ scandal that threatens to dJsrupt
' efforts to end apartheid, '

. The latest disclosures came two

, days after officlals said \$100,000 inâ\200\231 1
. aid had been given secretly to the

' Inkatha Freedom Party, the main

Â» rival of the African National Con-

gress.

The revelations of the funding

. operations could hurt the credibil- _â\200\230"

lty of Inkatha and President F.W.

. de Klerk's 2-year-old government,

. Which has taken strides to end: â\200\230
â\200\234white-minority rule. Inkathaâ\200\231 ol
:F}eâ\200\230ader on Sunday againinsisted

e organization did not know of
the government contributions,

--The announcement Sunday also |

indtce.bed the clandestine funding
- occurred under the government of
President P.W. Botha, who re-
. fused to legalize the ANC and op-

pdsed drastic reforms in apart.heid

laws.

Some of the sharpest criticism -

â\200\230has been lodged by ANC leader
,Nelson Mandela, who said his
-group could break â\200\230off relations
â\200\230with the government and call off

plans for talks on power sharing
between black and whites.

The ANC and Inkatha have |
waged a power struggle for leader--

ship of the anti-apartheid move-
ment since the mid-1980s, and
clashes between supporters in
black townships have claimed
6,000 lives. The ANC has often al-
leged the government secretly
_aided Inkatha, a charge the gov-
ernment and Inkatha had denied.
There has been no proof that |
the security forces directly assist-

ed Inkatha in specific attacks |
against ANC backers.

On Sunday, Law and Order
Mu-uster Adriaan Vlok said during
a interview on state-run television
that the government channeled
\$600,000 to Inkatha's trade union
movement over a six-year period.
He did not give any additional de-
tails, such as when the funding
ended or what Inkatha did with
the money '

Earlier Sunday, The Sunday
Star newspaper quoted Parlia-
ment member Kobus Jordaan
Âlasiming he had proof the govern-
ment paid Inkatha's union move-
ment \$2 million,

Jordaan said the money flow to
Inkatha began before De Klerk

- succeeded Botha as president in
. August 1989. De Klerk removed
* the ban on the ANC last year.

Vlok said Friday that the gov-

- ernment provided Inkatha with
; \$100,000 in 1989 and 1990 for ral-
- lies to protest the international
- sanctions.

He said the payments have

. been halted.

Gompliments of
@ liff Bosney

Mandela wants design of new home â\200\230similar to prison houseâ\200\231

JOHANNESBURG: The. African National Congress (ANC) deputy president Nelson Mandela is building a house in the Transkei â\200\224 with similarities to the house in which he was held in the Victor Verster Prison, Paarl.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus today said Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s ancestral home at Q&xnu, near Umtata, was being upgraded. ;

Costs were not being paid by the ANC, she said.

Mr Mandela had requested a design that was â\200\234very Africanâ\200\235 but which had similarities to the suburban-style house on the prison farm where he was held from December 1988 until his release in February this year, she said.

The â\200\234welcoming aspectsâ\200\235 of the prison house â\200\224 where he had his first â\200\234sense of mobilityâ\200\235 after 26 yearsâ\200\231 confinement in a cell â\200\224 would be included in the new Transkei home.

While the Qunu house was still in the planning stages, it is expected to be similar in size to Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s new Orlando West, Soweto, house.

It would have to be able to accommodate Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s entourage and to facilitate all his work requirements, Ms

- I .
Marcus said.
It was unlikely to become a holi-

- day home because Mr Mandela did not
find it easy to take holidays. o

On his release from prison Mr Mandela had attempted to take a one-month holiday but had only been able to manage three-and-a-half days.

Mr Mandela visited Qunu â\200\224 where he still has relatives â\200\224 in April.

He was building the house in the area where he was born because he did not wish to lose his roots, Ms Marcus said.

Transkei's military ruler, Major

General Bantu Holomisa, said tribal chiefs had given Mr Mandela a plot following his release from prison.

Mr Mandela was building the house in his private capacity and would receive no funding from the Transkei government.

I regard Mr Mandela's desire to have this house in exactly the same light as a request by any individual who wishes to maintain ties with his ancestral home, Major-General Holomisa said. -

Mr Mandela is currently in the Transkei.

Country torn by violence: Carlisle - %

. 4 THE continuing violence in South Africa = The British Government was concerned: - was tearing the country apart, and having "about the economic prospects in South Africa. It was also concerned about the - almost inability of the African National

a terrible bearing on future international

business prospects, Nfr John Carlisle, 1

Conservative British Member of Parliament said yesterday.

Addressing more than 1000 parents, pupils and staff members at the Hilton College speech day, Mr Carlisle urged those with an influence to come forward and stop this desperate situation.

The violence was having a terrible effect on the influence of Western businessmen looking to invest in this country, said Mr Carlisle, who is a regular visitor to South Africa.

, country. 2, B i
* Mr Carlisle said South Africa had been the convenient whipping boy of the na-

- tions for too long, and the target of the far left for too long" to remember.

Congress 50 move into top political gear, ol L@ Â» -|Â¢(,)J p bk oy 3 Â¢ >
. We want to see & more 'mature Nelson

Mandela, and a firm mature political organisation which we are sure will have a Â°

major part to play in

Â»

the future of your

Âç

-Daily News reporter .0Â« - .., .
â\200\224r

Buthelezi confusion

SIR â\200\224 With regard to the invitation to
talk peace that Nelson Mandela has
extended to Dr Buthelezi, it will be
interesting to see whether or not the
laltter once again scuppers the propos-
al.

I find it a little confusing that a .

man who is continually announcing to
â\200\234all and sundryâ\200\235 that he will go any-
where and do anything to help imple-
ment peace in Natal is now nit-pick-
ing and endangering the proposed
meeting over the ANCâ\200\231s choice of his
prepared title.

VICTORIA OSTRER, Bluff

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HoVW () 2oÂ¥3j AL1D 3bnp v QAW NG1

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S 9ps9q,

â\200\224THE CITIZEN

Page 3~

HARARE. Zim-
babwean President
Robert Mugabe-yester-
day announced three
more Ministers and a
provincial governor
had resigned and he
had accepted their res-
ignations, the national
news agency, Ziana,
reports.

Addressing a Press con-
ference in Harare, Mr
Mugabe said he had re-
ceived resignations from
the Higher Education
Minister, Mr Dzingai Mu-

and Technology Minister,
Mr Calistus Ndlovu, the
Youth, Sport and Culture
Deputy Minister, Mr
Charles Ndhlovu and the
Matabeleland North gov-
ernor, Mr Jacob Muden-
da.

The resignations of Mr
Mutumbuka, Mr Calistus

tumbuka, the Industry -

3 more Zimbabwean

isters quit ove
car sale prob

Ndhlovu and Mr Muden-
da follow the publication
of the Sandura Commis-
sionâ\200\231s report on this inves-
tigations into the distribu-
tion of motor vehicles by
state-owned willowvale
Motor Industries to indi-
viduals.

They were found to
have used their positions
to obtain vehicles directly
from the vehicle assembly
plant which were resold at
prices way beyond those
controlled by govern-

ment.

Their resignations join those of the senior Minister for Political Affairs, Mr Maurice Nyagumbo, the Defence Minister, Mr Enos Nkala, and the Minister of State for Political

Affairs, Mr Frederick Shava, who have all resigned as a result of the commission's investigations. ;

Mr Nkala and Mr Shava admitted lying to the Commission under oath and the other Ministers have been accused by the commission of being untruthful.

Mr Charles Ndhlovu's resignation follows his conviction of fraud involving ZD450 (R560), committed while he was an assistant director in the Department of Production in the Ministry of Information, Posts and Telecommunication.,

Only Mr Nyagumbo and Mr Nkala have resigned from positions they held in the ruling Zanu (PF) Party.

Announcing the new resignations and his acceptance of them, Mr Mugabe said he appreciated their having had the courage to take this action in recognition of the mistakes or offences that they committed.

In the case of all the others, leaving out Charles Ndhlovu, the issue is that they abused the privilege and facility which we made available

to Members of Parliament and Ministers, so they could have a personal car in addition to their official car, a car to use as they pleased.

It was an abuse of privilege. In some cases it

was much more than that.
It amounted to conducting a racket, to a process of profiteering,â\200\235 he said, adding that such profiteering was one of the evils of capitalism which still existed in Zimbabwe.

Mr Mugabe emphasised that while he appreciated the courage the Ministers had shown in offering their resignations, he condemned their resorting to â\200\234this dishonest way of enhancing their

However, he said he was still proud of the Ministers who had resigned. He said Mr Mutumbuka had revised the Education system and made it what it was.

The Sandura Commission, reconstituted on Thursday by Mr Mugabe to investigate direct sales of cars, trucks and buses by two vehicle assembly plants, is scheduled to begin public hearings in Harare by the second week of May. â\200\224 Sapa.

Rapport deplored the PAC's
â\200\234ghameless political oppor-
tunismâ\200\235, = while Sowetan
Sunday World lamented the
PACâ\200\231s â\200\234emotional twaddleâ\200\235.

A CROWD of people gathered at the site of the illegal land

Mbeki lashes PAC over

â\200\234Â®

â\200\234Heaven help us all if this is
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hitherto an important and
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City Press urged the PAC to

grab on g Bredell farm near Ke

S e s l i

â\200\234stop playing with fireâ\200\235.

Last week, Johannesburg's
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involvement in the land grab.

@ The situation at the farm

mpton Pbork. .)
Nikon digital picture by MARIOLA BIELA

land grab

near Bredell remained peace-
ful yesterday, Sapa reported.

Captain Mary Martins-
Engelbrecht said a high police
presence would be maintained
in the area. â\200\234Things appear
very calm.â\200\235

Mandela |
family

visits

xtend

Dutch
snub
for

Inkatha

THE World: Council of
Churches and leading
anti-apartheid church
agencies in the Nether-

o

lands have given Chief | /

Gatsha Butheleziâ\200\231s Inka-

tha movement the brush- | |

off. .

. The organisations,
ich monitor human

rights violations in

South Africa, this week

refused to meet a four-

man Inkatha delegation
which was on a 10-day
tour of European capi-
tals.

Kairos, 'a Dutch
church agency monitor-
ing human rights in
South Africa, and Ci-

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\ RELATIVES of the jailed African National

leuder, Nehon:ii~\202ndela,â\200\234l;anuï~\202-
lised the changed visiting privileges â\200\234for some
time now,â\200\235 according to the chief public rela-

tions officer of the South African Prisons Ser-

vleel:

Sapa, said â\200\234someone has apparently been mis-
leading the Press deliberately as statistics

show that Mr Mandella's relatives have indeed used the changed visiting privileges for some time now. He was commenting on an article in a Johannesburg afternoon newspaper that Man-

Brigadier H J Botha, in a statement to -
ed

(Mandela's relatives were unaware they could visit

P/E Abreca conference at

'CHIEF BUTHELEZ):

beLndor of Inkatha.
Tma, a church funding
agency, also refused to
meet the delegation.
Kairos director, Eric
van den Berg, said their
refusal to see the

. Inkatha officials, led by
secretary-general and |

KwaZulu's Minister of
Education and Culture,
Oscar Dhlomo, was

based on the role Inka-
tha played during the/

Lamontville unrest, the
clash at the University
of Zululand in October

at which five students {}

died and the abandon-
ment by delegates of an

KwaNzimela, near Mel-
moth; after Inkatha
members had arrived to
welcome them. 3
Mr van den Berg said ;
I think what they're
trying to do during this

g trip is to disprove what

is being said about them
in Europe at the mo-
ment. 200\235

_He said representa-
tives from the Dutch

i Reformed Church in the

L

Netherlands attended
the Abresca meeting
and had briefed organi-

Â§ai-\\201ons.with an interest
in South Africa on the
true state of affairs.

Mr van den Berg said
organisations like the:
Anti-Apartheid Move-
ment and the Holland
Committee on Southern
Africa did not meet the

Inkatha'officials. * Â© -

R

him @%Ctimel'amonï-\\202r; instead of once. - â\\200\\231
Earlier, the prison services said it was policy
not to comment on the treatment of circum-
stances of individual prisoners. - .
. Before January, 1982, prisoners in the â\\200\\234Aâ\\200\\235

â\\200\\234rcategory, â\\200\\234Well behaved prisoners,â\\200\\235 were al-

lowed two visits and three lette@ a month and

~ from January, 1982, the maximum number of
visits a month was raised to five and letters to'
six, the statement said.

â\\200\\234Privileges form part of the treatment pro-
gramme and changes in this regard are com-
municated through administrative channels to
commanding officers and heads of prisons.

â\\200\\234Information of this nature is immediately

ments, interviews or written notices for the
" information and to be conveyed to their fami-

lies,â\\200\\235 Brig Botha said. 3 i |

â\\200\\234Details regarding privileges, _lncltl_d;ng vis-
its and letters, are conveyed to family mem-
bers by prisoners themselves or farnished in
the event of an enquiry. * i :

â\\200\\234It would be absurd to expect of the prisons
services and the administration to inform all
families of changes in the details of privi-
leges,â\\200\\235 he said. ;

Brig Botha said it was inconceivable that
any person could have experienced confusion
over the visits and letters. â\\200\\224 Sapa.

| Politicians support suspended doctor who gave

- anti-retroviral drugs to gang-raped baby Tshepang

MEC slammed over
anti-Aids drug stance

Yesterday expressed disgust at
the Northern Cape govern-
ment's criticism of a doctor's deci-
sion to give anti-retroviral drugs to
an 11-month-old gang-rape victim in
violation of government policy.
The MEC [of Health in the
Northern Cape, Dipuo Peters]
should be charged with attempted
negligence, PAC health spokesman
Ibrahim Costa Gazi said. We would
advise the doctor concerned to stand
on her ground. There is plenty of sup-
port for that kind of action. I am
sure 90% of doctors would agree this

Opposition politicians yes-
|

is the way to go. -
The Mail & Guardian newspaper
yesterday reported that Peters lam-

" basted the Kimberley provincial

hospital after media reports
revealed the child has been given
the anti-retroviral drug AZT.

She reportedly scolded hospital
chief executive officer Deon Madyo.

The hospital subsequently issued
a circular reminding doctors that
they are barred from administering
the drug to rape patients.

The newspaper furthermore
quoted a doctor as saying the hospi-
tal had a policy of administering the

drugs, but had to change it when the
government intervened.

The doctor, Beatrix Weber, was
suspended for criticising the gov-
ernment's HIV/Aids policy.

While there is no guarantee anti-
retrovirals will prevent one from
contracting the virus, at least they
improve one's chances, Gazi said.

- IFP health spokeswoman Dr Ruth
Rabinowitz described Peters' reac-
tion as appalling. It suggests the
government has no desire to help
anybody.

Sandy Kalyan of the DA
expressed outrage, saying anti-

retroviral drugs should be offered to,
greater Nelspruit area.

The

six men in Louisvale in November,
rape victims as a matter of routine.

Barbara Kenyon, chief executive
officer of the Greater Nelspruit
Rape Intervention Project (Giip),
said it is "absolutely ridiculous to
tell doctors not to do what they have
been trained to do" prescribe medication.

She claimed that public sector
doctors who continue prescribing
anti-retroviral drugs to patients are
being harassed, and in some cases
their contracts are not renewed.

Grip gives anti-retroviral drugs to
rape victims at six hospitals in the

Mpumalanga Health Department

. has taken the organisation to court
over this. The case is still pending.

All the spokesmen agreed that
doctors have a moral and professional
duty to act in the best interest
of their patients, but this is difficult
in the current circumstances.

"Most doctors do not want to risk
their jobs," Gazi said. "But at the
very least, if they can't prescribe
the drug themselves, they can refer
their patients to a pharmacy."

The Northern Cape baby was
raped and indecently assaulted by

when she was nine months old.

The girl, who has been named
Tshepang (have hope) to protect her
true identity, suffered serious
injuries. She has been transferred to
the Red Cross Children's Hospital in
Cape Town, where she is expected
to undergo reconstructive surgery.

Public hospitals and clinics are -
not allowed to give anti-retroviral
drugs to rape victims, as the govern-
ment maintains there is no evidence
they are effective.

Madyo was not available for comment.
Sapa. -

A CROWD of people g

Mbeki lashes PAC over

Rapport deplored the PAC's
"ghameless political oppor-
tunism", while Sowetan

Sunday World lamented the
PAC's "emotional twaddle".

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athered at the site of the illegal land grab on g Bredell far

"Heaven help us all if this is
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hitherto an important and
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City Press urged the PAC to

iy - a21

"stop playing with fire".

Last week, Johannesburg's
dailies The Citizen, The Star,
Beeld, Sowetan and Business
Day all lambasted the PAC's
involvement in the land grab.

@ The situation at the farm

m near Kempton Park. N
Nikon digital picture by MARIOLA BIELA

land grab

near Bredell remained peace-
ful yesterday, Sapa reported.

Captain Mary Martins-
Engelbrecht said a high police
presence would be maintained
in the area. "Things appear
very calm."

lice into the townships. After
it that Nelson (He said the ANC had diffi-
charged that South Africa's po- culty preaching peace because
, force is either out of con. of the levels of anger in the
| trol or is doing what the 80V- townships. y ;
ernment wants it to do, Our people are being killed
B ; and are losing their belongings,
In a sharp attack on the S and when he say to them,
curity forces and the BOVer- "whatever the Provocation,
ment's handling of township vi- commit yourselves to peace
olence, Mr Mandelg said law and defend yourselves against
and order was being managed criminals, our people say, You
by a police force which has have been saying tgxs all along,
criminal record aqd. regards we are being killed by thi-
black lives as cheap, government. Our people are so
Singling out the Internal Sta- any policeman is a
bility Unit successor to the e
riot squad he said: The ISU acks in South Africa
is the most cruel and disorder- showed more Sympathy to
ly group of law enforcement their people than whites did.
| officers. T t is our problem. was clear there had been
You do not ha little success in eradicating
which regard racism from the police force.
ks as worth it. on- .M Mandela said that when
he visited police stations, the
! welcome he received from
: S8 black policemen could not be
g his call for white compared with the way he was
be removed from the treated by white policemen.
townships, he said that when There is racism there, and
President De Klerk visiteq we have not succeeded in
taced A eradicating it, he said.
?n "i gahtmle That does nothmean the
\230:'e
- " are not white policemen who
cause that would have led to want to be part of this (the
bloodshed, transition to a new dispensa-
thing as far as blacks are con- pyt generally, our

et 4 " ' Corresponent = d
| Mandela launches sting ng
- attack on racist poh

That is % Y . drh if. ;
But he was doing the same tion). There are manl};l of them, They think in terms of

cerned by sending white PO- are racist.

LI g s " , L
e 224224

A A i o VT L R

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CAPE TOWN â\200\224 The full

Whites must accept maJorlty rul
text of a peace plan re-
portedly drawn up by
Nelson Mandela, includ-
ing proposals to bring
the Government and the
ANC to the negotiating

table, was published yes-
terday by the Cape Town
newspaper South.
Although the news-
paper says it believes the
document is the same as
that submitted by Man-
dela to State President
F.W. de Klerk at their
Tuynhuys meeting last
month, a source close to
Mandela said she be-
lieved it was in fact a

document presented earlier in 1989 to "

Mr P.W. Botha.

The Ministry of Justice, which
handles press queries on Mandela,
said it was unable to vouch for the au-
thenticity of the document.

In it, Mandela says he is still a loyal
and dlscxplmed member of the ANC, he
defends the organisationâ\200\231s use of vio-
lence and its links with the SA Com-
munist Party, says majority rule has to
be accepted by white South Africans,
and pleads with the Government to
make use of the opportunity he is offer-
ing through his intervention to over-
come the current political deadlock.

â\200\234I believe that the overwhelming
majority of South Africans, black and
white, hope to see the ANC and the
Government working closely together
to lay the foundations for a new era in
our country, in which racial discrimi-
nation and prejudice, coercion and
confrontation, death and destruction
will be forgotten,â\200\235 he is quoted as say-
ing.

South said the document was made
available to its â\200\234sourcesâ\200\235 in London.

A spokesman for the State Presi-

dentâ\200\231s office directed all queries to the Minister of Justice. A Justice spokes-
man said: â\200\234There is no record of a document bearing resemblancvâ\200\230 to the document published i Souty. 14 is therefore not possible.to vouch for its authenticity.â\200\235

According to the document, Mandela

Â« says: â\200\234At the outset I must point out that I make this move without consulta-
â\200\230tion with the ANC. In the normal

coursq of events I would putmy view to the organisation first, and if these views were accepted, the organisation would then decide on who were the be'st qualified members to handle the

fter on its behalf and on exactly when to make the move.

â\200\234But in my current circumstances I |

cannot follow this course, and this is the only reason why I am acting on my own initiative, in the hope that the organisation ' will, in due course, endorse my action.â\200\235

Regarding the armed struggle, he says: â\200\234A government which used violence against blacks many years before we took up arms has no right what-soever to call on us tolay down arms.â\200\235

The ANC had no vested interest in violence and abhorred any actxon} which might cause loss of life. "% â\204ç

â\200\234It has worked long and patiently for a South Africa of common values and for an undivided and peaceful non-racial state.â\200\235

White South Africa had to accept the plain fact that the ANC would neither suspend nor abandon the armed struggle until the Government showed its willingness to surrender the monopoly of political power and to negotiate

directly and in good faith with acknow- !
ledged black leaders.

On the issue of Marxism, Mandela is quoted as saying that the Governmentâ\200\231s hostility to the SA Communist Party â\200\234is not only out of step with the growing co-

operation between the capitalist and socialist countries of the world, but it is also inconsistent with the policy of the Government itself, when dealing with our neighbour statesâ\200\235.

| pressed in hi

O

says document released in London

ela *pla
for negotiati

' Mr Mandela said his own polltlcal

views were the same as those he ex-
Rivonia in 1964, when he said he had :

fluenced byMarxxstthought
bei-\201zmanl:â\200\230l the leaders of the newly
mdependent African states, had ac%
cepted the need for some form O

catch up with the world, and to over-
come their legacy of poverty.

West.

plamed on countless occasio

us.â\200\235 â\200\224 Sapa.

is speech in the dock at,

socialism to enable their people to .

)
he ANC was non-aligned and we
coTneed support from the East and the

Â¥ iffERENCE, as we have ex-
Jcpoae : ns before,

ly us
that the socialist countries supp
::lth weapons, which the West refuses

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nâ\200\231,

ass forced
removals feared

r,â\200\234 â\200\230

N

OQB{ Jo-Anne Collinge : :

Rural field workers around the country are expecting a sudden swoop on black freehold settlements which have for years mounted determined resistance against removal to the homelands.

The conclusion that massive forced removals are on the cards countrywide was reached at a two-day workshop of fieldworkers held in Johannesburg. At a Press conference following the meeting, workers highlighted several pointers to removal:

@ The preparation of huge removals camps, especially in the the Ladysmith area of Natal, but also at Oshoek near kaNgwane and Onderstepoort near Sun City. It was suggested that as these camps had been established at great cost they would not be left unused despite opposition of the communities earmarked for them.

@ Statements to outsiders â\200\224 politicians and newsmen â\200\224 that removal of specific communities is to go ahead despite a breakdown in talks between the authorities and the affected residents.

Attemgts failed

â\200\234It is particularly about the united, strong communities that we are worried,â\200\235 a spokesman for the Transvaal Rural Action Committee (Trac) said. She said attempts to divide the people and the withdrawal of services had not dislodged settlements like kwaNgema and Driefontein in the Eastern Transvaal, Matiwaneâ\200\231s Kop in Natal or Mgwali in the Eastern Cape.

â\200\234As these people have pushed back the frontiers of control, the State has no option but to move them.â\200\235

Particular concern was expressed about kwaNgema â\200\224 where a number of factors including the removal of graves to the edge of the property had stirred strong rumours that forced removal was imminent.

_ It is believed that kaNgwane Chief Minister Mr

| Enos Mabuza has had talks %i-\201hterial tavel
â\200\230|and has made it known he i not prepared to receive the people of kaNgwars: or neighbouring

Driefontein into his homeland.
The latest move at kwaNgema is Pretoria's installation of a man described by many as unpopular; "Mr Cuth-

rt Ngema, as chief of the
A' tribe. Mr Moses . ma, chair-

I man of the elected Ngema Committee, insists that the family

| has never been administered as
a tribe.

The installation at the weekend comes at the height of a battle between the Ngema Committee and the Department of
ration and Development

. leadership of the community and the right to negotiate on the removal. Only 15 residents of kwaNgema and a busload of outsiders are reported to have attended the ceremony.

. By Yunus Carrim
' REDUCED to its essence,
. the split in the Media
Workersâ\200\231 Association of
South Africa (Mwasa) at
. its congress in East Lon-
'don over the weekend
' raised the fundamental
question of whether unions
| should organise along in-
" dustrial or political lines.
And itâ\200\231s a question that
will increasingly have to be
confronted by the emerg-
mg independent trade
union movement as politi-
cal organisations vie for its
support, and as its own
rank and file calls for it to
take up political issues.

i Certainly the creation of

a single federation of the
independent unions, to
which the Unity Talks
over the past two years
have been addressed, is not
possible without agree-
ment, among other mat-
ters, on the two issues that
have divided Mwasa: a
blacks-only or non-racial

membership; and the ques-

tion of political affilia-
tions. .

Zwelakhe Sisulu, Presi-
dent of Mwasa, echoed
this when he said:

â\200\234What happened at the
congress was inevitable in
a sense. Weâ\200\231re entering an
era in this country where
the trade union movement

> e 4

cannot go forward unless
it addresses the two basic
issues raised at the con-
gress.â\200\235

That was clearly the

feeling of the dele&(tes atâ\200\231

the congress. Both sides
were equally determined fo
get their way, even at the

cost of splitting the union.
Western Cape and Border,
both of which have close
links with the United
Democratic Front, argued
for a non-racial policy,
and Southern Transvaal
and Natal, with varying
degrees of commitment to
the Black Consciousness
Movement, insisted on a
blacks-only policy. Under-

IWASA split: A fundamental questio

lying the debate was, of
course, the crucial ques-
tion of affiliating to the
UDF or not.

But the very idea of dis-
cussing the issue was
anathema to the BCM
grouping, who believe
â\200\234Black Consciousness is
the very foundation of
Mwasa.â\200\235

Western Cape and Bor-
der argued that non-racial-
ism was a characteristic of
the workersâ\200\231 movement,
and that Mwasa was a
trade union that should

represent the full interests :

of the workers.
The situation at the mo-

ment is not clear. But what

e vtions.

happened at' the coggtess
has enormous implications
for the future of Mw
Basically, the upions
have three choices, all of
which in fact are politi-
cal:
O They can remaig,
from political organisa-

formally affiliati
them.
O They can dlrectly

iate to -political

They should surely
this stage opt for the |
course that fosters the
maximum unity? 4!

THE CITIZEN

| COMMENT |
More killing

WE have expressed our shock, so many times,
at the ghastly violence wracking this country
that virtually no-one takes any notice.

And that is the most terrible aspect of it all.

We are becoming inured, insensitive, to violence.

People are killed daily. _

They mostly become statistics. Nothing more.

The grief of their families escapes us.

People say what a shame, what a disgrace, and
turn away from what is happening and hope
that, though they are not likely to be victims
of tribal-political warfare, they will be spared
attacks by criminals that can be just as deadly.

After the first massacre of six pupils who were
ambushed while travelling in a bakkie to
school in the Table Mountain area, near
Pietermaritzburg, we warned of the danger
of retaliation, since the dead included three
children of an Inkatha official. ;

It was not long before there was a second ambush
of a mini-bus in the area, with 10 people
massacred.

The ANC said the dead this time were its supporters. ; '

And while the two sides condemned the attacks
and suggested it was an attempt to derail
last weekend's planning conference, and
while three arrests were made in each massacre
probe, there were people who were plotting

- ting a new attack.

And it came yesterday.

Four people were killed and at least seven injured
in the third ambush of commuters in a
week, this time at Swayimane, 20 km from
Table Mountain.

Gunmen fired on the bus from an embankment,
wounding the driver and causing the
bus to roll into a ditch.

The survivors of the attack fled..

The ANC said the bus was carrying its supporters
to a court hearing in Pietermaritz-

burg where a â\200\234comradeâ\200\235 was to appear.

The ANC Midlands secretary, forgetting that the first attack was on children of IFP supporters, charged that the latest attack was part of a planned strategy to destroy the ANC in the Midlands in the run-up to the elections. g

The IFP also condemned the ambush. â\200\234Whatever happens in broader negotiations doesnâ\200\231t appear to be having much bearing at grassroots level,â\200\235 a spokesman said.

The police, accused of not protecting the regionâ\200\231s residents, say they cannot be everywhere at the same time.

â\200\234We are maintaining a visible presence but the attackers are choosing their places very carefully,â\200\235 a police spokesman said.

Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel says the police are doing all they can to combat violence in Natal, but need the active co-operation of politicians and their structures in the province to stop the killings.

â\200\234Practical steps must now be taken by political organisations to control their supporters and

break what seems to be an increasing spiral of violence in Natal,â\200\235 he says.

Well, we donâ\200\231t think that appeals are going to do much good.

â\200\230The government must not just declare unrest areas, but must put the areas under a state of emergency.

The army must move in force into these areas and keep the warring factions apart.

The meeting between ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela, and IFP leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, must take place as a matter of urgency to end the fighting.

There must be a truce, a laying down of arms, an end to the fighting. 3 !

- There must be tougher sentences and the lifting of the moratorium on hanging.

This terrible killing of men, women and children cannot be allowed to go on endlessly, destroying the chances of a peaceful tran-

sition to the new South Africa.

Cry for the victims.

Cry for the hate in men that allows them to
ambush innocent people and kill 20 of them
in three incidents.

Cry, the beloved country.

But for heaven's sake stop talking and start
-acting-to-end this terrible violence before-it-
consumes us all.

Minority
veto must Â¢

o0â\200\224 ANC

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. â\200\224
The government
would have to go a
reat deal further
â\200\230tri-\202a"â\200\230nâ\200\231 1fT5% with spe-
cifiÂ¢_ proposals;; and
abandon -any form of-
ity veto, before
the ANC would talk
about negotiations, a
senior ANC executive
member said yester-
day.

This came after Presi-
dent FW de Klerk and
cabinet colleagues said
at the weekend the cabi-
net had formulated new
linitatives aimed at
breaking the negotia-
tions deadlock.

The ANC source said

Weekâ\200\231s grace before
new arms crackdown

PRETORIA. â\200\224 The government yesterday grant-
ed temporary and conditional indemnity from
prosecution to people illegally possessing weap-
ons and ammunition. :

But the indemnity will last only until Friday
when a new act will implement a drastic clamp-
down â\200\224 including up to 25-year jail sentences for
the wrongful use of illegal weapons and detention
for questioning over the possession of certain
weaponry.

This was confirmed yesterday by Minister of
Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee and Law and Order
Minister Mr Hernus Kriel.

The new Criminal Law Second Amendment Act
126 of 1992, to be implemented on July 31, is the
culmination of an initiative announced by Presi-
dent F W de Klerk on April 23. â\200\224 Sapa

of the government statements: â\200\234From

what we see there is nothing new in
what they are saying and there has to
| be a lot more than has come out up to
now before we are prepared to agree
to their two-day meeting.â\200\235 The ANC

had not seen details of the proposals
T S T R Y TS

Government sources said they were
sure the talks impasse could be re-
solved, but were not prepared to say
what the new initiatives involved.

They said channels for communicat-
ing with the ANC would be used to
convey decisions taken at the cabi-
netâ\200\231s â\200\234bosberaadâ\200\235 meeting last week.

One senior negotiator said the cabi-
net was optimistic of a resolution
through bilateral and multilateral

talks. He said the cabinet had worked
out ways of resolving the impasse in
the three major areas of difference â\200\224
a constitution-n hon-makmÃ© body, a transi-
tional â\200\234executive and a transitional
parliamerit.â\200\235
"~ "However, he warned that the â\200\234time
framesâ\200\231â\200\235 debate, with the ANC wanting

elections within six months, was im-
practical.

The ANC source said that when the
government communicated its deci-
sions and proposals they would have
to be measured against the ANCâ\200\231s de-
mands.

@ Plan to axe govt spending â\200\224 Page 9

Â® Govt â\200\230blamelessâ\200\231 for failed strike talks
â\200\224 Page 9

GRIEVING FAMILY ... The children of Groote Schuur Hospital worker Mr Ivan Michaels are
given flowers at their father's funeral in Mitchells Plain on Saturday. His widow, Mrs Lisa
Michaels, stands with her children Fabian, 8, (obscured), Cecile 11, and Sherwin, 5. Her yo
ungest
son, Grant, 2, is not in the picture. The murder of Mr Michaels took place not long after h
e went
_Diach . work dasrits, tp sl SURB NN 571 Phsir KTENARY LM

Goals that should be
President Nelson Mandela,

for the future, he said
~ Mr Mandela appealed to
Africans to put every effort
into managing National Peace

Separate apart,

- UDF treason trial Tawyer killed in front of her children

Own Correspondent v\
DURBAN â\200\224 United Democratic Front treason trial
lawyer and ecivil rights campaigner, Mrs Victoria
Mxenge (43), was gunned down and bludgeoned to death
in front of her children in the driveway of her Umlazi
home last night.

. Four years ago, in November 1981, her husband Mr Griffiths |
& 5 : , Mxenge was killed in Umlazi.

. He was found with 45 stab

wounds and a slit throat, but his

murder was never solved.

. Mrs Mx geâ\200\231s eldest â\200\230son,
Mbaso, rushed her to King Ed-
ward VIII hospital where she
was certified dead on arrival at
7.45 pm. '

The Rev Mcebisi Xundu, exec-
utive member of the UDF, was
the last person to see Mrs
Mxenge alive.

- In an interview shortly after
the killing, Mr Xundu said: â\200\234We .
il : v gad justt g&t)â\200\231 back from Maritz-
Mrs Vies ia | g at & ut7pm"~, .lgzdlwaÂ\$"
et ST . b i et s 135
LT â\200\230side her home. parcels from my car when four
e g m men came rushing from the

â\200\230bushes across the road and into

- the drivew e o ok Âf

+ "'He said he had thought it was
some of her childrenâ\200\231s friends

playing a silly game on them
but then heard them shouting

and rushing toward Mrs
Mzxenge. ~

[,
Screaming "M
— M
" She grabbed her parcels and
fled down the driveway scream-

ing for help. I heard two shots

go off and, because I did not
know who they were going for,
and I was still sitting behind the
steering wheel, I reversed out. at
great speed and rushed to the
police station," he said.

He said the men had rushed
after Mrs Mxenge and got hold
of her just as she got to the side
of the house. There they then
killed her.

"The children were in the
front garden and fled inside
when the shots went off," he
said.

The police rushed to the scene
but the four had already disap-
| peared. 7

Captain Winston Heunis, a po-
lice spokesman, said the police
had opened a murder docket
and were investigating. ',

' Mr Xundu said only" two
| Weeks ago Mrs Mxenge had vi-
sited her husband's grave in
"King Williams Town, where his
| parents live,

" He said her funeral would
| probably take place there and
| she would be buried next to her
! husband.

Mrs Mxenge was a senior ex-
ecutive member and treasurer
of the Natal region of the UDF.
She was also a senior executive
member of the Natal Organisa-

tion of Women. :

~ Mr Griffiths 'Mxon#q~". :
- stabbed to death in Umlazi
- four years ago.

e
T â\200\235 T

eâ\200\231s widow sla

Middelmann plan Leave
sounds like Uganda Owen

â\200\230From RUTH CHRISTINE PRICE (Rosebank): f or

MIDDELMANN (Cape n'l"mâ\200\230nes, Noveprer 9) _ -
;leÃ©Ã©!}xlli quite astonishingly naive ln his belief tttxtat S n da i .
the system of one man, on_e,vo_te, which he advoctatteâ\200\230: u : y |
so strongly for South Africa, would bring about :
free and open societies which op- From MARK STRANE) (
erate iâ\200\230xâ\200\230\ Anae;ic_ztnÃ© Germany, Swit- (Claremont):
zerland and Brl in. ; - : 3
: lation of South Africa, THE Ken Owen Âç olumn
like that four countries, is so exceedingly bad
PAAEICRT nder what itls
; doing to the rqpputaun
of the Cape Times as 2
serious newspaper.

Mr Owen produces such
> aki i â\200\231 nonsensical analysis
i 0 and Uganda. Mr Hans and facile solutions

ria, Kenya, i t l can hardly be-
Do we really want that? Middelmann tll_lx:ve goar ave letting

Look across Limpopo o e man sk in YUt

: i Owen write for

â\200\230s C BRADLEY (Cape Town): Let Mr Owe ite for

o 8. B e T o et Sl
Y eguards [0r % tose dst are the newspapers
em. have far to see: all he needs t0 ;) s

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non.

ilge flncabaandjmi¬\201h_wo. sepsâ\200\230f_. ; x
â\200\234â\200\234'Natal, KwaZulu

â\200\230payâ\200\231 for keeping
violence in check

African Affairs Correspondent

ULUNDIâ\200\224Natal and KwaZulu were paying the pena
for not unleashing violence, the Chief Minister of
KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said here yes-
terday. { i

He was commenting in an interview on reports from
Pretoria that only R214 000 of R61 million requested by
the Natal/KwaZulu Planning Council for the upgrading
of black townships in the province would be forth-
coming. ; (%)

Commenting on a report from Mr Chris Heunis, Min-
ister of Constitutional Development and Planning, that
the Eastern Cape townships would receive a large sum
for this purpose, Chief Buthelezi said there appeared
to be a repeat performance of what had happened
after the unrest in Soweto between 1976 and 1978.

â\200\230It seems that the throwing of stones and use of vio-
lence in general has always obtained spin-offs fol-
those who do these thingsâ\200\231 he said.

â\200\230We are paying the penalty for not unleashing
violence. % :

â\200\230We must realise that our people are going to learn
that it pays to employ violence, however damaging that
may be to the amenities of people.â\200\235 gt SN

& En;r the exciting
/TV MISS
*|AFRICAN SUN

. BEAUTY PAGEANT
Josaiseayec. 1992

4th APRIL

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.. AFRICAN SUN
MAGAZINE

Mmsenires-| _ SHAPING
'COMMUNIST. ?%as- FIrTIIInrT

Dr NELSON "ROLIHLAHLA" MANDELA, PRESIDENT CF THE A.N.C. Ei~\202 i~\201 E i~\201 E

Is presented as the hero and fighter for the democratic
and humzn rights of his people. In fact, however, ke is
a secret respected and dedicated Communist wio has no

turning back, The release of Mandela does.not mean that
freedan has now arrived. Mendela told thousands of sup

poters in Cape Town during his release that Your fresdom : A r R l C A N S U N
end mine can not be sepereted, Mancela says. Sl

In a secret coament he writes:"In cur country the stry : j'j BUYING PGWEB 8

gle of the oppressed people is guided by the S.A.Cammu-

nist Party", He continues:"The people of South Africa,led by the Communist Party,will destroy capitalist society " [WE SELL TO KILL! and build in its place socialism. '

Mandela served over 32 years in jail, first he was arrested and jailed up to five years for calling a strike in 1961 and for leaving the country without permit. He was again arrested on the 11th July 1963 in Rivonia together with Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada and other ANC leaders were arrested for Sabotage Acts, Mandela served 27 years in prison, Back again 1990.

AFRICAN SUN-PROMOTIONAL COPY 1992 °

BLACKS (Gents)
BLACKS (Ladies)
COLOURED (Ladies)

Most of us are kept in the dar

ANC MPs this week 94
wondered why Steve

Tshwete made the plot
announcement without

consulting party leaders
Sechaba kaNkosi

pressure is mounting on
African National Congress
leaders and, in particular,
Minister of Safety and
Security Steve Tshwete to publicly
withdraw claims that some senior
party members are involved in a plot
to overthrow President Thabo Mbeki.

Members of the party's national
executive committee (NEC), Cabinet
ministers and senior MPs this week
joined the call, believed to have been
started by the party's left-wing bloc.

ANC sources claim that some
have even called for Tshwete to be
reprimanded or removed from the
portfolio of safety and security,
arguing that he has embarrassed the
government and the party.

Until midweek, both Tshwete and
the party had maintained their
stance on the allegations implicating
three senior ANC members-turned-
businessmen Cyril Ramaphosa,
Matthews Phosa and Tokyo Sexwale.

On Wednesday night, however,
ANC senior representative Smuts
Ngonyama admitted that the issue
has damaged the reputation of the
party and the country. "I do believe
that such statements are not adding
value to our country. They are di-
minishing the stability and the credi-
bility that have been our hallmark,"
he said.

MPs are asking why Tshwete, pre-
sumably with Mbeki's blessing, made
a public announcement on the plot
without even consulting other party
leaders. It is largely believed that the
matter was an internal party politi-
cal dispute and not a national secu-
rity risk as alleged by Tshwete.

Cabinet ministers and NEC mem-
bers including office bearers
learned of the seriousness with which
the party is taking the plot allegations
along with the rest of the country
when Tshwete made the allegations
on national TV last month.

This week party leaders used Workersâ\200\231 Day rallies to portray a united face in public, in the face of increasing unease within the party structures. ANC allies â\200\224 the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African Communist Party â\200\224 publicly called for the allegations to be retracted.

Said an MP: â\200\234We are definitely not agreed on the approach on the matter as leadership. There is so much happening within our organisation, yet most of us are kept in the dark about it. It is just not fair.â\200\235 :

This week the party was rocked by yet another rumour: that Tshweteâ\200\231s utterances were based on his vying for the position of deputy president, a rank currently held by Jacob Zuma. Tshwete promptly denied the allegation and instead directed his attack to the media and alleged agents provocateurs who want to destabilise the party.

However, his response has failed to darhpen membersâ\200\231 increasing distaste for the developments. Said an MP: â\200\234[Minister of Defence] Mosiuoa Lekota seems to be completely undermined by Mbekiâ\200\231s favourites within

the party. If he was recognised as

ANC national chair, he should have â\200\234been the one handling the matter. Yet we are still to hear what his viewson

the matter are.â\200\235

In terms of the party hierarchy, | Lekota is second in command after .

Mbeki and his deputy Jacob Zuma.

ANC members claim that while .

the allegations were ridiculous in the first place, they would have pre-

[|

ferred a thorough briefing and a -3

view of any evidence prior to

Tshwete going public on the allega-

tions. Indeed, Cabinet ministersand |,

MPs are said to have privately dis- -
tanced themselves from the wrangle, 7â\200\231

preferring instead to keep mum on

the situation and resting the matter ==

with Mbeki and the party's propa-
ganda machinery.

ANC activists also claim that the
way in which the matter has been
handled so far has undermined inter-
nal structures of the party, suggest-
ing divisions among leaders on the
matters.

â\200\234As leadership, we must come out
in the open and admit that we do not
agree on some issues. This is not
dissension; it is democracy,â\200\235 said a
senior ANC member.

Ironically, it was Lekota who
launched a stunning comeback from
the political sidelines to defeat
Tshwete for the national chair posi-
tion in Mafikeng four years ago.

The ANCâ\200\231s powerful left lobby
played a crucial role in what they saw
as the means to curtail Mbekiâ\200\231s

J

Undermined: MPs believe ANC national chair Mosiuoa Lekota should
- vhave handled the plot allegations. PHOTOGRAPH: SIDDIQUE DAVIDS

total control of the party dur-
ing the 50th national confer-
ence.

Cosatu says plot debacle

could have been avoided

Glenda Daniels

ad the Congress of South

African Trade Unions (Cosatu)

been invited to the African National Congress's national executive committee (NEC) meeting when the alleged plot to oust President Thabo Mbeki was first discussed, the debacle, which has seriously embarrassed the government nationally and internationally, might not have happened.

An official of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa) says: "This problem has happened precisely because of unresolved problems within the alliance. The alliance entitles us to "make strategic decisions h the ANC but we only found out about the

ion into the through the media. "

"The ANC left us out during a crisis and this has been an ongoing frustration. It could have been avoided. If there had been strategic convergence between the alliance partners, we would have said the three should not be named until there was evidence."

It's more than a communication breakdown, he adds. "The ANC has been consciously doing this for a long time now. It's now serious because if the ANC collapses, we will all be affected.

cial congresses and the big issue will be leadership of the ANC," he

predicts. "This is part of the culture .

PR

z "Cosatu is taking a leadership role in

democracy, by coming out in favour of openness. They are nipping in the bud any notion of merging state and internal politics. They are now flexing their muscles by threatening a strike over privatisation."

But some union officials go further: "The alliance is an albatross on the working class. We need to form new alliances outside the alliance, the sort

of alliances of the Eighties, and at grassroots levels,â\200\235 says a Numsa official. â\200\234This is starting to happen, with the Treatment Action Campaign, the peopleâ\200\231s budget, the Electricity Crisis Committee, the Campaign against Military Spending. We need bottom-up alliances not top-down ones.â\200\235

- A regional, official of the

Democratic Teachersâ\200\231 Union says the fact that Cosatu is strength-

- ening its alliances within the com-

munity means that its position in civil society is deepening, which means that its position in the alliance will be strengthened. â\200\234The plot issue has given Cosatu leverage to criticise, engage, and become a stronger partner in the alliance.â\200\235

Unofficially many union officials and workers feel itâ\200\231s not such a â\200\234bad thingâ\200\235 that the issue of Mbekiâ\200\231s leadership has arisen. Many workers feel the tussle for leadership is real and serious. They expect that politicking, which Cosatu members

will be a part of, will accelerate from

branch to provincial level right up to the national conference next year. With Cosatu general secretary Zwelinzma Vavi warning that South Africa is in danger of becoming a

Southâ\200\231

â\200\234banana republicâ\200\235 with the ANCâ\200\231s apparent merging of the interests of party politics and the state, Cosatu has presented its most serious challenge to the ANC in the history of the tripartite alliance.

Last year the alliance weathered shaky relations between the ANC and the union federation. But this year Cosatu is entrenching itself deeply within civil society and sending out a message that it won't be overlooked as a junior partner that will toe the line.

Although Cosatu called off a national strike set for March

over labour relations amend- i

ments, it has now become line and is planning a national strike over the governmentâ\200\231s plan to steam-roll privatisation.

Now, with the plot paranoia,
battle lines are being drawn,
and affiliates are becoming
bolder: A South African Muni-
cipal Workersâ\200\231 Union member
said: â\200\234Workers are saying that
itâ\200\231s clearly a plot invented by
Mbeki himself to protect him- -
self from challenges, which
now seems to be backfiring.
Everyone here also seems to be
in agreement that whether he
stays or goes doesnâ\200\231t really mat-_
ter â\200\224 it wonâ\200\231t make any differ- -

ence to the lives of municipal *

workers and it won't change the
moves to privatise everything.â\200\235

Cosatu faces the big
questions, PAGE 31 .

come along with us.
There is a will to

Id reporters yes
after meeting

deputy
Minister, M Carmelo
Azzurro,

Mr Mandela,,
to a question, g,
0

faced to be resolved
Within the forum,

FROM PAGE 1}

Mr Mandela, met the
Italian Minister at the |
ANC's headquarters in
Johannesburg. Mr Az
Zuma, who arrived from
South Africa last Thurs-

PLATINUM

Much talk but not very
much production

THE platinum deposits on
Zimbabwe's Great Dyke, the

minerals complex that runs-

north-south through the coun-
try, are surely the world's most
discussed. To what extent the
talk will translate into produc-
tion, however, remains a moot
point.

The platinum market is at
present depressed, and most of
the Zimbabwean deposits are
being looked at for a second
time, having previously been
abandoned because of war or
poor market conditions.

There are four big schemes
under investigation: Delta/
BHP-Utah's Hartley project;
Union Carbide's Mimosa mine;
the Anglo American/Rio Tinto/
Plateau consortium looking at
the Zinca mine and Anglo
American's Unki project.

Collective wisdom in the
industry suggests that not
more than two of these pro-
jects are likely to go ahead. If
it were a matter of publicity,
BHP-Utah would win hands
down. In reality, though, the
Mimosa project looks the most
likely to get started. This
makes sense because back in
the early 1970s Union Carbide
produced platinum at the

Selous (now Hartley) and
Mimosa " deposits. War and an
unfavourable exchange rate
(Z\$1: US\$1.44) put a stop to
mining, says Mr Rodney
Banks, managing director of
Union Carbide in Zimbabwe,
but they held on to Mimosa
believing it had the better min-
ing potential.

Mr Banks says he is optimis-
tic that the Mimosa mine will
get the go-ahead, in principle,
in September. This will be fol-
lowed by a detailed costing

exercise, to be completed by mid-1992, after which the project should get started. Mr Banks says he believes, not-

withstanding the present low:

price, that they have a viable proposition.

He says recent investigations have satisfied them that the mine can be quite highly mechanised, and hence low cost, and that they will get the required recoveries on the final smelt.

The mine would produce about 75,000 ounces of platinum a year (Johnson Matthey estimate 1990 world platinum supply at 3.73m ounces), with about 40 years' reserves. The project could come on stream

by 1995, probably at a cost of about Z\$500m.

At the Hartley project BHP-Utah are involved in the second stage of underground drilling, with a revised feasibility study due for completion by October next year. BHP-Utah have said the mine would cost between US\$200-250m to develop, producing about 2m tonnes of ore per year, with a life of about 20 years.

At the Zinca project, the work is being done by Plateau, who have access to drilling previously done by Anglo and Rio Tinto who have pooled their claims. Mr Bill Smart of Anglo American says there is more drilling to be done and any decision is still some way off. At Unki the shaft has been dewatered and trial mining is under way in an effort to establish the size of the ore body and how best to mine it. Mr Smart said the odds were probably against the project going ahead, given the low grade of the deposits and relatively high costs compared to existing production in South Africa, the world's largest producer.

Philip Gawith

shortages have forced them to become adept at obtaining goods on the black market. The latest reforms will bring welcome relief.

Mr Hansen estimates that whereas last year Meikles only had access to about Z\$22,000 of foreign exchange, this figure

have made the long haul would like to see the region rather than South Africa alone.

A burgeoning part of the tourism industry is the small operators who offer valuable add-on experiences the additional activities which provide variety to enliven the stay at more established resorts or which exist in their own right. The best known examples of these are canoeing trips and white-water rafting on the Zambezi. -

Both have done well, but remain immature in the sense of sometimes appearing to be subject to only the most rudimentary controls: Tourists need to be wary of operators whose credentials don't extend beyond possessing the proverbial Land-Rover, tent and dog.

, . :
Victoria Falls is Africa's grandest tourist
estination

Mandel

ONE of the first things that ANC leader Nelson Mandela will do when he is released is to visit his parents' graves and his traditional home in the Transkei.

The Mandela family has already met to make preparations for his homecoming and to restore the family home in Pityi, Qunu village.

But the ANC leader will not settle in the Transkei and will make Soweto his permanent home, Mandela's wife, Winnie, told NEW NATION.

With pressure for Mandela's release mounting following the release of his -

/Ã©/////

a plans visit to

traditional home

seven comrades a week ago,

the ANC leader was said to have requested a meeting with a number of chiefs to acquaint himself with events in his home village.

He was also expected to meet a group of 22 Tembu chiefs this week.

According to a Congress of Traditional Leaders (Contralesa) spokesperson, Mandela had asked to meet with chiefs from his village

to be briefed about the situation in the area. The Contralesa spokesperson was quot-

ing the leader of the group of Tembu chiefs,â\200\230Vâ\200\230ulindlglg :

And Mandela's wife said:

"At the moment, we are busy with the senior family members to restore the traditional home. But it does not mean we will settle there permanently."

She added that it was Man-

dela's greatest desire to visit

- the graves of his parents,

Henry Gadla and his mother

_ Fanny at Pityi village as
soon as he is released.

"Although he is still in
prison, his traditional links
have not been broken," she
said.

Mandela's parents died |
while he was still at univer- |
sity.

South Africans leaves for Zimbabwe this week to begin an intensive operation to try to ensure that the country has a legitimate presidential election next month.

The observer mission, announced by President Thabo Mbeki in his state-of-the-nation address on Friday, is heading for Zimbabwe in an attempt to defuse trouble and ensure the poll is free and fair.

The 80-member mission, headed

by retired businessman Sam Mot-

suenyane, will include Independent Electoral Commission chairman Brigalia Bam, Dumisani Hlope of

the Centre for Policy Studies, chair-

man of the Public Service Commission Stan Sangweni, head of the Independent Complaints Directorate

of Mineworkers Senzeni Zokwane. Parliament and organisations

such as the Southern African De-

velopment Community, the Commonwealth and the European Union will also send observer teams. The SA mission will have team members in every constituency with communication networks in all polling districts to monitor the election.

Mbeki said sending the mission was South Africa playing its part in ensuring the new leadership is

legitimate and enjoys the support of the majority of Zimbabweans.

Foreign Affairs Minister Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma said the team would not have any direct intervention powers.

CONDEMNED Sera Monaledi. iaces a storm of protest over a suspended sentence for a child rapist Plcture. SIMON MATHEBULA

Magistrate stands by
Ilght rape sentence

JEREMY LAWRENCE

THE magistrate who has been harshly criticised for not sending a

child rapist to jail is unrepentant.

Pretoria Regional Court magistrate Sera Monaledi last month handed Success Makwetsja a five-

-year suspended sentence for raping a five-year-old girl.

But a storm of protest was un-

leashed this week after the sentence was condemned by Pretoria High Court judge Johan Els; Judge Els slammed Monaledi and allegations that the sentence had been so light because defence

lawyer Anton Pretorius had ques-

tioned the girl's character because she was not a virgin at the time of the rape. Judge Els, by contrast, this week gave two men life sentences for raping children.

But Monaledi was standing her ground this week, saying she would only explain herself to the authorities. A mother herself, she confirmed that she had given Makwet-

sja a suspended sentence on con-

dition that he pay for the victim's

psychological treatment. She said she was prepared to have her decision scrutinised.

This is not out of the ordinary. Sometimes the state disagrees with a decision and sometimes the de-

fence. They are both allowed to ap-

peal. This is just how justice works. Taking matters on appeal is part of the job, she said.

The storm over Monaledi broke after Judge Els called on the Director of Public Prosecutions to investigate her decision. The Sunday Times was denied access to the

court file this week and could not confirm the allegations regarding Pretorius's defence. Pretorius also

failed to return calls for comment,

But the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development

confirmed this week that it had

launched a probe. Spokesman Kaiz-

er Kganyago said: "We are treading a thin line . . . The rape of children is a priority for the department. If people get light sentences, it will send the wrong message."

" districts of

Weekend Argus from their shelves immediately. Steenkamp's attorney, Jacques Theron, said his client's initial costs were assessed at R130 000. The three judges who heard Hadjidakis's appeal last Friday upheld an earlier ruling and dismissed the application with costs. Bonny Schoonakker .

" Zimbabwe war hero on the run

A STALWART of Zimbabwe's liberation war has fled the country

" after he allegedly received a tip-

off that war veterans and government security agencies were planning to kill him.

Makhathini Guduza, a former Zapu central committee member and a one-time right-hand man to former vice-president Joshua Nkomo, sneaked out of Matabeleland last Sunday for a brief stay in South Africa en route to London.

Guduza fled as President Robert Mugabe intensified his crackdown on dissent. Troops were deployed in the outlying Mashonaland province early this week.

Last year, Mugabe similarly deployed troops in Matabeleland in what was interpreted as a bid to shore up support ahead

of the crucial presidential poll

next month, pitting him against the Movement for Democratic Change's Morgan Tsvangirai. Guduza claims Mugabe's feared Central Intelligence Organisation and war veterans wanted to silence him after he refused to allow his kraal to be used for planning attacks against MDC activists in Matabeleland.

" Sechaba Ka-Nkosi

Victory for rurals
POOR rural districts should be

| given a share of the state's rev-

enue, a High Court ruled this week.

The ruling arose from an ac-

tion brought against the gov-

ernment by three KwaZulu-Natal district municipalities.

The Uthukela, Zululand and AmaJuba municipalities argued in the Pietermaritzburg High Court that they had been given functions by the government, but not the money to carry them out..

President Thabo Mbeki was

among the respondents in the court action

Acting Judge van Zyl :
led that a section of the Divi-
venue Act is incon-
sistent with the Constitution
and is invalid because it excluded category C, or district municipalities, from receiving an equitable share of revenue from the national treasury
Pregas Govender

; +.these four-?IEiP?â\200\230?P

-+ THE CITIZEN
_ COMMENT

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â\200\234Harry be. detamed on the slightest suspicion. But
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xinto the rcleas; ot;ihe four suspects, saying,

_serious is;ues of competency and possxbly xnal-

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' oqd,â\200\230Â«*.hmgand â\200\230saliva samples and

) ,word'o&exm the most reputable lawyer will

ot be enough to prevent criminal spspects from

..idisappearing in our cowboy society. -+

Anyone with even a modest share in the spoils
from this robbery, and possibly other multi-mil-
lion rand hcists, would be able to buy their way
into comfortable anonymity.

The bottom line is this: In a country crymg out for
_strong action against criminals, the authorities
â\200\234have been made to look soft and inept. The
opportunity presented by an- incident whlch
grabbed the headlines has been fumbled. -

Bland - assurances by President Mandela and
~â\200\234Safety and Securityâ\200\235 Minister Sydney Mufa-
madl wonâ\200\231t erase that percepuon. e

Fbaadis s -

A CROWD of people gathered at the site of the illegal land grab on G Bredell farm

Mbiki lashes

Rapport deplored the PAC's
shameless political opportunism, while Sowetan
Sunday World lamented the
PAC's emotional twaddle.

P

Heaven help us all if this is
the thinking within the PAC,
hitherto an important and
highly respected component of
the struggle for freedom, the
paper wrote.

City Press urged the PAC to

PAC over

stop playing with fire.

Last week, Johannesburg's
dailies The Citizen, The Star,
Beeld, Sowetan and Business
Day all lambasted the PAC's
involvement in the land grab.

@ The situation at the farm

e B

near Kempton Park.
Nikon digital picture by MARIOLA BIELA

land grab

near Bredell remained peaceful
yesterday, Sapa reported.

Captain Mary Martins-
Engelbrecht said a high police
presence would be maintained
in the area. Things appear
very calm.

Natalâ\200\231s Currie Cup final victory

Picture: JON HRUSA

the Currie Cup for the second ;'zar running as the Sharks gave coach Ian MeclIntosh a fourth win in seven years.

â\200\234 Gavan

tay llau ueaa-putted him. This is the second time a South African fighter has lost his title in controversial circumstances to an Italian fighter, â\200\224 Sapa

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Ipatient.

ts told the court
testhetists should
b patients for at
minutes after ad-
ing an epidural.
nagistrate found
betime the doctor
lit was too late.
liers, in practice
trs, said he had
tred nearly 9 000
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atter will be re-
the attorney gen-
ell as to the Med-
tDental Council
Â¥South African
Issociation.

Ministerâ\200\231s amazin

By CRAIG DOONAN

HOME Affairs Minister Chief
Mangosuthu Buthelezi has
launched a blazing attack on
governmentâ\200\231s affirmative action
policy, saying it has led to ineffi-
ciency and a bloated bureaucracy.

Addressing an IFP Womenâ\200\231s
Brigade conference in Ulundi
yesterday, Buthelezi said: â\200\234Many of
the affirmative action programmes
have not improved the efficiency of
government. I have found this in my
own department, where things are
not done as quickly as they used to
be two years ago.â\200\235

Buthelezi's comments are sure to kindle a major row in the cabinet.

Presidential aide Joel Netshiten-

zhe said Buthelezi had made fa

sweeping and unsubstantiated

statement which implied that blacks and women were inherently inefficient,

The fact of the matter is that it's quite clear that the old bureaucracy did not serve the interests of the majority and that has changed, he said.

Netshitenzhe called on Buthelezi to report to the cabinet on exactly how the employment of blacks and women had slowed down his department.

Buthelezi's remarks came as his controversial white adviser, Mario Ambrosini, was due to explain to a parliamentary committee why he had received R500 000 in expenses over two years, in addition to his R28 000-a-month salary.

Buthelezi has defended the appointment of Ambrosini as a foreign national on the grounds that

no South African has his particular legal skills.

Speaking in Zulu, Buthelezi said government was still ridden with inefficiency and with a bloated bureaucracy which has been pointed out in our recent economic plan which calls for the retrenchment of 100 000 civil servants.

The IFP chief said he had grave doubts whether the present system of government would be able to make any significant change to the social and economic conditions of most South Africans in the short term. Buthelezi said he was aware his statements were serious but I do not want to be part of any campaign aimed at deceiving South Africa,

The IFP and myself have been loyal members of the government of national unity, but we have

g attack

lodged fundamental objections to the overall system of government -

as it was shaped by the interim
constitution and now by the new:
Constitution,â\200\235 he said. ;

He said the system of govern-
ment had to be â\200\234fundamentally
changedâ\200\235 if it wanted to deliver.
Instead of centralising and
imposing an autocratic regime, the
country should opt for a devolution
of powers.

ANC spokesman Ronnie
Mamoepa said he had not yet seen
the full text of Butheleziâ\200\231s speech
but â\200\234if that is true, it will be -
unfortunate if a perception were to
develop that his speech is a vote of
no confidence in Africans, Indians
and coloureds who have been Â°
appointed to civil service posts as a
result of the affirmative action
Programmeâ\200\235,

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PLATINUM

Much talk but not very
much production

THE platinum deposits on
Zimbabwe's Great Dyke, the
minerals complex that runs
north-south through the coun-
try, are surely the world's most
discussed. To what extent the
talk will translate into produc-
tion, however, remains a moot
point.

The platinum market is at
present depressed, and most of
the Zimbabwean deposits are
being looked at for a second
time, having previously been
abandoned because of war or
poor market conditions.

There are four big schemes
under investigation: Delta/
BHP-Utah's Hartley project;
Union Carbide's Mimosa mine;
the Anglo American/Rio Tinto/
Plateau consortium looking at
the Zinca mine and Anglo
American's Unki project.

Collective wisdom in the
industry suggests that not
more than two of these pro-
jects are likely to go ahead. If
it were a matter of publicity,
BHP-Utah would win hands
down. In reality, though, the
Mimosa project looks the most
likely to get started. This
makes sense because back in
the early 1970s Union Carbide
produced platinum at the

Selous (now Hartley) and
Mimosa deposits. War and an
unfavourable exchange rate
(Z\$1: US\$1.44) put a stop to
mining. says Mr Rodney
Banks, managing director of
Union Carbide in Zimbabwe,
but they held on to Mimosa
believing it had the better min-
ing potential.

Mr Banks says he is optimis-
tic that the Mimosa mine will
get the go-ahead, in principle,
in September. This will be fol-
lowed by a detailed costing
exercise, to be completed by
mid-1992, after which the proj-

ect should get started. Mr Banks says he believes, notwithstanding the present low price, that they have a viable proposition.

He says recent investigations have satisfied them that the mine can be quite highly mechanised, and hence low cost, and that they will get the required recoveries on the final smelt.

The mine would produce about 75,000 ounces of platinum a year (Johnson Matthey estimate 1990 world platinum supply at 3.73m ounces), with about 40 years' reserves. The project could come on stream

by 1995, probably at a cost of about Z\$500m. g

At the Hartley project BHP-Utah are involved in the second stage of underground drilling, with a revised feasibility study due for completion by October next year. BHP-Utah have said the mine would cost between US\$200-250m to develop, producing about 2m tonnes of ore per year, with a life of about 20 years.

At the Zinca project, the work is being done by Plateau, who have access to drilling previously done by Anglo and Rio Tinto who have pooled their claims. Mr Bill Smart of Anglo American says there is more drilling to be done and any decision is still some way off. At Unki the shaft has been dewatered and trial mining is under way in an effort to establish the size of the ore body and how best to mine it. Mr Smart said the odds were probably against the project going ahead, given the low grade of the deposits and relatively high costs compared to existing production in South Africa, the world's largest producer.

Philip Gawith

Chairwoman may quit to start her own party, writes Sibongakonke Shoba

Nagwaza-f\isib settodivide IFP -

4 HE ailing Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) is likely to suffer another blow today with the party's chairwoman, Zanele Magwaza Msibi, expected to resign from the party to form her own organisation, the National Freedom Party.

While Ms Magwaza-Msibi's departure from the IFP will come as no surprise, it will have serious implications for the party in the local government elections this year.

Ms Magwaza-Msibi has been at loggerheads with the party's leadership since she showed ambition to succeed IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi two years ago. '

Her supporters known as the Friends of VZ shocked party leaders by openly campaigning for her after the party's dismal performance in the 2009 general election. Clashes between her supporters and Mr Buthelezi led to the postponement of the party's elective conference, which had been scheduled to take place in 20089.

The party investigated the activities of the Friends of VZ and decided to take disciplinary action against Ms Magwaza-Msibi.

However, she approached the high court in Pietermaritzburg to have the disciplinary action against her set aside and force a presidential election. Last week the court ruled against her, clearing the way for Mr Buthelezi to proceed with the disciplinary process.

Ms Magwaza-Msibi was due to appear before the IFP's top structure at the weekend to face charges

SAM MKOKELI

. province.

A

THE African National Congress (ANC) is preparing for the election of a provincial executive for the North

West by sending in five party heavy-weights to ward off tension and ensure a smooth election. Infighting has dogged the ANC's provincial structure in the North West and spilled over into the government. In the run-up to the elections to be held on the weekend of February 12, the ANC has sent in

Political Editor

AT LOGGERSHEADS: IFP national chairwoman Zanele Magwaza-Msibi, right, with party leader Mangosuthu Buthe: Picture THULI DLAMINI

related to the activities of her supporters, but she claimed there was no need for her to appear before disciplinary committee as the party had already decided her fate.

The IFP denies this.

Last week she told Business Day her supporters had recommended she form her own party to contest the local elections, and she has agreed to do this.

KwaZulu-Natal is the IFP's so-

called stronghold, but the party's

support has been on the decline, with the African National Congress (ANC) making inroads in the Ms Magwaza-Msibi's departure is expected to further divide the IFP's support.

The party's support in KwaZulu-

a team of troubleshooters to beef up,

the task team running the party.

The party's provincial structures in the North West and the Western Cape have been run by task teams that are holding the fort until the ANC's structures are rebuilt.

The provincial structures were disbanded due to infighting.

Five national executive commit-

tee members have been deployed to reinforce the North West task team.

They are Bathabile Dlamini, Malusi

. Gigaba, Derek - Hanekom, . Tokyo

Sexwale and Jessie Duarte. =~

Natal shrank in the 2009 general election to 22,4% from 36,82% in 2004. Political analysts attribute this decline to ANC president Jacob Zuma's popularity in KwaZulu-Natal, -where ANC support

increased from 46% in 2004 to 62,9% in the 2009 election.

In recent by-elections, the IFP lost a number of wards in the province to the ANC, even in Mr Buthelezi's backyard in northern KwaZulu-Natal.

Ms Magwaza-Msibi is a popular

figure within the IFP and in the

Zululand district which includes Ulundi and KwaNongoma where she was mayor.

Political analyst Aubrey Matshiqi says the effect of Ms Magwaza-

The North West elective conference has been postponed a number of times as crucial regional structures, needed before a - provincial election can be constituted, had not been set up in time:

. The province has been a political battleground, with people who used to serve on the old provincial executive facing a strong challenge at regional level from new blood, backed by the South African Communist Party and Congress of South African Trade Unions. . -

However, North West task team

Msibi's departure on KwaZulu-Natal politics will depend on who leaves with her. There are signs that some traditional leaders support her. Whether that support continues outside the IFP is another story, he says. i

Mr Matshiqi says if Ms Magwaza-Msibi's resignation results in a split within the party, the IFP will be the biggest loser in the upcoming local government elections, with the ANC emerging as the biggest winner. The ANC is not going to be affected by her forming the party because the Zuma factor has not

lost momentum in KwaZulu-Natal,â\200\235
says Mr Matshiqi. â\200\234The IFP is a
party in decline and I donâ\200\231t see that
being reversed.â\200\235

He said the ANCâ\200\231s support in the
province could grow substantially
in the upcoming elections.

â\200\234(Ms Magwaza-Msibi) might
also suffer = electoral damage
because her departure might send a
message that her party is the prod-
uct of a failure to solve conflict.â\200\235

This could result in unintended
consequences, with IFP supporters

. crossing over to the ANC, he says.

The Democratic Alliance (DA)
also expects to gain from the IFPâ\200\231s
troubles. However, Mr Matshiqi:
says the DA will gain very little, if
anything, from the IFPâ\200\231s troubles.

â\200\234A survey conducted revealed
that. IFP supporters thought that
the DA was too aggressive in its
approach to opposition politics.
And the DA does not have a pres-
ence in IFP strongholds.â\200\235
shobas@bdfm.coza

ANC sends in team to heal North West rift

lÃ@ader â\200\234Sakie Mofokeng yesterday
said branches and regional
executives were in place, and were
ready to elect leaders to serve in the
provincial executive.

Alack of political leadership, mal-
administration and the prevalence of
fraud have dogged the North West at
provincial and municipal levels.

All 25 municipalities in the North
West are being investigated by the
Special Investigating Unit, follow%ng
a presidential proclamation
authorising the probes. z.
mkokelis@bdfm.co.za

%

Cuban leader Fidel Castro slap

HAVANA: African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela publicly praised communist-ruled Cuba on Friday and threatened the South African government with the "power of the people" if it dragged its feet over reforms to end apartheid.

In a tough speech on the second day of a visit

to Cuba, Mr Mandela also -

repeated a call for the formation of a national unity government in South Africa and elections to form a constituent assembly.

Referring to a growing scandal in South Africa over secret government funding for the ANC's black political opponents, Mr Mandela accused the white-minority government of using its powers to harass and try to weaken his anti-apartheid organisation. "We warn them that if they do not listen, we will have to use our power to convince them," he said.

"That power is the power of the people," he added.

â\200\224

s ANC leader Nelson Mandela

the Order of Jose Marti medal on him.

KMandela threatens

SA Govt with the power of the people

S oND

Mr Mandela was speaking at a rally in Matanzas, 100 km east of Havana, after being decorated by Cuban presi-

dent Fidel Castro with
Cuba's highest award, the
Order of Jose Marti.

The ANC leader said
the South African govern-
ment of President FW De
Klerk wanted to remain
in power during the pro-
cess of transition away
from apartheid to a non-
racial society.

«That cannot be al-
lowed to happen,» he
said.

Mr Mandela also
heaped praise on commu-
nist-ruled Cuba, saying
its 32 years of revolution
offered a lesson to South
Africans to fight for free-
dom or death.

Klbua

The most important
lesson that you have for
us is that no matter what
difficulties you are
under, there can be no
surrender. It is a case of
freedom or death,» he
said.

Mr Mandela was the
guest of honour at nation-
al celebrations to mark
the 38th anniversary of
an abortive guerrilla at-
tack led by Mr Castro
against an army bar-
racks that was the prel-
ude to the 1959 Cuban
revolution.

Wearing a Cuban
guayabera (an embroi-
dered shirt), Mr Mandela
hailed revolutionary
Cuba, internationalist
Cuba, the country that
has done so much for the
peoples of Africa.

a on the back after Castro pinned

You are with us,» the
ANC leader told Mr Cas-
tro, saying both the ANC
and the ruling Cuban
Communist Party had
fought for the oppressed
masses of their countries.

But he attacked what he said was the obsession of the ANCâ\200\231s critics to link his organisation with the South Africdh Communist Party.

â\200\234The ANC is not a communist party but a wide-based liberation movement,â\200\235 Mr Mandela said.

He praised what he said were Cubaâ\200\231s advances in health, education and science in its 32 years of revolution.

â\200\234We have admired the sacrifices of the Cuban people in maintaining their sovereignty in the face of imperialist- orchestrated campaigns,â\200\235 Mr Mandela said.

â\200\234We too want to control our own destiny.â\200\235 ~ The ANC leader also criticised â\200\230the US government for lifting federal sanctions against South Africa. â\200\224 Sapa-Reuter

THE CITIZEN

COMMENT

â\200\224 Mbeki--

" IT was time Govan Mbeki was released. Having served 23 years in jail as one of the Rivonia trialists, he had been incarcerated long enough. And although he is a seemingly healthy 77, one would not want to see him die in jail. :

However, there are risks in having him released without restrictions being placed on him.

For Mbeki is an avowed Communist, is still a member of the African National Congress, is still committed to the cause that led to his being jailed, and has not renounced violence.

He is free to live in New Brighton township with the only restriction being that, as a listed person, he cannot now be quoted after being

â\200\224allowed to speak at a surprising international media conference arranged by the Bureau for Information on his release.

Whether he will now become active again on behalf of the ANC remains to be seen, but he will be closely watched, in any case, to see whether he does anything wrong. ;

The most important restraint on him will probably be his knowledge that if he wants to see his colleague, Nelson Mandela, released, he had better do nothing that will make the authorities regret having freed him.

Since we believe that Mandela, too, should not be incarcerated for the rest of his life, and that he has been in prison long enough, we cannot argue against his release.

But if there are also no restrictions on him, the authorities might find him a far more dangerous opponent than Mbeki could ever be.

For Mandela is regarded by many Blacks as â\200\234the father of the nation,â\200\235 he has become a legend in the 25 years since his arrest and imprisonment, and he will be able to stir the townships as no other man can.

Like Mbeki, he will come out unrepentant about the crimes he committed, and he will be as unswerving in his dedication to the ANC as Mbeki is.

However, the government will obviously balance the risks against the damage done by -Mandelaâ\200\235s continued imprisonment â\200\224 and it seems that it will accept the risks rather than have Mandela languish in jail much longer.

Times, of course, change, but it is difficult for many people to accept the unconditional release of Mbeki just as they will find it even

more difficult to accept the unconditional release of Mandela (if he is unconditionally released).

The government has insisted for several years that Mbeki, Mandela and the others could only be released if they renounced violence.

The seeming change in policy has left the public confused, in some instances angry, and in other instances totally antagonistic. But that, too, is a risk the government has been willing to take.

We doubt, however, whether it can talk to the ANC without the ANC renouncing violence, since it would damage its own image at a time when, as the Dakar trek showed, the great majority of people reject contacts with the ANC while it engages in terrorism.

As was to be expected, the reaction of overseas governments, including the US, Britain and West Germany, to the release of Mbeki is one of approval, since they have been calling for the release of all so-called political prisoners.

They see in the freeing of Mbeki a sign that Mandela's release will follow.

There is also a belief that the release of the prisoners will bring the government and the ANC to the negotiating table - a fallacious assessment.

The ANC wants a hand-over of power - not the negotiation of a new dispensation. It is also not going to abandon violence while it believes it has a chance of overthrowing the existing order.

All in all, we would say that the ANC has lost the thrust it had before the emergency, revolution is not around the corner, the perception overseas is that the government is in firm control, and the release of Mbeki may either be a gamble that won't come off or evidence that the government has little to fear from the aging Rivonia trialists and people like them. S R R Eete R (R (7 Å¥

\Govt and ANC are not that far apart on the constitution, reports Esther Waugh

More that unites than divides

HE ANC and Government

last week tabled their pro-

posals for the body which

will draw up a new consti-

tution, and surprisingly, there is

. great scope for compromise. How-

| ever, both sides reacted vehement-

| ly to one anotherâ\200\231s plans and called

I each otherâ\200\231s proposals â\200\234insultingâ\200\235.

The discussion which followed

| the tabling of the proposals was

the most acrimonious since the Co-

desa began meeting in February.

Yet, there are more points of sim-

ilarity than differences.

The Government has proposed a
two-House parliament â\200\224 a Nation-
al Assembly and a Senate compris-
ing regional representatives. The
ANC, on the other hand, wants one

body â\200\224 a constituent assembly â\200\224

to fulfill both tasks.

But the ANC and Government
agree on the need for an elected

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body to compile the constitution
and to act as a legislature during
the transitional phase. The differ-
ences appear to be about the elec-
toral system.

Both have -said a constitution-
making body should be elected ac-
cording to a system of proportional
representation. The Government,
however, accused the ANC of want-
ing a system of â\200\234simple majori-
tarianismâ\200\235.

This concept has been rejected

â\200\230by the ANC, which said that it declared its support for the principle of proportional representation 15 months ago based on the fact that it accommodated the diversity of South African society without reference to groups, and it avoided the problems of delimiting constituencies in a country divided by group areas.

The ANC and Government also agree that such a body should be

elected. But, the Government has said it is not married to the concept of an elected body and it was debatable whether an election was the only manner in which the legitimacy of a constitution-making body could be established.

â\200\234Especially if the basis of a body such as Codesa could be broadened further, agreements arrived at by

consensus would be quite legiti- -

mate,â\200\235 the Government said in its proposals.

On the other hand, the ANC insists that there can be no democracy without elections. It points out that Codesa has a limited function: to create conditions for the adoption of a new constitution, and not to draft one itself.

â\200\234The fact that it (Codesa) is self-appointed is appropriate to its function, which is essentially that of negotiating the process of tran-

sition from apartheid to democracy,â\200\235 the ANC says.

The ANC proposals said: â\200\234It might be difficult for those who take elections for themselves for granted to understand what it will mean to those who have been permanently excluded from the electoral process to at last have a chance to stand up and drop their ballot slip into the ballot box.â\200\235

Both sides want the general constitutional principles, agreed upon in Codesa, enshrined in a new constitution, and also agree that the constitution-making body should be sovereign. A glaring difference between the two sets of proposals is that the Government wants decisions taken in the constitution-making body by consensus, while the

ANC has proposed a two thirds majority. ;

A fundamental difference is also on the principle of minority groups

being given the right to veto a constitution.

Government negotiator Dr Gerrit Viljoen conceded that the proposed Senate would give whites a veto but added that all parties at Codesa also had a right to veto, but have thus far not used it.

The ANC, in turn, has labelled the Senate a "House of Losers".

On the ratifying of a new constitution, the ANC has proposed an independent constitutional panel.

Elections for a democratic government are then held.

The Government appears to propose that elections be held after a constitution-making body agreed to the constitution.

The Inkatha Freedom Party's proposals have been rejected by the ANC and Government.

The IFP proposed that Codesa drafts a document which specifies

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the principles of the new constitution which is then ratified by referendum. :

The Government said it had initially favoured a multi-party conference as the, constitution-making body and the principle had "mugl merit" but an elected body would be more representative and enjoy greater legitimacy. The ANC, on the other hand, said an "after-the-event ratification" could never be considered as a serious alternative to elections for a constitution-making body. S

The Government correctly pointed out that there were three visions on the table: the ANC's constituent assembly, the Government's two chamber Parliament

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Except, it appears,
and Government are a
closer in their proposal

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Thabo Mbeki ... jetsetting intellectual.

big problems â\200\224 racial and ethnic imbalance within its upper ranks and concern over electoral support in Natal, where it may get the ft;â\200\230}ghest proportion of votes but not control, and, especially, in the Western Cape. .

The perception of Indian dominance within the ANC is sparking simmering discontent within its largely African membership, apparently without any advantage in terms of attracting Indian voters.

Also, the dominance of Xhosa leaders has the potential to damage electoral support among Zulus, South Africaâ\200\231s largest ethnic group.

Two of the five new members of the ANCâ\200\231s national executive committee, Penuel Maduna and Nkosazana Zuma, are Zulus, but there is no doubt that the Inkatha Freedom Party will use the partyâ\200\231s Xhosa bent to alienate voters.

Bolstering Zulu representation in the ANC elite is likely to be difficult. Top Zulu official Jacob Zuma has been tarred by the Motsuenyane Commission into human rights abuses, and the organisationâ\200\231s Zulu leaders in Natal are considered â\200\234firebrandsâ\200\235 and do not enjoy much Johannesburg support.

Mbeki and Mokaba form op?)ï¬\201rtunistic alliance

. Peter Mokaba ... needs to mave an.

Indian representation s, in fact, slightly misleading. While several of the ANCâ\200\231s Indian leaders are high profile and prominent within departments, there are only six or seven Indians in the 86-strong NEC and two in the national working committee.

Nevertheless, the perception of Indian dominance is there and Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s behind the Scenes support of Kader Asmal for party chairman â\200\224 interpreted as an attempt to diffuse African domination and gain coloured and white votes in the Western Cape â\200\224 is seen as a political blunder.

Political commentator and Oxford University academic R W Johnson believes it flies in the face of real membership-discontent over Indian representation. B S

â\200\234It is ludicrous to think that an intellectual who has spent 25 years in Ireland would have a strong Western Cape following,â\200\235 he said.

The party needs to do something else to counter the National Party in the region.

Race will remain very much a factor for the ANC, â\200\230whatever it says about commitment to non-racism and non-ethnicit{, since â\200\224 for a party with hegemonic aspirations â\200\224 ethnicity, the rise of radicalism an inability to meet ex-

pectations are likely to be big future threats to its total control of South Africa.

Cyril Ramaphosa ... candidate for premier.

rage 4

THE CITIZEN

_ MKquITillaS â\200\230to
> reportto points
all over SAâ\200\231

"THOUSANDS -~ of
African National Con-
gress (ANC) guerrillas
are to be ordered to as-
sembly points through-
out South Africa as the
country marches to-
wards Black rule.

Both the ANC and the
government will have to
fully disclose details of
their forces and weapons
under the terms of the
Transitional Executive

Council Bill passed by .

Parliament on Thursday.

â\200\234All armed forces will
have to submit personnel
and arms registers within
21 days of the formation
of the TEC,â\200\235 defence
â\200\230analyst Mr Jakkie Cilliers
said.

Mr Cilliers, director of
the independent Institute
for Defence Policy, said
many of the assembly
urban areas, with one of
the largest likely to be in
Soweto, South Africaâ\200\231s
biggest Black township
adjOining Johanmrg.

Government chief ne-
gotiator Minister Roelf
Meyer said he expected
the TEC, which will over-
see the government in the
l'1111-11p to next Apl.ilâ\200\231s
first all-race clection, to
be in place by the end of
November.

Mr Siphiwe Nyanda,
chief-of-staff of the
ANCâ\200\231s armed 'wing,
Umkhonto we Sizwe
(MK), said guerillas

were_ registering in large
numbers with their re-

gional commands following a call by the Black liberation movement for those who wanted to remain in the military.

Mr Cilliers said independently verified lists of personnel and weapons, some hidden in arm caches, were a crucial aspect of South Africa's democratic transition.

It was more realistic.

About 6 000 are believed to be in South Africa with the bulk of the remainder undergoing military training in Uganda. Small MK forces are receiving training in Angola and Tanzania.

Mr Cilliers said it was not yet clear whether the guerrillas receiving foreign training would return when the assembly points were set up.

He said a 10 000-strong peacekeeping force envi-

" would draw in 3 000 MK fighters, 3000 soldiers from the South African forces, mostly members of the Internal Stability Unit (ISU), and 4 000 troops from the Black homelands.

The numbers could rise in proportion if plans to meld the entire 7 000-

strong ISU with the other forces were adopted, Mr Cilliers said. -

The ISU, blamed by many Blacks for stoking unrest, is perceived by urban Blacks as the clenched fist of the White Right.

An attempt by the ANC to draw the guerrillas of the rival Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) into the peacekeeping force broke down in Harare last week although both groups agreed to

meet agam

| wing, the Azanian
People's Liberation Army
(APLA), has claimed re-
sponsibility for a string of
attacks on Whites and
forces. Sapa-Reuter.

e
Mbeki:
} L)
PAT CANDIDO
Weekend Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. â\200\224 Govan
Mbeki, the first of the Rivonia
treason trialists to be released,
could possibly add another

claim to fame.

He could become the father
of a future president of South
Africa, if Time magazine and
many others are correct in pre-
dicting Thabo Mbeki as the
heir-apparent to Nelson Man-
dela. '

-But Mr Mbeki â\200\224 treason
â\200\230trialist, Robben Island prison-
er, Communist Party official
and executive member of the
ANC â\200\224 refuses to be drawn on
the subject.

â\200\234Time will tell,â\200\235 he says with
~an enigmatic smile and
- promptly adds: â\200\234Only if he real-
y deserves it.)

What about the portfolio of
- foreign affairs?

â\200\234Only if he is chosen on mer-
it â\200\235Â»â\200\235

. Mr Mbeki adds that his pride

is not specifically in his son but
in all the young people who
waited in the shadows, being
groomed to take up important
positions in the new South
Africa.

It is in the youth and in edu-
cation that he places his trust
and confidence for the future.

In his ANC office the former

[0 Govan Mbeki

member of the Umkhonto we
Sizwe speaks softly as he re-
flects on the past, pointing out
that plans for the education of
young people went back to the

~ While top ANC leaders like

himself and Mr Mandela were
servin,

demands of national leadership

when free elections were held.

Little did he guess when he
stepped into the global spot-

light on November 5 1987 that
elections would be in seven

years.

He recalls with a grin that at
his first Press conference,

which he was told about short. "

ly before he was introduced
amid a flood of television lights

life sentences on Rob-
ben Island, young people were -
being prepared to take on the.

â\200\230looks bac

to journalists from around the
globe, he thought he would be
interviewed by three journal-
ists from the local papers in
Port Elizabeth. i
After handling the confer-
ence he was promptly banned.

But he managed to revive
the organisation underground

and later flew to Lusaka â\200\230to
meet the national executive.

Now he is waiting to see if
the strategy of training young
men and women outside the
countryâ\200\231s borders in prepara-
tion for a new government will
pay off.

He is convinced that these
young people will not make the
same mistakes of the past â\200\224

that those who have been rzÃ©l- v
i
will

ied to shoulder the r%)ms
ity of leading the co intry
be truly democratic.

â\200\234Way back in the â\200\231eosÃ©â\200\230cveg"rm- !
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lised that we had to m
gl\ev realise that they should not
ecome martyrs for a cause
but the leaders of tomorrow â\200\224
and we worked towards that

goal.â\200\235 Â¢ ’

Of the years in prison, he
] with pride at the
education many prisoners re-
ceived. i

â\200\234Political and social science
subjects were a must. It was
the only way we could keep in
touch with the reality of the

situation.

Proud father of rising son

â\200\230A wonderful source was not
only prescribed books but sug-
gested reading. But the govern-
ment soon cottoned on to this
and we were only â\200\230allowed to

Books |

get prescribed
- â\200\234Even a scrap of newspaper

found on a rubbish dump was a
treasured possession, copied
and shared with others,

â\200\234I took a social science de-
gree and then an honours de-
gree in economics. When we
were allowed newspapers they
were heavily censored. Even
the financial papers. Some-
times I had to giggle at the
stuff that was censored.â\200\235

Their treatment was harsh.
and Mr Mbeki hopes that a new
government will ensure that

’ prisoners are never treated in

a new South Africa as they
were on Robben Island.

’ He recalls the frustration of
not knowing where his children
were. For a while he was able
to keep abreast of Thaboâ\200\231s ac-

tivities while he was at Sussex

University studying for a mas-
terâ\200\231s degree in economics, but
then he lost track.

Mr Mbeki is optimistic about
the future and believes talk of
civil war should be avoided.

â\200\234The consequences will be
too dreadful â\200\224 it will be a
race war. It will achieve noth-

ing. No, there must not be
war.â\200\235

Mangope offer to SA, AN({

MMABATHO. â\200\224 There . National Congress, el
- immediate re- Addressing Parlia- |
from the South ment in Mmabatho,
; President Mangope said
he had sent messages to
the South African
-Government; -the "ANC,
o wana to. act,. anld: gther partlx;es- 1?0-

as a'go- tween in nego-- volved; urging them:
tations with the â\200\230African - begin immediate talks to-
Sâ\200\224 â\200\224 Stop: â\200\230the violence: in
Southern Africa and to
eliminate 3 partheid..- : 5
~He warned thatal-
though black youths
! were still listening to the
| ANC, there were â\200\234fright-
| eningâ\200\235 signs that some
were becoming frus- |
trated, with the threat of '
" South Africa degenerat-
ingintoa Beirut-type sit-

uation. â\200\224 Sapa (o

i

EP four meet

Buthelez -

DURBAN. â\200\224 Theâ\200\231 Eugo--
Pean Parliamentâ\200\231s. fo I
member: fact-ï-\201nding:
- mission in South: Africa
(has twice been: 2d:
/' Permission- to- meet:im-;
| Prisoned ANC leader M~
"Nelson: Mandelai: byt
f were: due to: meet .the
! KwaZulu Chief Minister;;
hief Mangosuthm-
Buthelezi, in Ulundi yes-
terday. - .Â« = i e
The mission arrived inâ\200\231
- Durban on Monday night:
and left for Ulundi early:
Yesterday to- discuss.
â\200\230various issyes including
e international disinz |
vestment and: sanctionsâ\200\231
aci

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ain, Mr Guy Guermeurof
France ang Mr Lue
| Beyer de Rike of. Bel-
sium. â\200\224 Sapaâ\200\230 kL o

'Mswati urges
" SA to returnâ\200\235
"KaNgwane

MBABANE. â\200\224 Swazi bane early yesterday The Swaziland Youth King Mswati III urged morning for Harare due Congress and Peoples the incorporation of to areported death in his United Democratic South Africaâ\200\231s Ka- family. - Movement say the coun- Ngwane region into Â Over 40000 people try is being left behind by Swaziland in a speech Packed the Somhlolo Sta- democratic reforms waziland in a speech gy lo watch the festivi- sweeping Southern Africa at the countryâ\200\231s Silver e including a march and have urged an end to Jubilee celebrations past by the Umbutfo Swa- the absolute monarchy. outside Mbabane yes- zi Defence Force and However, King Mswati terday. , . singing and dancing by said the countryâ\200\231s tradit- South African State warriors and Â° bare- ion of government was in - President F W de Klerk breasted maidens. the long term interests of King Mswati, in a itspeople, but â\200\234that is not speech televised live, told to say we remain rooted his people the country in the pastâ\200\235. would seek to uphold its Swaziland is to hold an traditions of government. indirect election later this His late father, King year involving an Electo- Sobhuza II, promptly as- ral College. : sumed royal rule after in- The king said the dependence from Britain cess of political reform in 1968 and abolished pol- would be â\200\234in the same

itical parties and the con- manner in which we have stitution. conducted all our affairs:
â\200\234The importance of our in peace and harmonyâ\200\235.
past is a guide to the futu- Mozambican President message re...our .unity is of the Joaquim Chissano, who the future generation is said he hoped the contro- greatest importance,â\200\235 he---shaok hands with Mr De gettin g? If you want more

versy surrounding Ka- --+ Klerk on his"way-to-the money you strike; you

Ngwane, which initially Observers saw the podium, said his countryâ\200\231s donâ\200\231t work harder or

. arose between Pretoria ' kingâ\200\231s speech as a caution peace process was irre- stud y to better your quali-

to â\200\230Swazilandâ\200\231s fledgling versible and would be fications.

- democratic groups. successful. â\200\224 Sapa. = Why should you work

= : ' harder if the taxpayer will

cough up every time you
â\200\234demandâ\200\235 more money?

I donâ\200\231t begrudge any-
one the. same salary as
mine, as long as he or she
has the same qualifica-
tions and does the same
amount of work.

After all, I had to battle
to get my qualifications,
100, as I was also one of a
poor family, and I didnâ\200\231t
get a government bursary

either. I obtained my category E qualification on my 50th birthday!

NOT AFRAID OF
Â¢ WORK Vryburg

Mossgas warning

FROM PAGE 1

tion to its fullest potential within a defined limit of financial resources available and without placing an unquantified burden on the fiscus.â\200\235

These decisions would result in certain financial implications for the equalisation

fund, but it would be able to finance compensation and tariff protection to Mossgas in the

short term without an .

increase in levies.

Mr Bartlett said it was also decided Mossgas should remain a subsidiary of the Central Energy Fund (CEF) and be operated as an autono-

mous commercial state corporation with an independent board of directors.

A monitoring = committee, consisting of representatives from the CEF and private sector experts, should advise the Cabinet on future capital expenditure by Mossgas, he added. â\200\224 Sapa.

'MPUMALANGA, a sleepy KwaZulu town-

ship outside Hammersdale, has been turned into a 'City of Fear' by vigilante thugs, who leave a bloody trail of unsolved murders, rapes, abductions and robberies behind

them.

Just when everyone thought sanity was returning to the terror-stricken KwaZulu Natal region; following a statement by KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha President, MG Buthelezi, that his movement has for months been involved in peace talks with its arch enemy, the UDF, vigilantes struck again at Mpumalanga.

The latest trend seems to be, 'if you are not in our camp, you are an enemy'.

In one bloody night this week, four people were brutally shot and stabbed to death, in some cases killed in front of

their families.

When a City Press team

visited the township following

requests by scores of

terrified callers, the message was: 'Tell the world about our plight.'

Local authority appeared to have been removed by these vigilantes, whose only answer to voices of dissent, is violence and intimidation.

Mayor Rodger Sishi once tried to bring peace in the area by bringing together the warring Inkatha Youth Brigade and UDF affiliated Hammersdale Youth Congress, but it only lasted for a day.

Hayco's chief negotiator Vusi Maduna died a week later, and so the proposed peace workshop did not materialise as more UDF supporters left the township. :

To date, police have not yet announced any arrest in connection with the latest killings, nor have they

. . in Natal 'city of fear'

established the motives behind them.

Residents spoke of their lack of confidence in the police, saying in numerous incidents perpetrators were positively identified and such information was allegedly passed onto the SA Police in Hammersdale.

SAP PRO, Captain Pieter Kitching, confirmed the killings, but said the motives were unknown.

Relatives of the deceased told City Press it all started last week, when a larger group of armed men

attacked house No 791 in Unit 1, looking for a Hayco member who had sought refuge in neighbouring townships in March, during the first upheavals.

When they*did not find him, they attacked his two brothers, fatally hacking Thulani Hlongwane, 23, Adonsi Hlongwane, 19, escaped unhurt after threatening the raiders with a toy gun.

Several shots were allegedly fired at him as he fled.

The vigilantes struck again

at Hlongwaneâ\200\231s neighbours, abducting Nkosinathi Hlongwane, 16, who had sought refuge there and Welcome Zulu, 25.

The bodies of the two were found by group of children on their way home, lying in the veld near Hammersdale the following day, with shotgun wounds in their heads.

On the same day,
Mandla Xaba, 18, was
killed when he was shot in
the chest by a man who
arrived with two others at
his home.

The Hlongwane's home
was razed to the ground
two days later.

Last week, a local shop-
keeper, Vusi Gcwabaza,
was robbed at gunpoint

and his shop looted by the

same thugs.

Some women returning
from Ekwenameni Adult |
School last week were har-
assed and others raped.

Two sisters of one of the
deceased, were also raped

[The house was gutted,
damaging property -
| about R7000. > 0

The men then grab
the child and fled.

On their way out, police
said they stabbed 20-
old Daniel Selepe, ten
times with a knife.

by vigilantes looking for
their slain brother.

In another incident, ten-

tion at Maritzburg's Eden-

His is in a serious condi-
tion at Hospital.

18-year-old Jeremiah Sha-

ngu narrowly escaped
death when he outran his
captors, who had abducted
him from his home.

Shabangu had been ab-
ducted on the same day
after a group of men ar-
rived at the home of Pau-
line Shabangu, 41. .

They searched for Sha-

banguâ\200\231s elder brother and
when they did not find him
they set the house alight.

Mystery surrounding the

massacre at Trust Feed

THE day after the Trust Feed massacre a man wearing an Inkatha blazer handed out Inkatha membership cards at the local Inkatha leader's home in front of a large contingent of police.

"~ Many houses belonging to people who fled were subsequently looted and destroyed. To this day, others are still deserted, unoccupied.

- This is all Mr Justice Wilson has heard so far about developments in Trust Feed in the wake of the massacre.

Evidence of what transpired

is to be led by Mr Robin Palmer, defence counsel for Mr Peter Sikhosana, one of the special members of the police force charged with murdering 11 people at the Sithole home.

" When did this all begin? How did a peaceful rural township in the Natal Midlands become a strife-torn community to which former residents still fear returning to?

" In defending his client Mr Palmer has sought to answer this question, and in so doing perhaps prove that Mr Sikhosana was but a pawn in a larger political game, acting under the instructions of superiors who he was simply taught to obey.

Mr Palmer has researched the history of Trust Feed to the early 1900s when a group of black tenants arranged to buy plots of white-owned land. That was before the 1913 Land Act.

This land was consolidated and became known as Trust Feed. After the change in government in 1948, a lot of black folk settled in Trust Feed. They became tenants who rented

land and buildings from the land owners.

Under apartheid legislation,
- Trust Feed was earmarked a so-called black spot and

plans were made to move the people to a place ironically called New Politique, near Pietermaritzburg.

Trust Feed was subsequently declared a "white group area" in 1968 and placed under the control of the Development Services Board (DSB).

For more than 25 years, residents lived under the threat of forced removal.

Then, in January 1986, the Trust Feed Crisis Committee was formed by two landowners and residents to resist the government plans for forced removal.

In meetings with government officials and the Department of Constitutional Development, the TCC successfully blocked the government plans for forced removal and negotiated for the area to be developed and services upgraded.

In so doing, the TCC became recognised by provincial authorities as representative of the community.

However, the court heard that in 1987, the local Inkatha chairman of the area, who was one of the 50 landowners in the area, began vying for control of Trust Feed, arguing that tenants had no right to decide what should be done on land not owned by themselves.

Mr Gabela approached the Kwazulu government and Inkatha officials for assistance. They decided that the tribal structure should be imposed on the community and Mr Gabela was appointed as an induna of the area.

As far back as September 1987, Mr Palmer said, a letter was sent by the TCC to Chief Buthelezi and various other officials, including the administrator of Natal, Mr Radclyffe Cadman, Mr Rudy

Evidence of police cover

Redinger of the National Party

and Brigadier Beukes of the security police, expressing fears

. that Inkatha's interference could cause trouble in the community.

The next month Mr Gabela was invited to a meeting by the commander of the New Hanover police station, then Warrant Officer George Nichas, who now faces serious criminal charges for his alleged role in the violence in Bruntville, Mooi River.

Mr Gabela told Warrant Officer Nichas he wanted to form a landowners' committee to oust the TCC. The court heard that this matter was subsequently discussed at meetings held under the auspices of the joint management committees which were controlled by security officials. Warrant Officer Nichas was the chairman of the local JMC.

An Inkatha-controlled land owners association, comprising of nine members, was finally formed in April 1988. By that stage Lieutenant Brian Mitchell had taken over Warrant Officer Nichas's role as the local chairman of the JMC and station commander of New Hanover. Nichas had been transferred to Mooi River.

Mr Gabela consistently maintained that the TCC was comprised of UDF supporters and troublemakers.

denied the executive member

of the Development Services Board, Mr J Rearden. Testifying in court, Mr Gabela said he had very good relations with Lieutenant Mitchell and held regular meetings with him. He said that in late November 1988 he approached Lieutenant Mitchell to find out what could be done to solve the problems in the area between the landowners and the tenants.

between the landowners and the tenants.

Mitchell said the best thing would be for them (TCC members) to be killed, Mr Gabela testified.

Evidence was led that Mr Mithcell and Mr Gabela subsequently travelled to Maritzburg to make arrangements for such an attack. A meeting was held with the commander of the Maritzburg riot unit, the late Major Deon Terblanche, and then at Inkatha's offices in Edendale. Kwazulu MP Mr David Ntombela allegedly attended this meeting.

During these discussions it was agreed that special members of the police force would carry out the envisaged attack, the indictment against Lieutenant Mitchell and the six other accused reads. .

According to the indictment, Lieutenant Jacobus van den Heever (accused No 1) was instructed to arrange a special force for the operation. He in turn instructed Sergeant Neville Rose to find six special policemen for the task.

On November 30 1988 six special policemen were subsequently transported into Trust Feed and stationed at the homes of Mr Gabela and two other Inkatha leaders.

Evidence has been heard that on Friday, December 2 1988 police rounded up residents of Trust Feed and took them to the sports field where

they were split into Inkatha ' and non-Inkatha groups. Mem-

bers of the latter group were sjambokked and detained in terms of the emergency regulations.

Later the homes of the leading TCC members were destroyed, the TCC chairman's store razed, and at 3am, Saturday, December 3, the Sithole home attacked.

r-up in investigations

WILL senior police investigators be charged as accessories to the murder of the eleven people in the Sithole home? Will they be charged for defeating the ends of justice? Whose heads are going to roll?

These questions hung over the Trust
Feed trial when it adjourned on Thursday
to allow a major general and a major to
get legal representation before they gave
evidence and answer why they did not ar-
| rest policemen suspected of complicity in
' the massacre.

The court has heard that from the very
first day a wealth of evidence pointed to
the possibility that policemen had carried

e â\200\224

out the attack.

Then a fortnight later, two policemen
who were in the area at the time of the
massacre, Constable Jason Burton and Re-
servist Stuart Van Wyk, made statements
to the investigating officer implicating
New Hanover station commander, Lieu-
tenant Brian Mitchell, and special consta-
bles who had been transported into the
area by the Pietermaritzburg riot unit.

â\200\234This is incredible,â\200\235 Mr Justice Andrew
Wilson repeatedly uttered as he listened to
the testimonieÂ\$:of detectives who initially
handled the investigation.

â\200\234Ek kan.kniÃ© 'n verklaring maak nie (I
canâ\200\231t offer an explanation),â\200\235 Major Joseph

Van Zyl, who was then the Greytown CID
commander in charge of the investigation,
responded to Mr Justice Wilsonâ\200\231s ques-
tions.

The court has heard that after Constable
Burton and Reservist Van Wyk made their
statements, -the investigation docket was
handed to Briâ\200\230gadier Christo Marx, Natalâ\200\231s
divisional CID commander. Brigadier
Marx appointed his deputy, Colonel J P
Van Zyl, to take over the investigation.

Evidence of a possible cover-up in the
investigations began to emerge when the
former Greytown CID commander, Major
Joseph Van Zyl, began testifying. P

e

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent
CODESA III appears unlikely to take

as a result of the ANC's mass action
- campaign.

Government negotiators may con-
ceded that no substantive agreements
could be announced until the ANC's mo-
bilisation drive which only moves into
full swing next month has run its course.

A secret ANC document acknowledges
that the campaign forms part of the pro-
cess of preparing and educating people
for elections. % X

We also need to begin educating our
people on what the election process in-
volves, the document notes.)

Commenting on the campaign, a govern-
ment source said last night: It's part of
that.

ass action _
of elections, say ANC

place until late August at the earliest

the political game everyone accepts |

tion campaign would begin in earnest in
the second half of July, building up to a
general strike. :

Cosatu's executive committee will meet
between July 10 and 12 to finalise the date
for the general strike.

Meanwhile, Soweto Day's June 16 mass
action has given rise to a fierce exchange
of words between Law and Order Minister
Mr Hernus Kriel and the ANC.

~ Rallies

Mr Kriel said that although many people
stayed away from work, only 80 000 people
attended Soweto Day rallies across the
country. Yesterday Police Commissioner
General Johan van der Merwe gave the
figure of 80000 as a police estimation of
crowds. G

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said
yesterday: Maybe we will have to wipe
the smile off his (Mr Kriel's) face.

He seems to be completely unable to

n is part

Âç

journalists and members of the National
Party happy and not taking anything seri-
ously. | St

Earlier Mr Kriel described mass action
as a futile exercise in blackmail that
could retard negotiations or even derail
them. 2 A L

The minister said the success of the
mass action campaign should not be
judged on stayaway figures but on the
attendance at and cancellation of marches
and rallies. P R e ;

Mr Kriel pointed out that many employ-
ers had given workers June 16 off while
others stayed at home. to: .r.ote.ct their
property or for fear of intimidation.. .

Mr Macozoma said that' reports from
only four of the 14 ANC regional offices
indicated that the turnout was far in ex-
cess of 80000. He pointed to a rally at
Orlando Stadium which he said was at-
tended by 50 000 people.

comprehend what he is dealing with.

=

L_I't%r:fed yesterday that the mass ac-

. MIKE ROBERTSON

Je Klerk on his referendum tour.

stumped the country with President
Here is his assessment

] In Natal, another area
. Where Mr De Klerk is count-
ing on a big â\200\234yesâ\200\235, disillusion-
ment is also rife..
. Outside the Uvongo town

~hall on the â\200\234Old Coastâ\200\235,
where Mr De Klerk ad-
dressed an enthusiastic but
invited gathering of about
400, an elderly gentleman, on
being told the president was
to address a meeting, said:
â\200\234I'm not interested in this ref-
erendum.â\200\235

A Durban National Party

MP said initial canvassing

_ revealed a large undecided
vote among English-speak-
ers. Quoting DP sources, he
said a number of young vot-

' -ers on the Berea had indicat-
ed they would vote â\200\234noâ\200\235.
Berea has been a Progressive
Federal Party, now DP, seat
for more than a decade.

In most cases, the voters
are neither natural Conserva-
tive Party supporters nor
apathetic. Dealt with in a rea-
soned and honest manner
many, if not most, could be

persuaded to vote â\200\234yesâ\200\235.

- One h(:ï-\201 the NP members
trying his hardest to get that
â\200\234yesâ\200\235 vote is Foreign Minis-
ter Pik Botha, hustings war-
horse of the party for more
than a decade.

Kuruman, the seat of CP
strongman Jan Hoon, was
witness to a remarkable Pik
Botha performance this
week. |

Ovation

â\200\230A crowd of more than 500
sat silent as, sounding not dis-

similar to an anti-apartheid activist of yore, Mr Botha told them SA was paying the price in terms of crime and economic impoverishment for his party's attempt to implement apartheid. Acknowledging the effectiveness of the international isolation that resulted from apartheid, he said: "We were bleeding to death."

At the end, he received a prolonged standing ovation. Significantly, although there

rejecting their 26-million fellow South Africans inevitably, an uncomfortable shuffling accompanies his own answer to the question: "Chaos, mass action like we have never seen before."

The CP allegations he chooses to respond to are that: he is in alliance with the ANC; he is a lackey of the communists; and he is asking for a blank cheque.

The standard answer to the

first is that he is negotiating

atigi_xg_,"

- with the ANC. Neg he adds, are only n with people with whom you disagree. {

Outlm%

To the second, he replies that communism is dying worldwide. It was a threat when it was the philosophy of a superpower, but now that

- the Soviet Union has collapsed there is no longer any

~ reason to be afraid of it. Even

- SACP members, he adds, appear to be ashamed of com-

munist.

A punchline which inevitably

draws a laugh from the

- audience is that: â\200\234These days,.

- even Joe Slovo sounds more
right-wing than Neil Kinnock
(the British Labour Party

â\200\230leader).â\200\235 The blank
cheque allegation
and Mr De Kl;rkâ\200\231s

- response to it have

â\200\230become the domi-
nant metaphor of the
campaign. :

He uses the line
â\200\234my cheque is filled
inâ\200\235 to outline his bot-
tom line in negotia-
tions.

S

were several CP supporters
present, not one heckled.

Mr Botha, reportedly,
received the same reaction to
a similar speech in Tzaneen
the night before.

The presidentâ\200\231s standard
speech â\200\224 he has been averag-
ing about eight a day â\200\224 is
more complex, but starts
with a similar message: â\200\234Had
I not reformed we would
have been swept away by
mass action like the govern-
ments of Eastern Europe.â\200\235

The â\200\234speechâ\200\235 has essential-
ly components â\200\224 the
consequences of a â\200\234noâ\200\235 vote,
a rebuttal of CP allegations
and a visionary element.

The first part deals, natu-
rally, with the slamming shut
of newly opened doors, the
loss of support of hitherto
anti-sanctions allies such as
Britain and, topically, a re-
turn to international sporting
isolation. :

His best line, however, is to

-ask voters to imagine the
consequences of whites

Already, he said inâ\200\231

Maritzburg, Codesa negotiations had produced agreement on many of these issues. They were: a multi-party democracy; a two-chamber parliament; a comprehensive bill of rights; an independent judiciary; elections by proportional representation; strong regional powers; the maintenance of language and cultural rights; and community-oriented education.

Others still to be negotiated included: the safeguarding

of a free market economic system; preventing the majority from abusing power; and effective protec-

: i
if ownership of private property. Continuing the metaphor, he asks: Who will sign the CP cheque ... Ko: "i der Merwe, Ferdie HT dberg or Eugene tii;"
Blanche with his swas ki

Warming to the theme, 8

- adds: Which bank will the cheque . . . the First Provision Bank, the Secession

" or the Boerestaat Bank?

Created ;
e president's visionary
' mggaggr centres on a mals;
~ sive yes vote unlocking -3
potential of South Africa
fulfil its potential as a
Wer.
(re?nogzlrment of 500 of
: the city's top busin &ssn:eg}g
was this message that
ated the most enthusiasm.

were an audience,
like businessmen overseas that
whose concerns he deals with .
well. ; :
% week to go. There
is little reason to believe that
with more honesty, it is
straight talking and a cline

enunciation of his bottom s
in negotiations the wxdc;;o i
ing public could not a:_h Â¥
convinced to give him the 15
â\200\234yesâ\200\235 mandate he so despe
ately desires and negds.

Absenteeism in city â\200\230a1

Massive stayaway
but little violenc

by STRINI MOODLEY and BRYAN PEARSON

ATIONWIDE stayaway with sporadic acts of violence marked |
. motorist to death after barri- |

e 13th anniversary of Soweto Day with Pietermaritzburg, Durban,
Cape Town and Johannesburg hardest hit.

Dorothy ~ Molefi â\200\234holds the smashed
tombstone of her son Hector Pieterse,
who was the first black child to die in the
Soweto riots of 1976. The tombstone was
destroyed by vandals. AP Wirephoto

Most factories reported a |

total stayaway and KwaZulu
Transport said that none of its
drivers had turned up for work
inthe city.

While some drivers worked in
Durban, Newcastle and Lady-
smith, most areas carried â\200\230â\200\234re-
duced loadsâ\200\235.

A spokesman for the Pieter-
maritzburg Chamber of Indus-
tries said that it was generally
accepted that the stayaway in
the city had been almost total.

The city centre was quiet with
bus and taxi ranks practically
deserted and shops in down-
town Church Street closed.

It was unusually quiet in Mpu-
malanga, Mpophomeni, Howick
and other Natal towns. Bus ser-
vices were cancelled and few
minibuses did business.

" A policeâ\200\231 interim unrest
report yesterday said that

stone-throwing occurred - in:
- Pinetown,
+ Inanda.

kwaMashu and
. Stone-throwing also occurred
at Voosloorus (Germiston), Gu-
guletu and Khayelitsha (Cape
Town) and Zwide (Port Eliza-
beth): L !
Police had no reports of vio-

'most total

lence or disruption in the city
but they maintained a strong
presence in most townships.

At Guguletu a group stabbed a
cading a road with burning ob-
jects, the unrest report said.

A passenger coach was set
alight and extensively damaged
at Naledi railway station in So-
weto, police reported.

Witnesses said armed police
gathered at Soweto's Regina
Mundi Catholic Church where a
crowd sang and shouted for the
release of Nelson Mandela.

Yesterday's early morning
figures from the South African
Transport Services showed a
marked reduction in passenger
numbers in Reeftrains.

A Putco spokesman said the
situation varied around the

_to readers

â\2027
C

they addressed a crowd whi
gw(1)%gtually swelled to abt1)%};

A Cosatu speaker called f
support for the forthcomir(1);
peace tal_ks with Inkatha. A Nat-
ional Umqn of Metalworkers of
Sopth Africa (Numsa) speaker
paid tribute to Mrs Jabu Nd-

lovu, a Numsa shop steward who
:â\200\230aeicneendtlg digd from wounds sus-

uring a
gienes home.g n attack on her

Delivery delays

HOME deliveries and st
reet
sales of The Natal Witness ax?e
being affected by the June 16
commemoration. We apologise

for any inco i- |
ence. y nveni â\200\230

country, but was generally â\200\234bet- llllllllrlrrllllllllll!llllllrlrrllllllllllllllllllll
llllllllllll

terthan in previous yearsâ\200\235.

In the city, rallies were held
at the University of Natal and
the Edendale Lay Centre, but
owing to a lack of buses, atten-
dance at both was way down on
what organisers expected.

Police liaison officer Major

| Pieter Kitching said it had been
a quiet day with only a few
minor incidents reported.

Speakers af the rally at the

~ University of Natal â\200\224 which at-
tracted about 200 people â\200\224 later
. went to the Lay Centre where

29 and 30 to

Federation ~ of

Hector Pieterersonâ\200\231s
grave desecrated

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 The gr.
of 13-year-9ld Hector Piâ\200\230etegrs?)â\200\230;ne
reported first victim of the So-
weto student revolt, was dese-
crated on Thursday night,

Activist Lebone Molefi said
he accompanied Hector's
mother to the Avalon Cemetery
in Soweto, where the fallen
youth is buried, and found the
tombstone smashed.

Mr Molefi said it was decided
at a meeting yesterday to re-
erect the tombstone. â\200\224 Sapa.

UI?F delegation to
brief President Bush

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 A six.'
member United Democrasgâ\200\230c
Fron_t delegation is to meet U.S
President George Bush on June
Â¢ C brief hi
situation in South Afrigall. gk o
The I_JDF announced that the
delega;non would consist of Mrs
Albertina Sisulu; Mr Curnick
Ndlovu; Mr Azhar Cachalia; Mr

Titus Mofolo; and Si

s ster Ber-
nard Mncube, president of t(le'lg
Transvaal

i
Â¥,

Women.â\200\224 Sapa,

Nusas denies claims
of ANC payments

JOHANNESBURG
leaders = have

Nusas
vehemently

denied police claims to have -

discovered ANC payments to
stugient_ organisations at the
Umâ\200\230\irersny of the Witwaters-
rand.

. Nusas said claims by police |

that they discovered an ANC ad-
dress list and a debtorâ\200\231s book of

ANC payments were â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230complete j

liesâ\200\235.â\200\224Sapa.

The
Natal Witness

Managing ,
chan@e 4

e have already noted that the

French Revolution was a magnificent event which turned out badly, with the horrors of the Reign of Terror and the long and costly Napoleonic wars. The other two great revolutions of modern times, the Russian and the Chinese, have also devoured their own children in the Stalinist purges of the thirties and the so-called cultural revolution respectively. These, of course, were not the products of popular mass movements, but the result of the machinations of tiny revolutionary elites. The recent horrific events in Tiananmen Square are tragic evidence that aged revolutionaries are as fervent defenders of the status quo as ever were the nobles of pre-revolutionary France.

Yet, unless totally sunk in the torpor of the repressed or the fearful comfort of the repressor, mankind is rarely satisfied with the status quo. Humanity is always on the march, whether it knows it or not and whether it wants to or not. i

Happily there are examples in history of revolutionary change achieved without catastrophic disruption or bloodshed in the American revolution, the British parliamentary revolution, the Industrial Revolution.

Two areas in the world today call particularly for the skilful management of change in Eastern Europe, where the legacy of the communist revolution is running into economic quicksands, and Southern Africa. Mr Gorbachev is making courageous and imaginative efforts to bring about managed change in the former case.: Will F.W. de Klerk prove the Gorbachev of South Africa?

| Midlands ANC leaders â\200\230sitting ducksâ\200\231

Â\$'BU MNGAD!

NATAL midlands ANC

leaders are sitting ducks

for assassins, City Press

* learnt this week.

â\200\234The assassination of
Natal midlands deputy

" chairman Reggie Hadebe

â\200\234.on Tuesday highlighted a

'desperate security risk

- facing local ANC leaders

as they criss-cross the

wartorn region unarmed

" and without bodyguards.

- Natal midlands .In-

- katha leaders have also

- been targets of assassins,

. but they qualify for Kwa-

-were

Zulu government-issue G-

3 automatic rifles and

they and their homes are

â\200\230guarded round-the-clock

by KwaZulu cops.

Natal midlands ANC

deputy secretary Hadebe,

lawyer John Jeffreys and

fellow regional executive

â\200\230member Shakes Cele

were driving on the Ixo-

po/Richmond road after

an aborted peace meeting

with Inkatha chiefs and

the police when shots

at their car on

a hairpin bend,

Cele sustained a bullet

'\â\200\231w#nd in th;â\200\234li:qck and

elireys escaped injury,

Shaken ANC ggtivists

told City Press the organi-

sationâ\200\231s security depart-

ment in the region existed

in name only. â\200\230

A senior member of the

Natal midlands ANC re-

gionâ\200\231s security depart-

ment, Ntela Skhosana,

cited â\200\234security reasonsâ\200\235

â\200\234for refusing to disclose

the strength of the department. But itâ\200\231s believed there are not more than five ANC b
Skhosana added their resources could not could

red with

* those of hitsquads, security forces and Inkatha, -

whose activities, he alleged, were financed by the SA taxpayer.

â\200\234We do not have ade-

quate human and materi-

al resources, partly because we feel such resources should be geared towards creating permanent peace rather than building war-machines around the ANC leadership,â\200\235 he said. '

He added the ANCâ\200\231s securityâ\200\230department was

at the mercy of the SAP which approved firearm licences, which meant the police know and control

the strength of the ANCâ\200\231s

security department.

â\200\234Even those firearm licences granted are for pistols. How are we expected to protect our leadership with pistols against automatic weapons. This reduces our leaders o sitting ducks for assassins.â\200\235
On Wednesday, Kwa-Zulu MP for Vulindlela in Maritzburg, David Ntombela, survived yet

for assassins

tempt when his car was shot at the Edendale/Elandskop road at about 5pm., The attackers fled after his bodyguards returned fire.
M Alarmed at escalating violence in Natal, the ANC said yesterday it was dispatching 15 NEC members for talks with ANC regional leaders.

: â\200\234The national execu-

ANC regards the situa-

tion in Natal as extremely

serious,â\200\235 it said. â\200\224 Sapa
See Page 4 :

another assassination at-

|

tive committee of the |

/

By ALLISTER SPARKS

FROM the moment we entered this tricky transition from apartheid to democracy, it was clear the main problem was going to be whether the principal leaders, President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela, would be able to carry their followers with them into a negotiated settlement. . = Both sides have constituency problems - the National Party with the right wing, the African National Congress with the black radicals. - On one side the Conservative Party waits to capitalise on any alienation

of the white constituency, on the other

the Pan-Africanist "Congress and Azapo wait to cash in on any alienation of the black constituency. {

All three refuse to participate in the negotiations as they stand by to pick up the fall-out from its setbacks.

If either side succeeds, the negotiation process will collapse and South Africa will slump into anarchy and ruin. ; : 3 ; i

The NP's constituency crisis reached a climax with the Potchefstroom by-election on February 19. " The shock loss of that seat marked the peaking of a long build-up of anxieties and resentments in the white population, and flashed a warning signal to the NP that it was on the point of alienating a large part of its constituency. ; R L

De Klerk responded by calling a white referendum. It was a dramatic, high-risk step to deal with the crisis and, thank heavens, it succeeded. But crucial to its success was the fact that Mandela recognised the jam De Klerk was in and helped him out of it. . -

Advantage ' "

Galling though it was to suffer the indignity of yet another poll from which his own people were excluded,

I to have the whites vote alone to determine

the future of the whole country, Mandela recognised the importance of De Klerk's action to deal with the right-wing threat and was at pains not to do anything to increase his difficulties. Â¢

He did not seize the opportunity to destabilise the NP in its moment of crisis, as he could easily have done by mounting a mass action campaign of protest against the whites-only referendum. 2

He did not take advantage of De. Klerk's difficulties to weaken the NP : with an eye to gaining more votes for himself in a, future post-apartheid election. ' - 3 gy

Instead he kept a low profile throughout the referendum campaign * and in the end even called on the ANC's white supporters to vote "yes".

Today it is the ANC that is in trouble with its constituency. Its crisis ; reached a climax with the Boipatong massacre, the peaking of a long build-up of black resentment at the rampant vigilante attacks in the townships, the perception that the police are involved, and the failure of the negotiations to rectify any of this.

But this time De Klerk has shown no

\

Mandela's understanding not reciprocated

~ gressively. Â¢

{ i
Biif

NS Â¥

ly incapable of backing down in the ' face of pressure. It-must respond ag-,;

Conciliation may come a month or

- two later, in; its'own time and in an-;: Â¢

other' guise, but :the first response - o

must be kragdadig. The NP must show. fiis

{ - that it is tough; that it.can crack down,:/

GENE LOUW: He, De Klerk'and '
others put on a Samurai act.â\200\231

equivalent understanding or restraint
to help Mandela deal with his con-'
stituency crisis. Instead he has '
stepped up the pressure with'a rever-
sion to old-style intransigence and
kragdadigheid. = : ST R

The black constituencyâ\200\231is boiling '
with rage but De Klerk seems not to

notice. He believes the hostility =â\200\231

shown him when he visited Boipatong i
after the massacre was not genuine, '
but was â\200\234orchestratedâ\200\235 by political
leaders. Â¢ - a & LA giteihaiide

Galling - 2Â\$ i

It's the old Nat illusion of the con-

tented Bantu who would be happy '
with apartheid if only you could keep '
the agitators away from them. "
The fact is that in political termsâ\200\231
Boipatong is; Mandelaâ\200\231s Potchef-: .
stroom. It is his warning signal that he
is in danger of losing a large part of) "â\200\231
his constituency unless he can make '
an- effective response. And because .
his people have no vote, and he can .
call no referendum, all he can do is *
try to remobilise his support through :
mass action. ' Â¢ g Rl
-, That may be galling for De Klerk,
just as. the whites-only referendum
was galling for Mandela, but he
should recognise and understand the "
need for it and respond accordingly.
Unfortunately the conditioned re-:
flexes of the National Party make that
difficult. It is so steeped in the habits
of macho politics that it isâ\200\230congenital-

* thatitisin

â\200\234with it in the only way open to him, :

Â¢t responsible. for!the i massacre !wereâ\200\231

â\200\234 foolish. Inevitably they made it hard:ii @
er for the NP to change its ways and B

newness, " } S E B s R gt
We are probably in for some weeks # -
- of strife as Mandela responds to his;

on becoming more sensitive and re- gl
sponsive to each other's critical.i ;
- R ~ ; v

charge, that it will tolerate *
NO nonsense. - - . . ,

So it has been unable to meet the, |
- crisis with a gesture of conciliation,
which might have defused it in a day.;;

. The ANC's demands were, after all, in ,
- Cyril Ramaphosa's words, 'eminently .
,reasonable and do-able. » 2

Murderer's

,

. But De Klerk,

y DeS N B v 's
Gene Louw et al had | |

. to put on their Samurai act.'It leaves |
. Mandela's constituency crisis unre- g
4

solved and with no option but 'to deal
It must be said though that the ANC
.and its allies did not make it easy for,
the government to respond different-
ly. Anger at the massacre was justi-

fied and, in the circumstances, politi /-
cally necessary. What was ' not!

justified, or smart, was turning it into { .

such a
Klerk. | .5 P R SR
~' Posters at the Boipatong funeral la-

belling him a murderer's and speech- =
es accusing him of being:personally;::

, personalised ; attack, on De N

both 'unwarranted and ipolitically

make a conciliatory response, Â¢ it

What now? .One must hope both
sides are' going'throughâ\200\231a*learning â\204¢
curve about each otherâ\200\231s response be-'

haviour. After all they have not known. &~

each other for 30 years, and politics
across the colour line is still raw in

e e s o

constituencyâ\200\231s anger â\200\230and De. Klerk:
shows us that he won't put up with?
such rabble-rousing. .The | economy>
will suffer, more people will die,and,,
the atmosphere for. negotiation will'
be further fouled. 'â\200\231 Â«#eoi i dis o o

At some point in this decline thereâ\200\231
will be 'a turning back,â\200\235 whenâ\200\231both.

realise once again that; like it or not, Â£

they are locked in'an embrace of ne-'
cessity â\200\224 'and,that survival depends

\ / 4

needs.
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B il

e A g T e g

EAFING

through the
cuttings file

on Bishop Al-
phaeus Zulu, who died
this week, one reads
with almost wonder-
ment the political and
social attitudes that
complicated the life
of the venerable cler-
ic.

This feeling of mild
amazement is a measure
of the changes that hve
taken place â\200\224 involving
even trivial things such
as terminology.

The earliest cuttings
in 1959 refer to the MNa-
tive clergyman going to
Britain and in 1971 a po-
liceman ordering the
â\200\234Bantuâ\200\235 (the bishop) to
show his dompas.

That occurred in a
pre-dawn pass raid when
the bishop, then presi-
dent of the World Coun-
cil of Churches, was
staying overnight at a
Lutheran training centre
in Roodepoort.

Bishop Zulu was ar-

rested for not having his
and taken to a mu-
nicipal police station,
where he was ordered to
appear at the local
Bantu Commissioners
court a week later or pay
R5 admission of guilt.
â\200\234Iâ\200\231d rather appear in
court than pay the R5â\200\235,
said the bishop.

The Nationalist paper,
Rapport, slammed the
authorities for their lack
of â\200\234tact, consideration
and understandingâ\200\235 in
precipitating bad public-
ity overseas.

The Daily News com-

mented: â\200\234What Rapport
seems to be saying is
â\200\230Pick your victims more

1 carehlly A

! The charge was later
X f dropped on condition the

INATAL
FEVER

George Muller|

My, how we have

changed in a few years |

pass to the Bantu Com-
missioner at Eshowe.
The town clerk said: â\200\234We
are placing Bishop Zulu
on his honour, so to
speak.â\200\235

The director of the
Roodepoort Non-Euro-
pean Affairs Depart-
ment blamed the bishop
for the incident because
he had identified himself
at the time only as â\200\234A.H.
Zuluâ\200\235 from Eshowe,
without mentioning that
he was â\200\234a well-known re-
ligious personalityâ\200\235.

The great verlig hope
of later years, Dr Piet
Koornhof, then Deputy
Minister of Bantu Ad-
ministration, said whites:
who failed to notify auth-
orities about entertain-
ing black guests â\200\234caused
discomfort and embar-
rassment to Bantu. ..

â\200\230â\200\234â\200\234This Bantu was
dressed in a safari suit
and not clad in the usual
ecclesiastical habit.â\200\235

To which The Daily
News retorted: â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230At
4.15am?!â\200\235

But that was only one
of the controversies to

engulf the bishop. In ear- Â°

lier years there had been

a rumpus over his appointment as the first black Bishop of Zululand.

I know it's silly, a white housewife told a reporter. I know he's a

the idea of his confirming my daughter.

An Eshowe man said after a meeting: I would have been excommunicated had I made known my thoughts...

The local archdeacon said: The first reaction

of many whites was one of deep shock.

Then there was an un-

holy row when Bishop Zulu was due to move into Bishopshurst, the official residence in white Eshowe.

Unlike Bishop Tutu, who is firmly established in white-zoned Bishopscourt, Bishop Zulu stayed in a cottage near Kwanzimela and had to drive a total of 110km to

and from his office at Bishopshurst every working day.

He never did move in. Repeated applications for permission to do so were finally rejected. The residence, that had been standing empty for several months, was let to a temporary tenant a member of the DRC.

nooo
Last Laugh

How can you do so many stupid things in one day?!

f
|

| Bishop presented his

5 â\200\230.-,9,. 1

good chap but I donâ\200\231t like

â\200\234I get up early.â\200\235

TEL NO:Â£891555

FD:H* ZINNER

, -R200m order for ships could save jâ\200\231Ã©b

Magnate repeats
offer to Dorbyl

SHIPPING magnate Heinrich
Schoeller, owner of the Cyprus
based Columbia Ship Management
company, â\200\231 has reiterated his offer
for Durban â\200\231s Dorbyl Marine
shipyard to build two more ships
costing 200 million â\200\224 i{ the
company is still interested in
his business.

1 Dorbyl Marine is still interest-
ed and is able to come up with a
financial package in time, and
) 200 jobs at the Dorbyl Marine
shipyard will be saved

Dorbyl completed two ships for
Columbia Ship Management and 2
thirds being completed, but says
it cannot proceed with the contract
for a further two ships to make a
total of five.

Mr Schoeller said he was most
dismayed when Dorbyl Marine
pulled out of the contract, leaving

| the two last ships to be built for
his company because it was unable

to secure a financial package from

the South African Reserve Bank.
He said: â\200\234Find a way to meet

Transpon Reporter

your rand-yard building price and
we still have a deal. I repeat my
offer: I want two further ships built
because the deal makes business
sense to me, to the shipyard and to
South Africa. I am happy with the
quality of the ships and delighted
that they are being built in
South Africa

â\200\234My bottom line is basic. I offer
you the United States dollar price
upfront and I want my ships

â\200\234Dorbyl Marine have informed
me that the South African Reserve
Bank refused to approve the finan-
cial structures which gives them the
South African rand price they need
to build the ships and consequent

ly Dorbyl advised mao that the contract cannot proceed. As a businessperson who has closed shipping deals all over the world, I find this difficult to swallow,

What seems strange to me is that 2 similar structures were used

in the past and I know some things similar to being used for several other purposes from South Africa-

Just when 14 shipbuilding activity in South Africa is starting to build world-class container vessels, the door is slammed shut. I've heard it said that the shipbuilding industry is dead business in the short term, but this is probably true. However, consider the medium and long term if you know a lot of an aging world fleet and a new generation of ships is clear that the market will improve in 2-3 cycles are common. Any business, he said, Mr. Schosler said the true victims were the shipyard workers who tried so hard to make my other

by recently announced that it would retrench about 300 workers by next week about 1,000 more by March next year, although many others would be made redundant for them in other departments.

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Tost local councils with

By Toni"bunghusband
and Gien Elsas ;
sees the inauguration of the
Regional Services Councils
lespite initial criticism, local

nd town councils seem now |

/e accepted this new form of
government.

e BSCs; which will co-ordi-

â\200\230all community services on a
nal basis, will be funded by
of employment levies and a
ver tax.

the Transvaal, the RSCs are -

cated in' the PWV area and
vided into the Central Rand,
land, West Rand and Pre.
ind its environs, the largest
se being the East Rand.
depoort, traditionally linked
le West Rand, has been in-
in the Central Rand region.
â\2027 council officials had ob-
to the townâ\200\231s inclusion in

thisâ\200\230,:rÃgion, thinking Roodpoort

could have more say in a smaller .

RSC on the West Rand. i

They feared that smaller towns
might be â\200\234swallowed upâ\200\235 by the
larger cities and might be forced
to take a back seat when it came
to decision-making. ;

But after careful consideration, ;

Mr Werner Zybrands, town clerk
of Roodepoort, said this week his
council now accepted fully its in-
clusion in the Central RSC region.

Roedepoort would still play an
important role and, after the inj-
tial organisation, the work load
would not increase by much.

â\200\234It is a method of achieving cer-
tain objectives. None of those who
have criticised have come up with
a better solution.â\200\235

When the Government proposed the establishment of RSCs, Mr

_Ricky Valente, chairman of the

Sandton Town & Council management

committee, called for the total rejection of the plan. /

He called on the Government to get back to the drawing board where we will assist them to establish a framework of logical metropolitanism, but we cannot accept what is proposed, A

This week a spokesman for the council said Sandton would cooperate because the RSCs were now law, but stressed that its views remained unchanged. '

Some conservative white town councils had rejected the RSC System for allowing power-sharing between races and for removing white autonomy.

However, three traditionally conservative towns on the West Rand this week welcomed the inauguration of the RSCs.

Mr Kobus Nieuwoudt, Town Clerk of Krugersdorp, said the town council was sure the Regional

Services Council would be an effective council for discussing projects of mutual interest.

The West Rand Council is in the preparation stage, he said, and several sub-committees are being formed to investigate certain issues :

Mr Neels de Bruin, Town Clerk

of Randfontein, expects the Regional

Services Council to be an effective vehicle to eliminate the duplicating of several expensive essential services.

We are very positive about the Success of the venture which we feel will mean better co-operation among West Rand municipalities, he said.

Mr Hannes van Niekerk, Town Clerk of Westonaria, said the West Rand Regional Services Council

had started several work committees before the council becomes effective.

L

draw opposition to RSCs

â\200\234As we are situated rather faÂ¥â\200\231 apart, however, some projects will be rather hard to tackle as a council because of the vast distances between the municipalities.â\200\235

Anti-apartheid groups, such as the United Democratic Front, feel the RSCs are based on racial segregation and merely entrench apartheid.

The PFP is opposed to the RSCs for the same reason, warning that blacks have already shown strong opposition to apartheid at local government level.

Representatives of the National Party on the Johannesburg City Council have welcomed RSCs â\200\224 particularly with reference to the inclusion of Soweto and â\200\234Norwetoâ\200\235 in the Central Rand region.

â\200\234We see this as a challenge and have no qualms about tackling our responsibilities to the RSCâ\200\231s,â\200\235 an NP spokesman said. y

ANDREA WEISS
Health Reporter

SOUTH AFRICA celebrates
95 years of heart trans-
plants this year â\200\224 but, the fu-
ture of the operation which
put the country on the inter-
national medical map is in
the balance.

Dr Ralph Mgiijima, health
secretary for the ANC, said it
was â\200\234very, very possibleâ\200\235 af-
ter an evaluation of health
policy that heart transplants
would be suspended in uture.

He said the ANC was look-
g R ith em o
M
i imary and pre:

care.

lt had not yet reached the

stage of evaluating the cost of
free, basic care for all South

Africans. Once this had been
done, it would ible to
hat was | if% spend on

as le

ionsâ\200\235, he]

~Dr Mgiijima said the weigt1â\200\231m-
ing up of costs had to be
looked at in the context of
whether, for instance, it was
petter to improve living con-
o Soweto, thus pre-
fng diseases like rhe

natic hea everw
fm_vL,_,APQ/â\200\224â\200\224RLM

ons.

â\200\234~Countering this argument
i{s Professor John Odell, head
of the University of Cape
Townâ\200\231s heart surgery depart-
ment which pioneered heart

transplants in the world. Pro-

â\200\230Mass medicineâ\200\231 may
spe\\traâ\200\230nsplaâ\200\231ntsâ\200\231Ã©nd"

â\200\224= TheCapedrans &

Sutta e

Folanen w8 8 CAPT. TOWN. MONDAY. DECEMIFR 4 17

Patient's condition â\200\230first class', Groote Schuur doctors say ; Three

(e FTER 7 DAYS e veart| o0
Louw tells of X% o on â\200\230op

key factor in Â\$
heart transplant|Â\$

! 4 5% â\200\224

FLASHBACK: This was how The Argus covered the historic heart transplant operation on Mr Louis Washkansky in December 1967, an operation that catapulted Dr Chris Barnard, Groote Schuur Hospital and Cape Town to instant fame.

tessor Udell leaves for the He added: â\200\234There have been have no hesitation in recon-
United States at the end of a lot of spinoffs. We have sidering the service. We have
the year, but is optimistic learned a lot more about im- shown that with paediatric

~ The response and toleranc

about the future of transplant ~mune response and_tolerance heart transplants the costs

surgery. which Ein% eigwjl;_@ the man- are comparable with the
Â«] dom't think this country agement of Aids. management of childhood

can afford to stop it. Hea In an editorial written for ?:tlÃ©alleÃ©ralizs,,and ploRsve ot
transplants put South Africa the Southern African Journal

on the map. of Critical Care, Professor /
Iâ-Ef we do H.StOE the opera- Odell acknowledged that Professor Chris Barn
ard
tion, what will happen is that heart transplantation was un- believes the choice is simple
:
patients will go overseas. der intense pressureâ be- We have to de
cide whether

ofive ap- cause of the perception thatit - NS S ical treatme
to reac Â standard O

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s in the newspapers, mon- was expensive an only bene-
ey w ave the coun and fited a few. Third_World countries. If we
Âeverybody will be re ded G decide to take the Third
of what is happening to the lf the results were not as ~ World route, there is no place
health system.â good as they are, onÂ would for heart transplants.

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By Vivlan Warby A

3 (-,THE National Party -
*party or group to get to-

â\200\230last night said it did not
tview as -a threatâ\200\231 the

%â\200\234Imeeting of homeland
=7 and Right-wing leaders
n Johannesburg yes-

Stoffel van â\200\230 â\200\234der
Merwe secretary-general
of the party, said the NP
- â\200\234would reserve its i\201ghtmg

: abthty for the real opposi-

non the ANC alliance.â\200\231
"It was the right of any

gether to discuss common
problems.

The NP had no prob-
lem with this. However,

â\200\230what was incomprehensi-
" ble was how Inkatha and

the ConsÃ©rvative Party

â\200\234could find common fun-

damental ~ground. â\200\234The

â\200\234basic positions of the CP
~ and the IFP were i incom-

_patible.

â\200\234One wonders if Ynka-
tha would support the es-
tablishment of a White

" Volkstaat with all the dis- |

criminatory things it en-
tails. One also wonders
what the attitude of the
CP would be toward Zu-
lus who wanted to live |
there. -

â\200\234If one takes the long '

â\200\234No threat: Stoffel I~

FROM PAGE T

history of Inkatha and
Chief (Mangosuthu) Bu-
thelez, there has been re-
sistance to apartheid. On
| the other hand, the CP's

l'!!SIOrY ls one of trying to~

uphoid apartheid. How

can these two be re-
conciled?â\200\235 .

Pr Van der Merwe
said, however, he found
one of the mini-summitâ\200\231s
resolutions â\200\224 to discuss

certain aspects-with theâ\204ç

government â\200\224 very en; .
couraging.

| do â\200\224 Buthelezi

THE struggle for political change by black South Africans cannot be solved through the barrel of a gun, Mr Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister-designate of Zimbabwe, has said.

Mr Mugabe, who in-

vited Chief Gatsha

Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, and some of his top Inkatha. officials for talks in London last No-

vember, expressed the view that white South Africans were an indigenous people and not settlers.

Revealing for the first time details of the talks, Chief Buthelezi said yesterday that the Zanu faction leader of the Patriotic Front - felt that an armed struggle in South Africa was â\200\234not a viable proposition at the moment.

â\200\234Although he was not against it, he felt it would not work simply because our situation was different and peculiar. He appreciated my efforts to distill a special solution to a peculiar situation,â\200\235 said Chief Buthelezi.

Mr Mugabe also told the Inkatha pre-

'sident that he appre-

ciated his mobilising

uÃ©be likes what

of the
cause
paramount
anceâ\200\235.
â\200\234Mr Mugabe and .
his colleagues, just

people be-
â\200\234that is of
import-

like the African Na-. -

tional Congress lead-
ers and Mr Joshua
Nkomo, held me in
high esteem. They do
not see me as a South
African Government
lackey as some peo-
ple want to believe,â\200\235
he said.

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Jast mght said it did not
vvlew as -a" threatâ\200\231 the

*zand Right-wing leaders
n Johannesburg yes-

" Stoffel van â\200\234der

*Merwe, secretary-general
--â\200\234of the party, said the NP
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government â\200\224~Vety cĩ~\202- i

coumgmo

L --By Sapa and
"L/ Hugo Hagenâ\200\231
*PRESIDENT - De
. Klerkâ\200\231s latest attempts
"at breaking the politi-
â\200\234cal | deadlock . preven-
. ting a return to Codesa
. yesterday _suffered a
â\200\234serious setback with
formidable opposition
â\200\230thrown up by three
homeland - - leaders

â\200\234backed 'by the Right-
wing C_o'nservative Par-

-ty and the Afrikaner

Volksunie.
.Yesterday's. one-day
mini-summit called by the

troika of KwaZulu Chief -

Minister and Inkatha
Freedom Party leader
Mangosuthu Buthelezi,
Bophuthatswanaâ\200\231s Presi-
dent Lucas Mangope, and
Ciskei military leader
Oupa Gqozo, unanimous-
ly called for the total
scrapping of the Codesa
negotiations and the cre-

4

ation of a new political
negotiations forum..

The conference Wwas
also attended by observ-
ers from Gazankulu, the
South African Chamber

of Business, the Chamber :

of Mines, the National

. Peace Secretariat and sev-
eral independent facilita-
L}

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Is. s .
Although the threel
homeland leaders. at the

Dr ANDRIES TREURNICHT (left) leader of the Conservative Party, chats to the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI (centre) and the Ciskei leader, Brigadier OUPA GQOZO at the conference for concerned South Africans in Sandton yesterday. |

e have already ed.that the. -..
ik â\200\230French â\200\230Revolution was>aâ\200\234mag-+
~ nificent event which turned out badly, -

with the horrors of the Reign of Terror
_and the long and costly Napoleonic
- wars. The other two great revolutions
of- modern times, the Russian and the .
* Chinese, â\200\234have also: devoured: their: :
~ own childrenâ\200\224 in the Stalinist purgesâ\200\231
- of the thirties and the so-called cul-
- tural revolution respectively. These,
" of course, were not the products of
~ popular mass movements, but the re-
â\200\234sult of the machinations of tiny revo- -
- lutionary elites. The recent horrific
- events in Tiananmen Square are tra- -,
~ gic evidence that aged revolutiona-
â\200\234â\200\234â\200\234ries are as fervent defenders of the*
. status quo as ever were the nobles of
e-revolutionary France..

ity s cova

: Yet, unless totally sunk in the tor:
" por of the repressedâ\200\230or the fearful
- comfort of the repressor, mankind is- .
* rarely-satisfied with the'status quo. =

- . Humanity, is always on the march,
â\200\234 whether it knows~itâ\200\234or notâ\200\235 and-
= whether it wants to or not. s zw oo i@

. = Happily there are examples in his-:

5 tor%of.revolutionary change achieved ...

" without catastrophic disruption or
bloodshed â\200\224 the American revolu-
tion, the British parliamentary revo-

- lution, the Industrial Revolution.

Two areas in the world today call
particularly for the skilful manage-
ment of change â\200\224 Eastern Europe,

where the legacy of the communist

- revolution is running into economic
5 quicksands, and Southern-Africa. Mr ...
. Gorbachey is making courageous and

HE

s

- imaginative "efforts to bring about -

7. managed change in the former case.: .-

- Will F.W. de Klerk prove the Gorba- . ..

- chevofSouth Africa? .. = '

THE CITIZEN

COMMENT

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;
Make a start f

PREDICTABLY, the creation of a National Council to negotiate a new dispensation in which Blacks will be represented at the highest levels of government has met with a mixed reception.

Liberals say credible Black leaders will not take part and they say this without knowing who will.

They say that Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners must first be released unconditionally and the ANC unbanned.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, shares this view and has added a new order that the tricameral Parliament must be abandoned as well.

The government is now offering an informal amnesty to anyone in political exile, including members of the ANC.

The State President. Mr P W Botha. has repeated his offer to security prisoners and those who have left the country for whatever reasons.

Reject and abandon violence. Turn your backs on Godless Marxism and destructive-radicalism. If you prove your sincerity in this regard, you will find the government's approach to be reasonable.

He has also invited the ANC to return to South Africa to participate in peaceful negotiations, to build the economy and improve so-

cial conditions provided the organisation lays down its arms, ceases its acts of terrorism, refrains from detonating bombs, stops the murder of people in Black townships and cuts its ties with international Communism.

However, the ANC has replied with its own preconditions, including the abandonment of apartheid and the violence that goes with it, as well as a government commitment to democratic fundamental change.

The ANC is not interested in Nelson Mande-

laâ\200\231s release, as it suits its purposes to have him stay in jail. Besides, if he renounced violence, the ANC would have to follow suit â\200\224 and it is committed to increasing its terrorist attacks rather than abandoning them.

The ANC is also not interested in negotiating a new dispensation. It wants a hand-over of power to the Black masses, Mmeaning itself.

The ANCs fronts in South Africa could, of course, participate in the official structures. that are available, including the National Council, but that would require amr about-face that they would find impossible to make.

Put bluntly, we cannot expect any involvement - of the ANC and its fronts in Creating a new dispensation, so we must rule them out of the negotiations.

i -â\200\230-â\200\230lâ\200\230* i"
The government. for s part. is willing create structures in which Blac}cs can partici-

pate at the highest levels and is prepared e

bring Black Ministers into the Cabm_et.t';l:

though the suggestion is that there will first be Black Deputy Ministers. ' : :
The proposed National Council â\200\224 in terms of the legislation before Parliament, . it will be able to choose another name â\200\224 has been

restrudÂyed to meet Black objections and 20

of the 39 members of the council will be

Black. ' it

Mr Chris Heunis. the Minister of Consutunqn-al Development and Planning. told Parhâ\200\231a~ment yesterday that the Bill to set up the National Council â\200\234contains no impediment on the free participation by any political organisations or individuals interested in Eeaceful democratic processes and in constitutional power sharing. : .

â\200\234The agenda is open. There is only one item on the agenda, and that is a constitutional dispensation in which all South Afncags are represented and can participate without

ation.â\200\235

ngnÃ@luncil was not a goal in itself, but an instrument through which new structures

uld be brought about.

â\200\234fx())ll peace-lovingrlg South Africans must now seize the opportunity to prove their commitment to negotiation.â\200\235â\200\235 Mr Heunis said.

We agree with him. A start has to be made B
and the National Council provides the ve-
hicle for getting the negotiations going.

Letâ\200\231s forget about the s and buts and get on
with this vital task.

[Polmcal Correspondent CHRIS WHITFIELD]

Multi-party o face the
tougher issues

t\alks

VEN the security

staff at the World

Trade Centre have

become cynical
â\200\230about politicians. â\200\234They
should be locked in here un-
til they get their a,ct Oge
er,â\200\235 was the comment of one-
as negotiators shuffled into
the Kempton Park confer-
ence centre last week.

Given that he had rob-
ably been starry-eyed back
in December, 1991, when
Codesa I started and the
main players arrived amid
great are and television
lights, the officialâ\200\231s com-
ments reflected a growing
cynicism in the South Afri-
can public. Perhaps even a
lack of faith in the process.

That might explain the
euphoria with which the
gkes of Roelf Meyer %.Ielg

aphosa gree

imt appeared to be a
smaller step forward than
had been anticipated before
the mulu-party planning
conference.

The decision to resume
multi-party talks within a
month should obviously be
welcome to any
ing South AMcan But be-
torehand observers â\200\224 and

Inkath-a had also threat-

raise the lssue of
â\200\234tÃ@pic" and "'tlâ\200\230:e way â\204¢

aheadâ\200\235 part of the agenda
may have touched on the
dispute over who should
write the constitution.

In the event the public
element of the nfrooeedmgs
was marked y by some

i the Conserva-
ve Party,

â\200\230 ch is so far off

â\200\230e negotiations pace it

â\200\230must have felt as

â\200\234wandered into a hall of mir-

rors, where nothing is quite
it seems.

The IFP was also in a re-
markably conciliatory
â\200\230mood, in spite of ominous
-signs.

â\200\231mursday, on the
R o talks, a member
of rganisai-\'201onsâ\200\231necat1 â\200\230.
ating team had told the

eve of

Mercury: â\200\234Expect a good

nghyv

. Now

peace-seek-

it had

Earlier in the week one of
its top negotiators, Walter
Felgate, said federalism
would be raised â\200\230â\200\230very
strongly.â\200\235

' By late 'Iâ\200\230hursday evening
IFP negotiators had shifte

their stance and were telling

â\200\230jouulinalists that the country

) longer afford de-
and not

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ceedings began the next
momln

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'There com t&: a number
ofreas loi one bein
i-\'201 tion tha
P was bemg obstruc-
ttonist in negotia

Military victory

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is not the object

SOUTH AFRICA, from Page 12

Webster, was captured by police in a
- shootout in which Webster was seri-

ously wounded and another cadre-

killed.

â\200\230Webster was placed under police
guard at Edendale Hospital in Pieter-

maritzburg. On May 4, 1986, McBride,
wearing a white coat, and his father,
Derrick, dressed in a suit, walked into
' McBride, tried separately in the hospi-

the hospital, hoping to spring Webster.

â\200\230The pair decided to abort the rescue
when they saw a number of police
officers near Websterâ\200\231s room. But
when an officer spotted the men and
began approaching with a machine
gun, McBride drew his. â\200\234I closed my
eyes and I pressed the trigger on my

gun,â\200\235 he said in court. â\200\234The policeman

~ ran away.â\200\235

â\200\230McBride then ran into the ward and
shot at another officer who also fled.
Webster pulled tubes out of his arm and
~ McBride put him on a trolley. Webster

took McBride's AK and the men went
rolling down the hospital corridor,
with Webster firing bursts. One by-
stander was fatally wounded. ;

â\200\230Webster fell off the trolley twice
before the men were able to load him
onto a pickup and spirit him to a
hideout. A friend who was a nurse
patched up his wounds, and McBride
was able to smuggle Webster into
Botswana.

â\200\230Now Webster is in London, but

McBride is scheduled to hang. After
President P.W. Botha declared a na-

tionwide state of emergency last June
12, McBride responded by loading a car
full of explosives and parking it in front
of | Magooâ\200\231s Restaurant on Durbanâ\200\231s

popular Marine Parade, a beachfront

resort area.

'The bomb went off on a Saturday night, June 14, killing three women and injuring 69 people. McBride and his girlfriend, Greta Apelgren, 30, were arrested about a month later, partly on the basis of information gained by

police through the interrogation of

people held under emergency rules. Apelgren was acquitted of the mur-

der counts but convicted of terrorism.

She is serving 21 months in jail. Derrick

tal breakout, was convicted and sentenced to 12 years. _

| Police said the McBrides and Apelgren were among at least 159 ANC cadres captured or killed last year, a record. Although the figure is reflective of increased infiltration and stepped-up ANC attacks, experts, members of rival groups and even some ANC members say the ANC in Lusaka isn't sufficiently concerned about its guerrillas' survival.

| 'Carelessness about security is a big

problem, and I don't think the hierarchy

pays enough attention to this,' said Tom Lodge, a University of the Witwatersrand lecturer and an ANC expert.

'The point was echoed by Sam, another ANC defector to the South African Police. A

| 'Whether the mission is successful

" or not, it is the same to the ANC,' he said. 'In fact, if you have two success-

ful missions and come back, they want to know what you did. They were suspicious, thinking maybe you were collaborating with police.'

. An internal ANC planning document for 1987 noted that 'the question of the survival of MK cadres and the safety of our war materials cannot be solved without reference to the underground structures of the ANC inside

our country. b

T
' 'It is clear that these structures are still too weak and too often we have to

depend on the ability of cadres to fend

for themselves in terms of their survival.

al,â\200\235 the document said.

Joe Slovo, who until April 21 was

chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, said, â\200\234I think you know we have got to improve that side of our work,â\200\235 particularly people caught infiltrating the border. :

â\200\234You canâ\200\231t fight a war without casualties,â\200\235 Slovo said. â\200\234So each comrade who falls is a terrible loss. One

feels enormously sad about it. But there

is no way of engaging without risking being shot, being wounded, being caught or hanged.â\200\235 - Gh iy

Slovo said the government exaggerates ANC losses by counting arrests

and Kkills of some people who are â\200\230engaged in anti-government activity

but are not ANC. Slovo, other ANC leaders and ana-

" lysts say there are several positive

signs for the MK effort.

They credit the ANCâ\200\231s terror and sabotage campaign with raising morale in black townships and helping inspire further resistance. That resistance has led to more than 2,400 deaths in South Africa in political and racial violence since September 1984.

"Township residents who requested anonymity said there were signs that the ANC in recent months has stepped up its infiltration of black areas and moved in more experienced cadres. The May 20 car bombing in Johannesburg, for instance, which killed four police officers, was carried out with high precision, experts say. |

Even police say there is little way in the long run to prevent the hit-and-run

attacks. â\200\234If I want to blow up the central airport in Gaboroneâ\200\235 â\200\224 the

capital of neighboring Botswana â\200\224 â\200\234I'll do it,â\200\235 the police counter-intelligence expert said. â\200\234Itâ\200\231s that easy. You canâ\200\231t stop terrorism.â\200\235

~ And although police claim to have the ANC well infiltrated, the ANC has

been able from time to time to turn the

tables. In November, two black police officers were charged in Pretoria with furthering the aims of the ANC. The indictment alleged they had passed .

along information to the ANC for six years. . : ,

.~ â\200\234I think on the whole, the morale of the rank and file has never been as high

as it is,â\200\235 Slovo said. â\200\234The fact is that |

last year was a record for us in relation to our activity. But it's not enough . . . we should have, not a hundred percent increase, but a thousand percent increase.â\200\235

he spirited attitude of ANC'

cadres frequently is displayed when they are tracked down. â\200\234If an ANC man starts fighting,

. itâ\200\231s very difficult for the police and . army to take him alive,â\200\235 Lodge said. Once in court, members generally

decline to beg for leniency. Andrew Zondo, convicted of the Amanzimtoti bombings, turned down an opportunity to ask President Botha to commute his death sentence.

Zondo was hanged in September. Two other ANC members were executed the same day, bringing to eight the number hanged by Pretoria since 1979.

â\200\230Another cadre, identified in court

| records as Z. Mtlomelo, testified in

Capg Town in November in an appeal of hl.S 15-year sentence for an arson conviction. When he took the stand, he

. was asked about an ANC badge he was

wearing on his jacket. He said he was prepared to die for the ANC and, ap-

. proved of its work â\200\234to kill the Boers.â\200\235

Boers are white Afrikaners.

; Mtlomelo added that when he set - fire to a government development - board office, he had hoped that an

Afrikaner worker, â\200\234that dog Fourie,â\200\235 would be there.

Mtloemelo's appeal was turned down. :

- ANC leaders say their cadres' spirit

has inspired township youths. :

"The younger generation, people are prepared to die for liberation," said

| Francis Meli, an executive committee

member. "The younger generation is saying that it's not enough to die for liberation, we should also kill for liberation. So it's not a question of passive death, that type of thing. We want to kill for liberation."

Meli was asked if he found that attitude worrisome.

"No, no, no," he said. "How can it worry us?"

- WHAT'S AHEAD

m TUESDAY: Victims on both sides ;

m WEDNESDAY: Life in exile

m THURSDAY: The future

o ULO.

Mandela meets with Botha

by Arnold de Mille
DefenÃ©er UN Correspondent

UNITED NATIONS N. Y The recent secret meeting between Nelson Mandela, National African Congress leader, and South Africa President P.W. Botha had created

- much national confusion and a po-

litical dilemma. It also raised the hopes of some 28 million Black South Africans in the country and those scattered m nexghbonngs states.

News of the meeting, when flashed around the world, aroused immediately world-wide - interest and curiosity as to what was hap-

pening in the apartheid regime. -

WlId speculations began to flow as to the real motives of P.W. Botha

in secretly inviting Mr.' Mandela to-

tea at the presidential residence in Cape Town, about one hourâ\200\231s drive from the prison farm where Mr. Mandela is incarcerated. Nelson Mandela is often referred to as South Africaâ\200\231s â\200\234most prominent political prisoner.â\200\235

The meeting took place July 5. The only other invited person was South African Minister of Justice, ~ Mr. Kobie Coetsee. Three days

later word leaked out that such a

meeting did take place. The gov-

ernment then issued a statement, attributed to Minister of Justice - Coetsee, saying that the president met Mr. Mandela informally for about 45 minutes. The conversa-

tion took place in a place in a

pleasant spirit, no policy matters

were discussed, no negotiations were conducted and no plans were

set for another meeting. The only statement attributed to Mr. Mandela at that time was: â\200\234â\200\230I

only would like to contribute to

the creation of a climate which
would promote peace in South
Africa.

" Here at the United Nations, the
South Africa Mission to the UN
was silent on the meeting for sev-
eral days. Then on July 12, the
Mission issued the followmg
release:

In response to inquiries the

South African Minister of Justice,

Mr. Kobie Coetsee, confirmed
that Mr. Nelson Mandela in reac-

tion to comments on his conversa-

tion with State President Botha
submitted his own statement.

He subsequently authorized
that the following statement by

Mr. Mandela can be released:

The statement issued by the

Minister of Justice, Mr. Kobie

Coetsee, on the meetmg between

the State President and myself is
an accurate reflection of what
happened at that meeting. The

future dlscusxons would not be the :
appropriate course of action to
promotepeaceful development.

I would also like to confirm
thatmyreleaselsnotanlssueat
this stage. As implied in the origi-
nal statement, I only would like to
contribute to the creation of a
climate which would promote
peace in South Africa.

Mr. Mandela's statement was
released by the Pretoria gov-
ernment because no statement by
him is allowed to be published in
South Africa, nor are any of his
views permitted to be discussed
publicly. :

Since the meeting took place, it
is reported, several all-white dele-
gations, representing South
African political groups, have been
meeting with ANC officials at their
exile headquarters in Lusaka,
Zambia.

statement, however, constitutes no |

deviation from the position I have

taken over the past 28 years,
namely that dialogue with the
mass democratic movement and,

in particular, with the African Na-
tional Congress, is the only way of
ending violence and bring peace to
our country.

I. make this statement in
response to comments in the
media concerning the meeting
with the State President. I believe,

however that at this early stage

statements to the press as

a means of conducting possible

i

~Morin

~ The Miami Herald Ã© _â\200\231t____',,,._._â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

THANK You,

MICKEY LELAND,

XHEREVEW you
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T R R R e e e

&

khonto we

initiative, ...

One proposal is that
AK-47s and other dan-
gerous weapons be
handed over to the Nat-
ional Peace Committee,

" These weapons would "

safes for safe-keeping,
and the keys lodged in
bank safety deposit

put to the ANC if it a-
buses are out of control a

be locked in special ;.

" Citizen Reporter ."

MENT * proposals to place - Um-
Sizwe cadres under control will be
pears that MK-mem-:

P,
and acting on their own

.members themselves,
there is a plan to ap-
* point peace liaison offi-

boxes. uivdtidsin D L,

. With regard to MK

cers, operating under
the - National Peace
Committee. Their duty
would be to liaise with
MK commanders and

)

Mr Sipho Sithoje,

~ This could occur lat-
- er during 2
official said,
What the government
wants to know from the

C is whether any
members
- b N.ational
C ittee or

were
aware of the illegal im-

0 were
d in the incident,

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Government offigias |
in
mPĩ¬\202koryJanl sen-

the week,â\200\235 an tne .

tence for offences reja;.
ing to illegal, dangerous
-Weapons was one of the
maspects t:;dg consider-
~ ation to bring down the
levels of violence and vi.
olent crime, in which
the AK-47 has beep the
Palculpric < S

of the ANC
Executive

ANC

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Nelson Mandela = F W de Klerk

Mandela
agrees to
TV debate
with F W

NOBEL laureates and political
arch-rivals Nelson Mandela
and F W de Klerk will almost
certainly cross swords in a live
television debate soon.

The ANC leader yesterday
accepted the challenge made
by President De Klerk last
year to debate on national tele-
vision.

â\200\234Mr De Klerk has not com-
municated with me about the
time and date. I hope he ar-
ranges that debate,â\200\235 said Mr
Mandela, before reading a
statement marking the ANCâ\200\231s
82nd anniversary.

â\200\230The election would take
place on April 27 as scheduled,
in spite of opposition from var-
ious quarters, he said.

â\200\234We will continue to pur-
sue all organisations outside
the process (to take part in the
election). But, it must be clear
that nobody can stop us from
holding that election.â\200\235 .

Mr Mandela charged that the
- violence in black communities

was an attempt by the govern-
ment and the ruling National
Party to erode the support
base of the ANC.

* The violence, he said, was fo-
cused in African areas and not
other communities â\200\224 hence
there was a clear strategy to
move support away from ANC
strongholds.

SA Communist Party chair-
man Joe Slovo said it was a
distortion to blame the carnage
in East Rand townships on self-
defence units.

â\200\234Since May last year more

than 1200 people have died in violence in Katlehong and Tokoza. It is only in recent weeks that conflict between SDU members has surfaced.

â\200\234It is clear that policing has broken down â\200\224 the East Rand is a disaster area. The mortuary there resembles a sceiie from Auschwitz.

â\200\234Until power is transferred, the duty to restore calm rests with the government. But we will do our utmost to address the issue,â\200\235 said Mr Slovo.

Mr Mandela agreed, saying the government had failed to contain the violence.

â\200\234I say again, the violence is being perpetrated by the state security forces and others.â\200\235 â\200\224 Sapa. â\200\231

WILLEM STEENKAMP
Weekend Argus Reporter

SO-CALLED bush pubs, which sprung up all over Simonâ\200\231s Town, Muizenberg, Kalk Bay, Kommetjie and Noordhoek, have been closed down by the police.

The pubs â\200\224 the equivalent of she-beens in the townships â\200\224 have angered some locals who complained to the police of unruly behaviour and parking problems.

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â\200\234â\200\230Bush pubsâ\200\231 closed by police

Bush pubs have been operating from several residential houses in the different areas, with some houses being turned into proper pubs by the owners. Overnight quiet streets became parking lots with revelry lasting late into the night.

Warrant Officer Arno Stramrood, head of the Fish Hoek police crime

prevention unit, said the so-called bush pubs were operating illegally without liquor licences.

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INI-SUMMIT

By Sapa and
Hugo Hagen
PRESIDENT De
Klerkâ\200\231s latest attempts
at breaking the politi-
cal deadlock preven-
ting a return to Codesa
yesterday suffered a
serious setback with
formidable opposition
thrown up by three
homeland leaders
backed by the Right-
wing Conservative Par-

ty and the Afrikaner
Volksunie.

Yesterdayâ\200\231s. one-day
mini-summit called by the
troika of KwaZulu Chief
Minister and Inkatha
Freedom Party leader
Mangosuthu Buthelezi,
Bophuthatswanaâ\200\231s Presi-
dent Lucas Mangope, and
Ciskei military leader
Oupa Gqozo, unanimous-
ly called for the total
scrapping of the Codesa
negotiations and the cre-

ation of a new political
negotiations forum.

The conference was
also attended by observ-
ers from Gazankulu, the
South African Chamber
of Business, the Chamber
of Mines, the National
Peace Secretariat and sev-
eral independent facilita-
tors.

Although the three
homeland leaders at the

- TO PAGE 2

E

SETBACK FOR FW

Dr ANDRIES TREURNICHT (left) leader of the Conservative Party, chats to the Chief Minister
<~
of KwaZulu and president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI
(centre) and the Ciskei leader, Brigadier OUPA GQOZO at the conference for concerned South
Africans in Sandton yesterday.

__® Picture by Craig Beifus

MICHAEL MORRIS and TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

HOPES are running high that negotiations for a new democratic system will resume in full tomorrow and will achieve major breakthroughs by the end of the month. 5

An important feature of the negotiations is that time frames are now

talks. They are also being streamlined through a system of committees.

The Negotiating Council meets in Kempton Park again tomorrow to ratify a number of technical committees agreed on earlier this

week by a 10-man planning committee.

These technical committees will deal with election matters, violence and constitutional matters, including the setting up of a Transitional Executive Council. v

The violence issue will be high on the agenda and the aim will also be to try and reach early agreement on an election date. !

There are hopes that there could be a TEC before the end of June. Â

Mr Colin Eglin MP, a member of the planning committee, predicted today that there would be intense activity in the Proposed technical commit-

tees during the rest of the month.
. He pointed out that an important issue now was the laying down of time frames for decisions in the next four to five weeks.

One of the main purpose of the resumed talks would be to flesh out decisions taken by the planning committee.

Eglin hopeful for meeting

The negotiation process was now getting underway in a significant way. :
- Following a very positive meeting of the planning committee this week Mr Eglin was now hopeful for the Negotiating Council meeting tomorrow.

There was also cautious optimism in government and ANC circles today but there were misgivings in rightwing circles. .

A fl of bilateral meetings are expected in the next few days as parties on the right and left will be to evaluate their positions and shore up the talks. A ol

The process is balancing on a razor's edge, . government's chief negotiator, Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer acknowledged in parliament last night.

In a cautiously optimistic assessment, however, he added that negotiators are on the threshold of

a breakthrough.

As the continuing high level of violence, and a fresh spate of attacks on whites, turned last night's

debate into an intense and often angry exchange @ the government gave notice that it would place mass action on the negotiations agenda in ~ the belief that it leads to violence, Â\$ @ the Afrikaner Volksunie said it was re-evaluating its presence in the talks, and | @ the Conservative Party warned there would be no peaceful settlement if aspirations for self-determination were not met.

e grtwng

eing | attached in an effort to speed up the |

General's statement dangerous

In _de ment, the ANC described as _In anoth& and rous a statement by Ma-Tienie Groenewald one of the for-

think that the South African security ever fight against their own people.

The ANC responded that South Africans would not allow themselves to be blackmailed into accepting schemes that seek to turn South * Africa into another Bosnia.

Violence and Afrikaner self-determination dominated yesterday's constitutional development budget debate. h : ;

Mr Meyer lashed out at mass action, warning that it could play into the hands of those who wanted to delay negotiations by violence.

He said the negotiations planning committee would recommend that a technical committee on violence be appointed. :

" Â«I am now already giving notice that the govern-

P | ment will expect that committee to investigate and identify the causes of violence and the organs | | to consolidate

in plans

mm 5

General Groenewald said on- Tuoda?' â\200\234I donâ\200\231t
orces will -

and persons responsible for it.â\200\235

Lungisi Ntintili Thembelani Xundu

Loy
Massacre:
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eniES all

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON: A prime police suspect in Saturday night's Highgate Hotel massacre which left five people dead and seven injured has denied any involvement in the incident.

Meanwhile two separate claims of responsibility for the attack were made to newspapers yesterday, one by a man claiming to be from Apla and the other a member of a black consciousness group. :

Mr Lungisa Ntintili and Mr Thembelani Xundu, wanted by police for questioning about the shooting, were apparently seen in the vicinity of Saturday's attack.

Mr Ntintili, a Pan-Africanist Congress member who is the subject of an intensive manhunt, issued a statement through his attorney last night denying involvement in the killings and saying he feared for his life.

The attorney, who asked not to be named, said: "My client has never been in the Border or East London area... and there is ample evidence to that effect."

- Warning: More attacks

Police have disclosed that Mr Ntintili had

- been arrested and released in February after they had questioned him in connection with the King William's Town Golf Club attack.

Police said they did not find sufficient evidence to link him to the attack.

Yesterday, a man claiming to be a cadre of the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla), in a phone call to Sapa, claimed responsibility for Saturday's attack. A

He warned there would be more attacks.

Azanla is the military wing of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

But a spokesman for the Harare-based movement said the Harare office has no information about this. ; ;

In a telephone call to the Citizen newspaper yesterday, a man claiming to be Apla's internal high commander and calling himself Carl Zimbiri said Apla was responsible for the attack.

A PAC official said Mr Ntintili had been .

the launch of a southern Transkei branch, of the
PAC in Butterworth on Saturday. =~

Independent sources say Mr Xundu who is
also alleged to have been identified at the golf
club attack and Yellowwoods Hotel killing near
Fort Beaufort was seen at a PAC Workers
Day rally at Phakamisa township, near King
William's Town. i

|

rhetoric fails
to inspire
imbabweans

. By MICHAEL
HARTNACK

DESPITE its unemploy-
ment and runaway infla-

tion problems reflected
in last week's bread ri-
'ots, there are two mighty

causes for optimism in
Zimbabwe. 'ot

The first stems from
obvious good race rela-

tions on the street, re-

gardless of the efforts of
President Robert
Mugabe and Vice-Presi-
dent Joshua Nkomo to
brand the remaining
80 000 whites as greedy

| racist usurpers for re-

sisting the nationalisa-
tion of farms. i
Our daily and weekly
newspapers publish
some letters supporting
recent claims that
whites conspire to ex-
clude 10,5 million blacks
from prosperity, but an
equal number dismiss
this as a very cheap
trick by the Zanu(PF)
government to divert at-
tention from its own dis-
mal track record of fail-
ure and gross
mismanagement.

Excitability

The second is the
healthy cynicism today
pervading the thinking

| of ordinary Zimbab-
| weans.

Widespread participation by housewives and

_unemployed youths in
- attacks on bakeries and

bread delivery vans
prove a trait of dangerous excitability survives.
Doubling of prices (in some townships to over R2,50 for a 700g loaf) caused an explosion of anger against the removal of R63 million annual subsidies under Mr Mu-

gabe's five-year economic

structural adjustment programme.

Yet in today's cynical climate it seems impossible for anyone to orchestrate that excitability as Mr Mugabe did after his victory in the 1985 general election, telling youth and women's league members:
"Now take your sticks and beat out the snakes among you."

Game

Tens of thousands of suspected opposition voters (and their children) were assaulted and evicted from their homes into the mid-winter cold.

The leagues are now moribund, and buses hired to fetch party faithful returned empty to a rally on the supposedly 'emotive' land issue addressed by the head of state himself. The 1500 turnout on

September 4 contrasts with over one million who came to see him on his triumphal 1980 inde-

pendence homecoming.

Speaking to the ruling party's central committee here on September 18, Mr Mugabe blamed poor party grassroots leadership for popular disaffection. :

In the next breath he
gave his game away on
the land issue, according
to some commentators,
by alleging that white
farmers were sponsors
of the new forum opposition
party led by re-
tired Chief Justice En-
och Dumbutshena.

Such commentators
think Mr Mugabe sees
commercial farmers as
the only potential source
of funds which could
provide the R15m Zan-
u(PF) voted itself in the
1993 budget.

This, they add, ex-
poses Mr Mugabe's plan
to designate five million
hectares of commercial
farmland for resettlement
in a new light the same
light as his fiercely
controversial 1990
University Amendment
Act, which gave the
education ministry
power to designate who
teaches what to whom.
No lecturer has yet been
dismissed for anti-

Mugabe's land

MUGABE . . . No longer draws the same
crowds.

government activities,
but there has been a dis-
tinct moderating of tone
on the campus. Academ-
ics who used to flay Zan-
u(PF) now write for
party publications.

No farmer has yet

been thrown off his

property without com-
pensation, but (whatever
happens) Mr Mugabe has
effectively added the
R2 billion-a-year agri-
cultural industry to the
civil service, the para-
statals, academia, and
the urban business sec-
tor, regions where he
either has direct job-ap-
pointment patronage or
can threaten bureau-
cratic wrecking of oper-
ations as the Reserve

Bank governor did, most effectively, with First

Merchant Bank if it re-

l fused to silence outspo-

ken economist John Robertson. This analysis might explain why Mr Mugabe is making so much noise about land acquisition in the run up to the next general election, due before July 1995 but expected early next year.

Diplomats note the paltry R10,6 m allocated in the budget for resettlement. Two-thirds of the costs are incurred in moving in the peasants and getting them on their feet. Compensating the previous landholder is a much smaller expense.

With education and legal changes slgwy â\200\234de-

" ate family survival was

turned into cattle, wives, and children as fast as possible, so soaring numbers of children then competed for resources to which no one owned freehold legal title. Political instability caused by this (often violent) competition meant children were rightly regarded as the least insecure investment for the family.

â\200\230Stabilityâ\200\231

However, the Roman law concept of freehold title is gaining converts, despite resistance from Marxists and traditionalists. While supporting land redistribution, Zimbabweâ\200\231s African Farmersâ\200\231 Union says the key to reform lies in issuing individual title deeds which peasants can use as collateral security,

not more collectives

- doomed to failure for

lack of finance and
skilled management.

Meanwhile, address-
ing potential investors
in Les Angeles on Sep-
tember 25, President

Mugabe said Zim-
babweâ\200\231s major drawcard
was its â\200\234stabilityâ\200\235. He
equates â\200\234stabilityâ\200\235 with
extending his system of
political patronage
which absorbs 54% of re-
current governtpent
spending and ham-
strings individual initia-
tive wherever it pene-
trates. The system seems
to him the only way of

AN

I\LAEMBERS Âof the Riot Unit are framed in the doorway of-a burning shack i
R&=e centre of the vielgnoehit area near Pietermaritzburg.

o ad B st S SO

Mercury Correspondent

ULUNDIâ\200\224Jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela asked phief
'Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday for a meeting after his re-
'lease and urged the KwaZulu Chief Minister to set up talks in
' the meantime with the ANC in Lusaka.

. In a telegram sen}

through his attorney,
' Mandela sent greeting
| o Chief Buthelezi anc
| thanked him warmly for
' his efforts to have hi

- set free.

The telegram said the for-

| mer ANC president ha

i read reports of a propos

"1 visit by Chief Buthelezi and
i that he believed very

strongly that the best time
for this would be â\200\230after he

i-and his colleagues have

â\200\230been released from prisonâ\200\231.
Ideally, this would tâ\200\230se

when his â\200\230other colleagues,
presently outside South
Africa, would have re-
turned to the countryâ\200\231.
Chief Buthelezi read the
telegram last night Lo 2
hushed KwaZulu Legisla.

tive Assembiy which had

recently approved a move
to ask him to consider seek-

â\200\230ing Government permission
'to visit Mandela in Polls-

moor Prison.

@' a special statement to -

the Assembly, the Chiefl
Minister and Inkatha presi-
dent pointed out that the
yisit had been proposed not

by him but by the Minister
of Education and Culture,
Dr Oscar Dhiomo.

In view of this, he would
seek Dr Dhiomo's advice on

Mandela's suggestion and
also share it with Inkatha's
General Conference and
Central Committee and
with the caucus of the Leg-
islative Assembly.

Chief Buthelezi, who is
an old friend of Nelson !
Mandela, under whom he
served on the ANC before
it was banned and with
whom he has corresponded !
in prison, said: "I thank Dr
Mandela for his un-
changing attitude towards
me in spite of all I have en-
dured from his colleagues
in the External Mission of
the ANC.

Approaches

He had started campaign-
ing for the release of
Mandela and other politi-
cal prisoners more than 10
years ago "I on my own,
unprompted by anyone,
and I continue doing so,
until he and other political
prisoners are released"

The Chief Minister re-
minded the Assembly, how-
ever, of several approaches
made to the ANC Mission
in Exile by himself and Dr .
Dhlomo since B meeting in :
London in 1979, all of
which had been ignored.

1

'I would assume that Dr
Mandela is unaware of all
this," he said. "Otherwise I
do not think he would make
the suggestion that I should
communicate with the ANC
in Lusaka."

The full text of the .tele-
gram sent to Chief Buthe-
ezi by Mandela's attorney,

Mr Ismael Ayob, of Johan-
nesburg, reads: - :

Urgently - -

"I have just returned from
visiting Mr Nelson Mandela
in Poolsmoor Prison. He
sends you his greetings.

"He has been reading me-
dia reports that you have
applied for and obtained

permission to meet with
him at Poclsmoor Prison.

â\200\230He has asked me to con-
tact you urgently and ad-
vise you of his views of the
contemplated visit to him. -

â\200\230Mr Mandela believes
very strongly that the best
time for such a meeting
would be after he and his
colleagues have been re-
leased from prison (he
much appreciates your ef-
forts to this end) and ideal-
ly when his other
colleagues presently out-
side South Alrica would
have returned to the
country.

â\200\230He therefore asks you to
defer the meeting with him
and suggests that in the in-
terim you communicate
with the African National
Congress in Lusaka with a
view to a possible meeting
with them,â\200\231

â\200\230

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| e -
et L eg
3 c i 4

SRR

PROTEST marches seem to have be-.

come as popular as jogging used to be.
| Or has this sort of thing become a way

of life? Every Tom, Dick and Harry
-wants to stage a protest of sorts. Seeing
they all make the same demands, sure-

ly the government must have

can no longer boast that their protest
actions _have been peaceful. Their
reputation h
that the authorities could hardly pay
attention to their grievances any more.
Thugs, thieves, hooligans, vandals love
big crowds in which to disappear after
they have done their damage.
All protesters are not peaceful and
| would not hesitate to take advantage
- of these so-called peaceful demonstra-
tion â\200\224 as has already happened. Peace
| has been openly replaced by provoca-
| tions â\200\224 as has alrcady happened.

"~ And what about Tutu so well known

for his double standards? When a small

aim to be peac

got the
message by now. And these claimants

as become to tarnished

pPLs, L LEPaE)

nno jonger
ul â\200\224

number of placard-carrying malcon-
tents demonstrated against his over-
_ seas sanctions campaigns at Jan Smuts
Airport, he expressed his concern at
- _such ruthless behaviour that might lead"
~ to senseless injury â\200\230and uncalled for
clashes â\200\224 or something to- that effect.
Yet, when the biggest march of protes-
ters (as claimed by the anti-govern-
ment faction) took place in Cape

Town, Tutu could not have been less
conspicuous by being one of the lead-
ers. : :

How about a march consisting of
participants who wish to thank the gov-
ernment for maintaining law and order
under difficult circumstances over the
past years and who wish to honour our
brave and dutiful police force members |
whose lives have been constantly

_ threatened - e

R BOSMAN

Pietermaritzburg
Bureau
STELLENBOSCH Univer-
| sity, which has long
â\200\230disagreed with the poli-
-Ã©_ie_s of the National

â\200\230Students, has for the
| time sent two delegates to
the Nusas congress this
year. *

They were the presi-
dent of the Afrikaans-
s%i-â\202ting Student Repre-

sentative--Council. of. the
university, Mr le Roux
van_der Westhuizen, and
a fellow. student leader,
Mr Lorenzo Bossi.

Mr van der Westhuizen,
who starts a masters de-
gree course in clinical
psychology next year, was
chosen by his SRC to go to
the five-day congress,

swhich finished on the
â\200\234Pietermaritzburg campus
.at the weekend, to see
~â\200\230what makes Nusas tickâ\200\231.

< His impressions of
i Nusas will be made to his
+SRC and also to the uni-
â\200\234versityâ\200\231s â\200\230student parlia-
~mentâ\200\231 in a joint report
. with Mr Bossi, the nation-
Â«al rag chairman.

i The student parliament
fvoted in October for a
Â«â\200\230commission of inquiryâ\200\231
finto various student or-
vganisations, â\200\230to start
Â¢ building â\200\230communication
Â«bridges in the fluid con-
â\200\234text of South Africaâ\200\231.

Â¢t These other organisa-
stions include Nusas, the
tblack Azanian Students
vOrganisation and the
. Afrikaans Studente Bond.
Â¢ â\200\230We did not come to
rconvert anyone to our
â\200\234way of thinking but just to
listen and exchange in-
.formation with English-
i speaking students,â\200\231 said
'Mr van der Westhuizen.

" When asked if they had
Z'fbeen struck by any aspect
Lof the congress, the two
i Maties students said they
â\200\234had noted a trend to-

;;wards politicising stu--

Maties observers OL.
at Nusas congress

dent affairs and â\200\230a lack of
intense debateâ\200\231 over is-
sues raised for discus-
sion.

â\200\230Politics was brought up

time and again even in s
dimcunoianssabout, SANCARRARGNL A he
: ' motions unanimous-

; dent participation on fac-

ulty councils.

â\200\230This politicisation is
fine providing it is not at

â\200\230 the expense of the organi-

sationâ\200\231s primary function
of representing the day-
to-day needs of its stu-
dents,â\200\231 said Mr van der

Violence worries
new Nusas leader

Pietermaritzburg
Bureau

PEACE would be possi-
ble in South Africa only
when apartheid had been
dismantled and replaced
by a non-racial govern-
ment, the new Nusas
president, Mr Brendon
Barry, said at the
weekend.

Mr Barry, 23, a former
lieutenant in the medical
corps of the SADF, was
elected at the last session
of the Nusas congress
held on the Pietermaritz-
burg campus.

Mr Barry was born in
Welkom and went to
â\200\230school in Boksburg. He
has just completed a BA
at the University of the
Witwatersrand, majoring

in legal theory and industrial sociology.

He told the Mercury that he was particularly concerned at the level of

violence in South Africa

resulting from the proven inadequacy of the Government's so-called reform policies.

Mr Barry, who was SRC president at Wits last

Westerhuizen.

Turning to the lack of diversity in viewpoint among the delegates at the congress, both visitors said this feature be-

ly passed with little serious debate.

I was aware that Nusas operated in a liberal tradition but was surprised to find that a number of those involved in the organisation were more radical than I would have expected, Mr Bossi said.

year, was so shocked at the army's involvement in the October township unrests this year that he promptly resigned his commission in the SADF.

During his term of office, Mr Barry has set two priorities for himself in implementing the new. Nusas theme of student action for peace.

These are the campaigns to end conscription and the launching of an education charter campaign which will involve all levels of white education in South Africa.

The charter campaign will be the first joint campaign between Nusas, the Azanina Students Organisation and the Congress of South African Students.

The other people elect-

ed to work with Mr Barry
are: Mr Max Ozinsky, me- 4
dia officer, Mr Nick
Borain, secretary gener-
al, Mr Garth Klein,
projects officer, and Mr
Graham Simpson, re-
search officer.

Lk i

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. was formed by all three groups, the regiment,

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oyt

Mark Incw

: - From Page 1 :

â\200\234jndlunkhuluâ\200\231â\200\231 by the regiment who were clad in traditional regalia a few minutes before 11 am.

He then moved into the kraal where a regiment was already chanting the Mngomezulu incwala song, Inkhosi yadla baye.

Soon thereafter, Lutsango (a womenâ\200\231s regiment) and Ingabisa (maidens) entered the cattle byre to join the regiments. A circle â\200\234Umkhumbiâ\204¢

Lutsnago and Ingabisa.

The dancing reached a climax towards noon.

At that time members of the regiment â\200\230â\200\230emajahaâ\200\235 started special dancing â\200\234kugiya.â\200\235 e

Some of the â\200\234emajahaâ\200\235 danced the Zulu way, apparently because the Mngomezulu clan

stretches to northern KwaZulu. According to a senior member of the Mngomezulu clan, Mr

Bonginkhosi Mngomezulu, the Mngomezulu chiefâ\200\231s residence was at Ingwavuma until 190 when Chief-Ntunja was forced to flee the area because of threats to his life from the Zulus who

said the area belonged to them and not the Swazis

as Chief Ntunja claimed. At the time he fled he had only danced incwala twice. He was installed in 1970. %

The dancing ended just before 1pm. The regiment then accompanied Chief Ntunja back to his â«jndlunkhulu.â\200\235â\200\231 Thereafter there was feasting.

According to Mr Bonginkhosi Mngomezulu, now that their incwala is over, the Mngomezulus are free to eat maize and other traditional crops. He explained that their incwala does not clash with the one danced by His Majesty the King.

â\200\234Those of our people who want to attend the national incwala do so. However, they are not forced as the Mngomezulu people have their

incwala,â\200\235â\200\235 said Mr Bonginkhosi Mngomezulu.
Mr Mngomezulu told The Observer that young
men killed a bull â\200\234kubamba inkuziâ\200\231â\200\231 on Saturday
at dawn, a day on which the Chief goes through
certain rituals.

D LN

opened fire in-a packed church, killing 11-people and wounding more than 50.

The savagery of the attack in the affluent white Cape

Town suburb of Kenilworth

has appalled a country already grimly accustomed to violence and in the minds of many whites it has once more raised the spectre of race war. s Yesterday should have beenâ\200\231a minor triumph for

South Africa as a draft of the - countryâ\200\231s â\200\234first non-racial - constitution was tabled for .

debate at the â\200\234multi-party democracy talks. " But proceedings were

cre in which eight whites, including three Russian sailors, an â\200\230were killed,

was due to visit the Church of St James last night, warned that this could be the introduction of a â\200\234â\200\230horrifying new elementinto the spiral of violence in South Africaâ\200\231.

Mr Hernus Kriel, Law and

â\200\230Thiscould begin a horrifyingnew - spiral of violenceâ\200\231

SOUTH AFR]JCANS were! united in outrage and moifrning yesterday over Sunday night's attack when gunmen_

overshadowed by the massa- .

three non-whites

President â\200\230de Klerk, who -

Jele 3Rp pH

" BB THE INTERIM & %

â\200\2300 Aims to guide the .
â\200\230country through two
years of democracy until
final document can be
written,)
O Provides for
popularly elected
democratic government
â\200\234committed to achieving
equality between men
and women and
of all races,â\200\235 - - v

ethnic groups having " Â«.

.territorial'independence
and autonomy from

. central government.

. O Transitional multi-
racial parliament will
comprise popularly
elected 400-member
National Assembly and a
smaller Senate chosen by
popularly elected

rovincial legislatures.

enate will choose
president, * . o
â\200\2300 Parliament will write
final constitution within
two years after taking -
office and will have
power to pass laws.
O Calls for regular

' | . elections and universal

adult suffrage. :

D Guarantees freedom

of information and

religion and a legal
system that treats all
people equally, ~ AP

people ot

Massacre shatters
tranquillity of
a wealthy suburb

" Alec Russell reporfÃ© 'frlÃ©nnitthe white siiburb of Kenilworth, where a deadly
attack on a church congregation hasraised fears of spiralling violence

â\200\230neat gardens, is the sort of

. Elace you retireâ\200\231 to. â\200\234Why

ere?"â\200\231 asked Mr Claud Car-
else, 69, gazing at the roof of

- the church which had been
â\200\230ripped open by shrapnel â\200\224
" one of the grenades was

thrown above the

â\200\230.congregation,

"â\200\234This is such asought after

- place. We have .a]l the best

schools in the Cape on our

.doorstep..nice houses..â\200\235

He, broke off in silence,

-who regard themselves as

. stepped backwards and

.. .ot ~almost tripped on a blood-
O Rejects idea of:icertain | :

stained shoe before sitting

-.on a pew beside a deep red
- pool which marked the site of
.~ adeath.

The elders of the church,

apolitical, cannot compre

.â\200\231hend why their multi-racial

congregation was chosenasa
target. Their policy of trying

" to attract people from all cul-
" tures has made the congrega-

tion the largest in the Cape.
An estimated 1,400 people

. attended Sunday's service,
*including a group of Russian
:'sailors from a passing
. trawler, three of whom were
. amongthedead..

"*We're used to bars on the

windows at home, guards at |

.â\200\230Are we now not
to feel safe
at church?â\200\231

Py Tâ\200\224â\200\224 e e

â\200\224

Yoge L

By TONY STIRLING
MRS Coretta Scott
King, widow of Dr
Martin Luther King,
yesterday said she
would like to return to
South Africa to see
President P W Botha
but Government
sources reiterated that
her chances of achiev-
ing this are remote.

The fact that Mrs King
cancelled her meeting.

with Mr Botha at the 11th
hour after pressure was
exerted on her by Dr

" Allan Boesak and Arch-
bishop Desmond Tutu is

being regarded as a snub.

â\200\234It is like inviting two
sets of people to dinner,
and after both have ar-
rived telling one set to go

does not like them,â\200\235
source said yesterday.

Apart from the fact
that Mrs King came with-
in an ace of having her

one

â\200\234visa refused in the first

place, my sources indi-
cated that her extremely
strong support of Nelson
Mandela mitigated

against any chance of her .

receiving a second chance

of visiting. South Africa

â\200\230has burstâ\200\235,

South Africa,

FROM PAGE 1

others believe that tension in

and seeing Mr Botha. -
One of Mrs King's objectives in seeing Mr Botha was to organise a visit to the imprisoned ANC leader, Mandela, who she said should be given as

much support as possible.

Mrs Ngwenyane at a Press conference shortly before departing for London on route to -

where

| two mines account for

wasn't likely to be dashed.

the United States. The conference was dominated by questions on the cancellation of her meeting with Mr Botha.

Mrs King said she wanted to reach out and give support to his (Mandela's) struggle.

He had been in prison for a long time, and what-

TO PAGE 2

W o)

l B

an
â\200\230 { OME land redistribu-
tion schemes recently
suggested for South

could cause chaos just as the
did in other countries, says Dg
Ba;)rhamentary candidate Mr
nald Urquhart.

People from mainly legal and
social science backgrounds have
spoken in the past about land redis-
tribution but, he says, it is now ur
ent for agricultural economists,
d crop, pasture and animal sci-
entists to plan and articulate ways
â\200\230ahead.

About 13 percent of South Africa
is in black hands, effectively na-

tionalised with title in the name of

the Development Trust or home-
land governments.

The principles of justice and
â\200\230equality underlying a legitimate
[land law were clearly wviolated in
the past and call for some form of
redress, but the problem is how far
back to go and who should the ben-
eficiaries be, Mr Urquhart said.

| Expropriations

German experience may be
helpful, he suggested. After Ger-
'man unification it was decided that
East German expropriations be-
tween 1945 and 1949 were left in-
tact with compensation decided
| upon by the German governments.

. Land owners expropriated after
1949 could elect to. receive finan-
cial compensation or have the ex-
propriation reversed. Thus relati-
vely arbitrary cut-off dates were
established.

South |Africa could do likewise,

for example targeting victims of

back as far as financial resources
will allow.

The usglal reason for the nationa-
lisation of land is to achieve self-

determination, to gain sovereignty over the people's assets which philosophically is the PAC and CP stance, albeit from different perspectives, Mr Urquhart said.

The second reason, the ideological and a third the prospect of redistribution, euphemistically described as

' wealth redistribution.

It is difficult to take a call for

nationalisation seriously after events in Eastern Europe where

commentators are trying to privatis-

3 economic life and land relations to save their economies.

In the Soviet Union all was a mess and in 1989 the right of leasehold was reformed. In 1990 a new

as enacted providing a right of use to obtain a right of the use land possession of lands-effective ownership. e Agricultural units were also freed to employ labourers, a practice previously disallowed. The conclusion is that people want to

own their land. s Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania are following and in Yugoslavia 86 percent of all agricultural land is exploited by

private farmers, he said. 3

Africa by non-experts

forced removals, yet only going

sens

redistrib

Newcastle farmer and agricultural economist, former Rhodes scholar and Democratic Party Parliamentary candidate Donald Urquhart, speaking at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, recently, presented his suggestions on ways to provide living space for South Africa's burgeoning population without jeopardising food and fibre production. BOB FREAN reports.

. Land reforms such as â\200\234Return the Land to the Tillerâ\200\235, in which the State acts as facilitator or referee, maintains private ownership with an exchange of owners taking placeâ\200\230l.c.e. :

his approach is often favoured as a means of rapidly addressing the inequities of the past, increasing employment, decreasing poverty and redistributing income.

Such examples have been in Taiwan, Japan, Kenya and Chile and seem imminent in Zimbabwe.

Some have been judged to be successful in that output has not fallen and poverty among rural people has been reduced.

- But the golden rule in these success stories is that the land is high potential land suited to intensive agriculture in which small areas can sustain a family, such as paddy fields in Taiwan and Japan, irrigation plots in Iran and Chile and fertile lands in the Kenya highlands.

In contrast, in South Africa it is mostly barren highveld, Karoo and

" bushveld in which water is often more important than land that is being considered for redistribution. Small holdings in these areas could not sustain a family. *

- Canegrowers

N _"@

" The Development Bank recently

estimated that about 4,5-million hectares would become available â\200\234for smallholders if endemically indebted white agriculture were sequestrated, Mr Urquhart said.

" The underlying assumption is that smallholders, with fewer material demands than the current owners, will successfully operate that land. i

Mr Urquhart however believes that smallholders would be unlikely to succeed without sustained and - ongoing support relatively greater â\200\234than the support the existing operations have had. Quite simply, there is not enough money, apart from selected specific programmes such as that of the small canegrowers. Otherwise, extension of such ef-

ports to large parts of South Africa -

and can agriculture would result in

- chaos.

~ One of the sadnesses of South
African agriculture has been the
~ lack of investment in human capi-
tal. Entrepreneurial skills and or-
ganisational ability, contrary to

e of

ution

popular opinion, are essential for
agricultural enterprise. Most South
Africans are land hungry, but not
to the extent that they want to
earn their living from the soil or
veld.

It is more a desire for security
which transcends the divisions of
the past and that sense is positive.

Security is the cornerstone round
which a stable land system could
be constructed.

Security, or lack of it, is the key
weakness in customary land ten-

ure. The powers of dispossession:

vested in chiefs, lack of security

for mortgage financing, lack of |

land survey and registration, all
militate against the concept of se-
curity as implied in common law
land tenure. Yet paradoxically to
scrap customary law tenure would
be to remove from the poorest peo-
ple on the land their sense of secu-
rity, for they would be unable to
compete against capitalised inter-
ests intent on acquiring their land.

Recent property law innovations |

have been concentrated on the
upper end of the market in the
form of sectional title and time-
sharing. Perhaps with some crea-
tive legal thinking the security
needs may be provided cost effec-
tively in the area where customary
law prevails, without foregoing the
benefits of it.

Unemployable 5

Such a development would be

and useful in existing squatter settle-

ments.

Mr Urquhart proposed a three-pronged approach to land prob-

lems, bearing in mind the lack of |

skills, racially-skewed land distribution and the nation's food and fibre needs:

B That enough land is acquired for urban settlement around the major metropolitan areas to make an impact on the urbanisation process and concomitant squatting problem. A fair price must be paid for expropriated land.

B At the same time there should be a similar rural one of smallholder settlement in selected areas or around selected markets, where possible using existing State land or community-owned land.

B A method of retaining the skills |

of present farmers who are financially embattled. I believe there are elements within the 60 000 white farmers and their 1,3-million employees who could turn problems into opportunities.

About 10 percent of the farmers are endemically in debt and together with their employees face an uncertain future. They are unemployable outside agriculture, given the usual skills and age profile. I

. The sequestration of these farmers adds to the weakening of the general infrastructure and commu-

* nity life of the platteland.

In the sequestration process, invariably the creditors take a

_ knock, Mr Urquhart said.

1

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gaï¬\202ï¬\201iâ\200\231_â\200\231ï¬\202â\200\230! Mar
ileased short;

=5 expected to be re-
Â¢ Parliament resumed

on;Februar ..mily and fri i
'#}' tor. day... y &nd friends said
faMandelaâ\200\231 _.<ed his wife Winnie, who

visited himâ\200\235yesterday, to begi

gtfoâ\200\234x;]kï¬\201â\200\230ifldr:h s;release. il eglÃ© g
while she:would not disclose what pre

varations she was to make, friends saigrtl?Ã©

expected to be released soon.
g}); Atan ANC rally in Lusaka, marking the
.movementâ\200\231sâ\200\23178th anniversary yesterday
; ANC~seÂ¢;etgry-general Alfred Nzo said
] I\Lapdglq_.goulg continue as a member of

i

g 455 =
Winnie Mandela,
husband in Paarl
hopeful now. T

Â¢

wif

TS TN = .
lanc~aâ\200\231s release expected in Februar

exactly when he would be released.
Omar told Business Day circumstances
were conducive to an early release. First-
â\200\230lâ\200\230y, the resumptios of Parliament would be
the occasion to settle some of these mat-
tersâ\200\235. Secondly, the general crisis in SA
was deepening, with internati.nal pres-
sure making an early release a priority .

return to live in Soweto,
would be a family and

CHARLENE SMITH

the ANC's national executive com-
mittee
(NEC) after his release from prison, ANO

Nzo said the ANC was not earmarked
post for Mandela, apart from
ANC member. g b
Human rights lawyer Dullah Omar, an

old friend and lawyer for Mandela, who
escorted Winnie Mandela to the Victor
Vestergaard prison yesterday, said she had been
confident her husband would be released

Mandela would
Omar said, but it
political decision where he lives, ANO,

Ku-mle. Mandela built a controversial

residence in Soweto some years ago, but
never occupied it because of adverse poli-
tics. To Page 2

the requests indicated Mandela

. Omar said Mandela had not been told

o

~

© SisuLy

tical reactions. \/%C Millan's 30 years ago.

She was not available for further com-
ment late yesterday after her return to
Johannesburg. She was expected to meet
MDM leaders and the internal ANC soon to
discuss arrangements concerning her hus-
band's release.

Our London Correspondent reports that

the anticipated release of Mandela was welcomed by the British Foreign Office yesterday, as well as by the ANC's London office.

And the Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee (NMIRC) was launched in London yesterday in anticipation of the release. It was convened by veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Archbishop Trevor Huddleston.

An NMIRC statement said it had been initiated after consultations with the ANC and with the support of president Oliver Tambo.

A Foreign Office spokesman said Mandela's release could pave the way for a visit to SA by Prime Minister Margaret

Thatcher around April. She had set this condition for what would be the first visit by a British prime minister since Harold

Wilson. Mandela's release was a relief for the first time she felt his release was the real thing, she said.

The analysis after a visit to her home was likely. 'I am very

A senior ANC spokesman in London said Mandela's release would be a welcome development, but would not be the whole story if we are talking about creating a climate for negotiations to occur in SA.

He said it was hoped that immediately after Mandela's release President F W de Klerk would free all other political prisoners. Government would also have to dismantle apartheid, lift the State of Emergency and unban affected organisations.

It would have to meet all the other conditions set out in the UN declaration on SA to constitute the framework around which negotiations could be considered.

The NMIRC appealed to the international community yesterday to intensify the campaign for Mandela's release and to prepare to celebrate the impending re-

lease with activities throughout the world.

It said Archbishop Huddleston was in New York yesterday for consultations with the UN about the initiative.

There would also be a meeting in the

House of Commons on January 17 to establish a National Reception Committee in Britain. :

ac

de svarte byde

rewmĩ¬\202m > stoppe mã\200\231te -,â\200\231. - ;
bal'e et fmok pad svekkeANC sa NeLs(m andelat en i¬\201npmvtsm ta.le ttlfolkemengden

'Med loftet knyttneve motte Nelson Mandela sorafrikanske og norske ANC-tilhengÃ©re
Ppa Fornebu utenfor Oslo i gar. Sikkerhetsvakter, ventende sjaforer og UD-byrakrater -
ble feid til side da ANC-lederen horte de forste strofene av det svarte Sar-Afrikas
~nasjonalsang; Nkosi Sikhelele.

â\200\234AvVANN-MAGRIT AUSTENA

anfektet av fl Og en sma-
trippende velko omitÃ© hilste
Mandela folkemengden med lof-
. tet knyttneve. Den griharede fri-

.hetskjemperen forsikret at han
~ forsto og delte deres bel
- for de brutale kampene som ni fo-
. regir mellom svarte Inkhata- og
~ANC-tilhengere i Ser-Afrika.

::Mandela minner om at denne"

< uhyggelige volden ikke er ny, selv
om konflikten har tilspisset seg de
siste 14 dagene. Striden har fore-
â\200\230gatt under dekke av den regje-
ringserkleerte unntakssituasjonen
i mer enn fire og et halvt &r. O\mr
4000 mennesker er drept. 500 bare
de siste to ukene.

Kjmre venner, jeg forsikrer

â\200\230er en kafp mellom den ptogreasi
ve anti-aparteid-bevegelsen og

n, hvor bmker
ordekte virkemidler som stotte til

â\200\230Inkhata-mobben.

Motvilje

Mandela avviser at et mete

â\200\230bâ\200\230i:nmth M"hdd vil lese
u

noen problemer.
Han mener reg}ei¬\201n ved &
skyve ansvaret over pa hans mot-
vi je mot et slikt ledermete vil for-
e & knuse ANC - som regjerin-
gen ser som den sterkeste av de to
organisaalonene.
eringen ensker & svekke
ANC elsen ved 4 legge skylden
pÃ© at {eg ikke vil forhandle med
'wvm ezi om en lasning pi kr-n

Man dotts or iblo or

Saken er at det er

har nekkelen til 4 lese
Det er bare regj
kontrollere det sterke og velut-
rustede serafrikanske politiet.::

- I stedet for 4 bruke politiet til &
lese konflikten, er politiet blitt va-
re fiender. Det er politiet som star
?ak skytingen og drapene på vire

som
lemet.

Bevis

Mandela mener ANC n& har
bevis på at politiet har dekket In-
katha-oppviglere i enkelte til-
feller direkte på Inkhata-
grupper.

Den serafrikanske regjeringen
har erklært unntakstilstand { en .
dei te «inh-r (w mtt politiet «°

vid 4 o a alle midler

n som kan

bydeler nmdt 'Johanna-
' president Eredei\202k W. de

bare
da flere

nye for en-
wolktmhbrnke
- Jeg ville helst blitt hjemme

akkurat ni, men kampen' mot
apartheid på gÅr bÅde jnnenfor Å¢

utenfor Ser-Afri delta
.Hat-konferansen heri Oslo er for
meg en mulighet til 4 fortelle and-
re sannheten om hva som foregir

i Ser-Afrika og til & gi mitt bidrag -
ti ? wh Mngen av en ny holdning

witoarar Mroalims Tacnin

Many buildings; were burnt during this week's riots.

ETB

- By Sapa and
Hugo Hagen
PRESIDENT De
Klerk's latest attempts
at breaking the politi-
cal 'deadlock preven-
ting a return to Codesa
. yesterday _ suffered - a
serious setback with

.formidable opposition
thrown up by three
homeland leaders
backed by the Right-
wing Conservative Par-

ty and the Afrikaner
Volksunie.

.Yesterday's one-day
mini-summit called by the
troika of KwaZulu Chief
Minister and Inkatha
Freedom Party leader
Mangosuthu Buthelezi,
Bophuthatswana's Presi-
dent Lucas Mangope, and
Ciskei military leader
Oupa Gqozo, unanimous-
ly called . for the total
scrapping of the Codesa
negotiations and the cre-

ation of a new political
negotiations forum.,

The . conference = was
also attended by observ-
ers from Gazankulu, the
South African Chamber

of Business, the Chamber
of Mines, the National -
. Peace Secretariat and sev-

eral independent facilita-
tors. |

Although the three
homeland leaders. at the

: _ Dr ANDRIES TREURNICHT (|eff) leader of the Conservative Party, chats to the Chief Minis-
ter

of KwaZulu and president of
(centre) and the Ciskei leader,

BOE

the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

Brigadier OUPA GQOZO at the
Africans in Sandton yesterday.

onference for concerned South

.TOHANNESBURG â\200\224 The Mod 1;C
school:system
fgohlv aifew:
}sources said yesterday.

i5 | DP education spokesman Mr Rogepr 7

â\200\234Own Correspondent

had a life expectancy

Burrows said there were clear; /indi- >

catlons s fromâ\200\231
/that the : racial

i txon,

ygovernment - sources . *
departments of educa-
were;soon .to be disbanded, â\200\224 â\200\231;

â\200\230months, DP anv d{\NC M d

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Mr Furrows anticipai that.man
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ANC educatlon spokesman Mr.T

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ving state, 'state-aided
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'anfiypnvate i¬\201&schools at %\e end of last year showed Â©

rais said ester-tâ\200\230;
s Wamounts would* d

â\200\224 \n.-.-.-...

dâ\200\231,â\200\231n'otâ\200\230_?*,' said

fees&gromi¬\201a total;lf;.&&) 638;

"cases of .oy nding fee: alâ\200\231p ;
*-sceedlngs for: neglect; o le Sy

% in; only 0 77% of theâ\200\230cases

pay/more;.

Pbin it s gdee o

-

"Mi(le_ipKns missing:
whatâ\200\231s happened
to US aid for SA*

SIMON BARBER in Washington

peoPIe â\200\230who do |

L i

many overused phrases
it has come to mean
whatever anyone wants it to
mean. As a process, something
like it is undoubtedly taking
" place. The difficulty comes when
it is treated as the policy of the
US government. i
Absent either a clear definition of
what it entails in this regard or a
commitment to that definition once
it has been reached, â\200\234blgc_k
empowermentâ\200\235 â\200\224 the policy â\200\224 is in
danger of being dismissed as a fraud.
When Alan Keyes, the former as-
sistant Secretary of State for inter-
national organisations, first popular-
ised the phrase a few years ago, he
was talking about helping black
â\200\234South Africans develop their inher-
-ent economic muscle to achieve
' what the armed struggle, burning
' tyres, street protest and martyrdom
â\200\230had signally failed to achieve in dec-
ades of trying. ;
This was, and is, an eminently sen-
sible idea, but it has qlways been
liable to misinterpretation.

â\200\230 LACK empowermentâ\200\235 is
B all the rage, but like

â\200\230 To many of the simple-minded
folk in Congress, for example,
Keyesâ\200\231s formulation was nothing
more than an excuse not to impose
further economic sanctions.

|

i

Such a misreading, however deliberate and ideologically driven,

would be easier to rebut were the US - administration's existing empowerment policies actually seen to be doing what they promised. Unfortunately,

reticent,

nately, they are not. This has a lot to

do with the government arm

charged with implementing them - the Agency for International Development (AID).

Development (AID).

spends annually on

its -

in American actions.

in American actions.

tion is a series of 11 volumes describing its - current

programmes around the world and its

knot of red tape
US\$3,4m on Project number 674-0303:

T

Plans and funding requests for the future.

and
Pentagon the volumes are theoretical

public documents. But, unless you are a connoisseur of bureaucratic runarounds, don't bother asking for a set.

Last week, I attempted to get

- answers to questions about the South

AID is loath even to talk about

what it is up to in SA, much less the

results of its activity. In one respect,

this is understandable. In no other country are its programmes so de-

signed to undermine the host's existence-

ing go
no choice but to keep a low profile.

political order. The agency has

The problem is that reticence, how-

ever necessary, can also conceal in-

egititude and worse. Remember Es- 'c

el Rhodie?

Every January, AID sends Congress
| Press its presentation on the
i US\$15bn a year of voters' taxes it

African programme and telephoned--

the senior official most directly responsible, one Fred Fischer. He did not take the call. Next day, a Press officer was on the line suggesting that I submit my questions in writing. I did, and await, pessimistically, a reply.

The South African programme currently comprises some 10 projects upon which AID estimates it will spend US\$34.9m this year. It is asking for US\$24.9m a substantial reduction in fiscal year 1990.

However, neither figure means

Since public monies are involved |
ID is not the CIA or the |

very much because, in project
geroryect and if the number

lied only a fraction of the

money is actually being spent.
In the fiscal year ending Just Se

* tember 30, AID obligated \$ in other
words, planned to disburse if the pe-

middlemen and customers

c
could be located and approved, the

Congressional committees
tutory Gordian
untangled

Black Private Enterprise Development.
ment.

the purpose of this project is to

strengthen black business associations, to provide credit to small and micro-enterprises and to help black business move into South Africa's industrial-

ised economy. :
Some US\$505 000 was ultimately spent in fiscal year 1988, with \$354 000 being contributed from an entirely different account. Of the multi-million dollar obligation proper, only US\$151 000 made its way out of the agency. :

The story is the same across the board.

Under the Labour Union Training Project (647-0223), AID has channelled funds through the AFL-CIO's African-American Labour Centre (AALC) to help black unions develop skills in organising, collective bargaining, health and occupational safety and grievance procedures. Additionally, the AALC seeks to encourage black unions to remain politically independent, democratic and sensitive to the benefits of a market-oriented economy. Sounds good. In fiscal year 1988, US\$1.7m was obligated; -

year 1988

event, not a dime was spent.

. One of AID's sexier South African projects is 647-0305: Human Rights

As described in the presentation, :
is time for, AID predicted US\$1.8m would in fact be disbursed. In the

Support, under which US\$1.5m worth of grants are supposed to be doled out each year in four categories. Let me quote the official rubric: ;
«-The Small Grants programme authorises US\$500 000 for grants of US\$10 000 or less to non-violent, community-based groups resisting apartheid.

The larger Legal Assistance programme authorises US\$650 000 for grants of up to US\$100 000 to defend

detainees or those charged with apartheid violations and to support legal challenges to apartheid-related laws or practices. :

â\200\234The Democratic Alternatives programme authorises US\$175 000 to Support the involvement of blacks in developing multiracial political solutions to the sharing of political power. The Victims of Violence programme "authorises US\$175 000 to provide direct relief to the families of the victims of the current conflict.â\200\235

This grew out of a plan devised by Republican Senator Nancy Kassebaum in 1984 and though some will view it as gross interference or, at the other end of the scale, as a cheap attempt at co-optation, it is a pretty

- neat way of showing that Washing-

ton cares in a manner that does not involve the destruction of the South African economy.

Pity, then, that of the US\$3m obligated over fiscal years 1987 and 1988, only US\$686 000 â\200\224 about 20% â\200\224 was disbursed.

Since its inception in 1986, Com-

By EVELYN HOLTZHAUSEN!

SIR Laurens van der Post says he now believes South Africa does have a man of vision to lead the country. into its a new age''.

g shot at the end of a two-month visit to his homeland is likely to be as controversial as his earlier attack on |

ANC leader Nelson Mandela. - ;

His a man of vision is KwaZulu and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Sir Laurens compares him to Nobel peace prize winner and ANC founder Albert Luthuli.

Sir Laurens, an internationally renowned philosopher and mentor of Prince Charles, said Chief Buthelezi had the ability, the knowledge, the resolve and spirit necessary to lead South Africa to peace and prosperity.

Mr Laurens left Cape Town on Friday for his London home.

Courage

He had been invited to address students at the University of Stellenbosch in October, but stayed on to celebrate his 84th birthday in South Africa and under-

go a hip operation.
" In an interview on the eve of his departure, he said President FW de Klerk had demonstrated that he, too, was a great leader who had the courage and the vision demanded by the new world.
He called on all decent people to support Mr De

erk.

It was essential, he said,
to have leaders who were
pre to take risks.

nperturbed by the con-
troversy he stirred in his
Mandela s early this
month, Sir Laurens repeat-
ed his eriticism of the ANC

| deputy president. /
| R ir Mandela, he said, had

I made a â\200\234dreary little poli-
' tical speechâ\200\235 when he was
released early this year,
and had since done nothing
to indicate he had anything
more than tired rhetoric to
offer. %

Spirit
. â\200\234A few days after Man-
dela spoke from the steps
of Cape Town city hall
when he was released from
27 years in prison,
Buthelezi showed his
greatness when he said we
must begin by forgiving
one another â\200\224 not superfi-
cially, but absolutely.

we can begin to b
South Africa we need.â\200\235

/| belief in South
| profound religious depth

Laurens, possessed the

Luthuli
â\200\234Dr
prepared than any leader
in South Africa that I know

to lead the way ahead.â\200\235

" He said that while some
political leaders had not
formulated their strategy
for'the future, others were
involved in â\200\230â\200\234Corsican
feudsâ\200\231â\200\231 of retaliation
against retaliation.

Passion

â\200\234It is impossible to say
what they are for. The
seem to think it is eno
to overthrow.â\200\235

Chief Buthelezi, he said,
had â\200\234done his homeworkâ\200\235,

established an indaba to
plan the future and put
down his ideas in a book.

He had consistently de-
monstrated his onate
ca, his

and his total rejection of
violence. :

It was understandable
that he was under attack,
Sir Laurens said, because
he represented ftraditions
and values which were
known targets of commu-
nist-inspired agitators.

Sir Laurens said Chief
Buthelezi and Mr De Klerk
were among the few

d spoken of
â\200\234redeem our
past and how it\should be

Chief Buthelezi, said Sir â\200\230doneâ\200\235. He said his views on

spirit embodied by Albert
Buthelezi is better |

N

see%

ainst the background O

?fe worldâ\200\231s tendency to
ject extremism.

re)mms is not a plea for Dr

Buthelezi,â\200\235 he said. â\200\234What

is facing South Africa is far

o Pg 2

|

SU N oYy

Laurens

them had to be

Timeg

Vision

[MANGOSUTHU

BUTHELEZI ...
Sir Laurens
compares him
to Nobel peace
prize winner
Albert Luthuli
Picture: TERRY
SHEAN

TIME TO

~ TRIUMPH ...
- .Sir Laurens

van der Post:
â\200\230Every decent
person needs
to support the

state presidentâ\200\231

â\200\230BUTHE
SOUTH

more important tha
politics.â\200\235 -

Referring to those â\200\234It was
who were

â\200\230leaders in
comm

promoting

said: â\200\234It has been depress-
ing for me to find an arid
and rejected â\200\230ismâ\200\231 at work
among political radicals

ere.
â\200\234It's something so out-
* moded, so disproved and at

EZIIS TH

an ideology

e human spiri
South Africa, he said,

Su VAR |

&

that meant that society
needed to be transformed
We can't right the
wrong and the injury that
has been caused, we can't
heal the hurt, bring back
the dead, but we can
acknowledge what has
been done and make it
clear that it will never hap-

pen again.

We can also create the

" Armed robbers

Sunday Times Reporter

just opened at 8am
demanded money. Three of the robbers were

s

and one had a sho

A witness saw the gang drive off in a brown

In City Deep, Johannesburg, four men
robbed Prize Club cash and carry store man-
ager Mr Hercules Kruger, 36, of R140 000.

One of the robbers, armed with an AK-47,

ed security guard Eric Botha,

28, in the shoulder.

The robbers

escaped in a silver BMW.

, ' MAN TO LEAD
AFRICA INTO A NEW AGE

the root of so much blood
and disorder in the world.

uality of opportunity to
allow everyone the free-
dom to pursue a greater
self.

Every decent person

needs to support the state
grudent. to add to what

e has done and make it
worthwhile.â\200\235

But Sir Laurens cau-
tioned against change that
was too rapid.

â\200\234That is the greatest
danger,â\200\235 he said, referring
to the conflict which cost
millions of lives when the
British left India.

â\200\234People throughout the
world now want less of
political leaders. What
they want are leaders who
can express their
for renewal,â\200\235 he said.

TOP LEVEL. ... President Thabo Mbeki shakes hands w
official visit, and has had talks with Nordic prime minist

ith Norway's King Harald at the Royal C

erswho held a meeting in Molde, western Norway

astle in Oslo this week. Mbeki is in Norway for a two-day

g Many more

Picture: AP

By MPUMELELO MKHABELA

PARLIAMENT'S defence committee

chairperson, Thandi Modise, has

chastised the Department of De-

fence for the increasing victimisa-
tion of non-statutory force mem-
bers in the South African National
Defence Force.

{... In a highly critical response to
Defence Minister Mosioua Lekota's
budget vote, Modise called on de-

[fence ' chief General Siphiwe
Nyanda to probe the victimisation
of former MK and Apla members.
Modise delivered her -critical
view after Lekota indicated his de-
partment was implementing the re-
commendations made by the Setai
Commission which probed racism
-within the army ranks.
... Lekota said since the commission
completed its work following the

racially inspired shootings " at Tempe and Phalaborwa military bases, "the atmosphere in the SANDF improved for the better".

However, Modise - a senior ANC MP and former MK:cadre " urged Nyanda to take seriously incidents of victimisation.: He'said Nyanda should be held responsible for the concerns of the members of the SANDF.

"We should look into this matter to establish whether what we hear are just stories (or facts)," she said. "Why are these stories spreading and why are we not listening?"

Modise was highly sceptical re-

- garding the allocation of R56 mil-

lion to the legal services division of the department. :

She contended the grant could only be justified if it was used to re-structure the "old and unjust" mili-

tary justice system. "If this money is not used to re-

Defence chair slates Lekota and Nyanda

and finalise the matter soon. "The situation where people are

"THE :CONlifrov's Sial br'sidehti.il am-
| nesty for: 33 PAC and ANC offenders
lis the begining of an extensive ini.

.| "offenders in" the "KwaZulu-Natal

ANC/IFP conflict, as well as the
| "the generals and foot soldiers" of ;
"the preyvious regime. :

| tween ;the ANC and IFP in Kwa--

violence will also qualify,. i, ..

* Last on the list will be generals and ordinary soldiers from th

. viou's government: whi '+ i

structure the justice military system, I have a serious problem. It will mean that members in the defence force are still subject to the old martial courts."

Modise cited a court martial case of "martial" in which a certain Mr Kheswa, an ex-Tempe soldier, was tried in a martial court. Proceedings were conducted in Afrikaans " a language he did not understand.

â\200\234He could not hear a thing and the whole matter was heard in five minutes. But he was kicked out of the system,â\200\235 Modise charged.

She said the incident was painful

because â\200\234there are many Kheswas who are unfairly thrown out of the systemâ\200\235.

Modise urged Lekota to review the practices of the martial courts

thrown out of the system by unfair means should not be allowed to continue,â\200\235 she said. AR She noted that people nÃ©ded to /â\200\230

{
feel they were given a fair hearing before they were axed. ./ e
. Whether you are in the defence |
force or not, there is still â\200\230need for: fairness in any system. Â£l
â\200\234I do not want politicians to comeâ\200\231 up with these kind of stories: Noy do I want to be a representative of the (unfairly axed) ex-members of the SANDF.â\200\235 A
Modise also indicated racial discrimination still needed the urgent attention of the department.: &
â\200\234Racial discrimination, low: 10~
rale both in the lower and e %

the middle rank of the defence f

is an issue that should worry

took place as a result of the war;

presidential

amnesties in

BBY TIM DU PLESSIS = -
|] ;

tiative that will clear the slate for

. People in jail for the conflict be- '

Zulu-Natal will be next to receive ;
pardons. Some other offenders who
are serving jail sentences for taxi:

tl

â\200\234oncijiatio mmdssion; " but
who flive under the sword of pros-
ecttion and civil claims.

. They include known figures of

| thei i past like generals Magnus
"Ma'lÃ©l

n, Constand Viljoen, Jannie
Geldenhuys and George Meiring.

Reputable sources this week told
City Press that â\200\234the process is part
of a wider initiative of President
Thabo Mbeki to finally close the
chapter of South Africaâ\200\231s pastâ\200\235 and
to get the unresolved work of the

TR.C â\200\234off the tableâ\200\235.

Mbekiâ\200\231s initiative is deployed on a wider front, but is not a general (blanket) amnesty. Individuals and groups of individuals applications will come under review. '

But so-called â\200\234loose canonsâ\200\235 who' acted without a political mandate will not qualify.

That could mean that offenders such as ex-policeman Eugene de

Kock and the Chris Hani assassins,

Clive Derby-Lewis- and Janusz Walusz, are unlikely to qualify for a pardon.

City Press understands that Derby-Lewis and Walusz have again made personal pleas for their release.

The MbeKi initiative incorpor-ates â\200\230the concept of â\200\234absolutioâ\200\231nâ\200\235:g which' currentlydoes not exist: in}

â\200\230the legal framework. It is a kind of\ â\200\230amnesty against legal aÃtion thatj - will be given to generals and me_mâ\200\224z

bers of the former security forces who never asked for amnesty from the TRC. R

The same â\200\234absolutionâ\200\235 â\200\230will ibe; given to the 37 senior ANC leaders, among them president ' Thaboc Mbeki himself, who six years ago: asked for amnesty from the TRC; without success. L S

The rationale behind â\200\234absol-utionâ\200\235, is that the Committee' of! SADF Generals and the ANC. 37, fought in a legitimate war and cant+ not be prosecuted for actions thaq

\

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Iâ\200\231'm not black enough ffm'

SOUTH Africaâ\200\231s pre-eminent
black AIDS scientist has accused
President Thabo Mbekiâ\200\231s office
of waging a campaign of coercion
and vilification against medical
researchers who challenge the
presidentâ\200\231s unorthodox views on
HIV, reports Londonâ\200\231s Guardian
newspaper.

Professor Malegapuru
Makgoba, president of the Medi-
cal Research Council (MRC) in
Cape Town, has revealed to the
Guardian the extent of the press-
ure after an official investigation
cleared him of â\200\234leakingâ\200\235 his own
organisationâ\200\231s research, sup-
pressed for months by the cabi-

net because it concluded about six million South Africans would die of AIDS by the end of the decade. :

Last month, . . Mbeki publicly said it was for scientists; not politicians, to determine the cause of AIDS.

But Makgoba and other lead-

ing researchers scoff at the: presi-

dent's suggestion he is a neutral bystander, guided by the scientists' findings.

In particular, they accuse Esop Pahad, the cabinet minister regarded as President Mbeki's enforcer, of putting pressure on scientists to support the president's views and of going so far as to suggest dissenters should leave the country.

Makgoba also accuses Pahad of orchestrating a campaign of vilification, including letters from senior politicians accusing him of betraying his race and of playing into the hands of white racists who wished to portray Africans as inherently and intrinsically diseased.

After they realised I wasn't going to side with the president on this, I was called to Pahad's office and the first thing he asked me was where my loyalty lay, said Makgoba. g

8

Pahad - Prof

And he said if I am such a brilliant scientist, why don't I get a job overseas? He said that on two occasions.

They appeal to a very basic instinct: that I'm an African like them and therefore I should be in their camp and: if not, I'm a stooge of whites.

- I'm less of an African and I therefore I'm open to having my standing questioned, : even my identity. L i

Makgoba fell from grace not long after Mbeki sought his advice in January 2000. The president wanted him to look at two thick volumes of views of AIDS!

dissidents who denied the link
between HIV and the disease.

Makgoba said: â\200\234The president
implied he wanted my support
on this.â\200\235

But when the scientist replied
a fortnight later, he left no doubt
he thought the dissidentsâ\200\231 views
were nonsense. 2

2 , S

A WEEK in politics
can be a long time.
Ask Chris Heunis.

At the beginning of
last week, Mr Heunis,
Minister of Constitu-
tional Development
and Planning, presided
over the most exten-
sive and influential
Cabinet portfolio em-
pire South Africa had
ever seen. i

At the end of the week
â\200\224 after the leap-frog aj
pointment of Dr Stoffel
van der Merwe as Deputy
Minister of Constitutional
Development in the State
Presidentâ\200\231s office â\200\224 par-
liamentarians and ob-
servers were openly talk-
ing about the decline of
| the Heunis empire.

Not too many weeks ago
the constitutional platform
that Mr Heunisâ\200\231s extraordi-
nary energies and abilities
had created was regarded a
springboard from which he
â\200\230would jump into a presiden-
cy when it was eventually
vacated by Mr P W Botha.

Then came Helderberg.
Mr Heunisâ\200\231s narrow, politi-
cally-emasculating 39-vote
victory there last month
crippled his presidential
prospects.

But Helderberg was
more than a matter of
votes. Mr Heunisâ\200\231s brusque
and emotive response to
the results turned itself into
a unscheduled test of his
reaction to intense pres-
sure.

DISMAYED

It was a test from which
he emerged with less than
statesmanlike standing. |
' Mr Heunis also damaged
his standing, it is said, with
Mr Botha. In a half-century
in politics, the 71-year-old
party leader has developed
into a master of election-

eering.

It is. a reputation he is
said to be jealous of â\200\224 and
it is a quality he prizes in
his lieutenants.

Political insiders say Mr
Botha was dismayed by Mr
Heunisâ\200\231s &raediction on poll-
ing day that he would win
by between 3 000 and 4 000
votes, and his teamâ\200\231s re-
vised prediction after the
close of polls was that they
would win by 1600.

But if Helderberg torpe-
doed his presidentia ho;{es,

eft

Mr Heunis was still
with the mantle of â\200\234Mr Ne-
gotiationâ\200\235 â\200\224 the man who
would usher in a proposed
new dispensation through
talks with blacks.

And the armaments of
his empire were still in
place behind him.

Then Mr Botha an-
nounced he was to become
personally more involved
in envisaged negotiations.
Days later he placed Dr van
der Merwe, an agile thinker

By LESTER

VENTER
i ST

with a personable manner,

.at his right hand to give

effect to that ambition. .
The political stocktakers

moved in on Mr Heunis.
No-one expects Mr

Heunis to be in for anything

as dramatic as the chop.

Thatâ\200\231s not the style of the National Party.

P

Men, many of them highly talented, who are deemed to have peaked in their purpose are kicked

upstairs. ;

And it is at this point that Mr Heunisâ\200\231s career becomes rich in portentous ironies.

One of the early building blocks of Mr Heunisâ\200\231s constitutional edifice involved embodying the enormous Bantu Administration bureaucracy. In so doing, he usurped the administrative

base of the then Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof.

Dr Koornhof was elevated out of the foundry fires

of power politics the châ\200\230â\201\201gnanship of the Presi-

dentâ\200\231s Council â\200\224 and thereafter to an ambassadorship (the USA), an often-used grassing field for old political bulls.

With the bureaucratic channels in place for effecting his political â\200\230plans for blacks, Mr Heunis set about establishing himself as the constitutional guru of Government.

In doing this he eclipsed the man who formerly held that status, Dr Gerrit Vil-

joen.

The grey-haired Dr Viljoen, a former Broederbond chairman, has since then been ticking over in low profile Cabinet portfolios.

Time will tell whether a similar fate awaits Mr Heunis.

A further irony has arisen from Mr Heunisâ\200\231s most outstanding characteristic;

his powerful intellect, a quality that not even his political enemies underestimate. :

As architect of the multi-lateral, tricameral Parliament, Mr Heunis needed that intellect in the construction of one of the world's most complex con-

Could he end up with NOTHING?

stitutions and most convoluted systems of government.)

But many feel it is that driving intellect that hampers his effectiveness as a negotiator.

Other than listen and exchange views, he is inclined to dominate the mentalless agile and propound his conclusions on what is best for them.

He has also developed thought at the expense of feeling.

UNFEELING

During the Crossroads disaster tragedy last year, when more than 30 000 peo-

ple were rendered homeless, he showed himself unable to or unwilling to descend from his palace of policy to identify with the suffering of the subjects of his empire.

— His remoteness is often re-enforced by his manner of speech. As he soars into grand policy design, he rapidly-fires sentences as complicated as his constitution. He has even earned a label for this: 'Heunis-speak'.

The political mechanics of the 60-year-old Minister's rise to power are nothing short of remarkable.

A former attorney, he came up through the ranks, from local government, through provincial administration, into Parliament and soon a series of Cabinet

involved with constitutional matters when he was appointed Minister of Internal Affairs in 1980. At this time South Africa's present constitution was being thrashed out in Govern-

ment backrooms. e

INTENTIONS

But it was when the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning was created under his curatorship in 1982 that Mr Heunis really built up a head of bureaucratic steam. The following year his intentions were clearly signalled when he introduced the Promotion of Local Government Affairs Bill. In this and other legislation he embraced the second and third tiers of

government and laid the

groundwork for what was to follow - the abolition of old-style provincial government and the introduction of Regional Services Coun-

-cils.

Mr Heunis extended his power base beyond his immediate office.

He became chairman of the Council for Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs, chairman of the Cabinet committee to investigate the future of urban blacks, and chairman of the Parliamentary select

committee on the constitution.

Apart from his activities as a constitutional neer, he expanded his department to contain 27 di-

rectorates at its These included control over such hot-potato issues

as the Group Areas Act, Improper Political Interfer-

ence legislation, influx con-
trol, and bility for
the explosive squatter
problem.

Ironically once again, it
was Mr Heunis himself who
first started cutting back
his monolithic bureaucra-
cy. Late last year Constitu-
tional Development and
Planning wÃ©aiv, redunzi-\\201m fron}
a personnel s ol
aboï-\\201 1700 to 327.

The move was largely a
consequence of his â\\200\\234Ownâ\\200\\235
and â\\200\\234 alâ\\200\\235 affairs poli-
cy of devolution of ers
to regional and 1 levels.
The slimmed down depart-
ment was intended to be the
think tank for the next con-
stitutional step, now to in-
volve blacks. 4

With the appointment of
Dr van der Merwe last

â\\200\\230tional â\\200\\230glanning, Dr Andreas

van Wyk, it seems this
â\\200\\234glamour governmentâ\\200\\235
task is not to be the exclu-
sive preserve of Mr Heunis.

At the recent height of
his influence, Mr Heunisâ\\200\\231s
colleagues referred to him
as the Minister of Every-
thing. e

Everything, it now
seems, except that which
h: :l(lâ\\200\\231uld have wanted most
of all.

SASPU FOCUS 2

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- COSATU INTERVIEW

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Cosatu's Executive
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- WORKERS IN BOSSES OUT

Workers have found
a new weapon in the
siyalala la strikes

| TR ER BANTUSTANS AND UNIONS

- Repression and
Union bashing in
the homelands

to
.bout

ORGANISING WOMEN

Women workers are
the least protected
~ and the lowest paid.

100 YEARS OF MAY DAY

The: day the workers of the
world unite against
exploitation

1

INFLUX CONTROL |

HAS GOT TO GO!

Control of the working -

class through passes is not ;

working anymore

B

- 'Workers are thrown
their weight behind the

: k. 65), 000:members of. the - Co;

By
o

i & &

HUNDREDS OF millions of
workers around the world wnl1
down toolson May 1.

In hundreds of languages and
thousands of cities workers will
shout: â\200\234Workers of the world
- unite!â\200\235 And the worldwide sol-
idarity of workers on Mayday
will be celebrated for the one-
hundredth time.

Worker sohday

In the socialist countries May-

_celebrating. the victory of the.
.workmg clas&over smamñi~\202lng.
~ elites. o v

* In capitalist countnes, workers

- Â\$. will down tools sometimes' xllleg- ~ bosses

~ ally to celebrate: past: victories
â\200\234and re-dedicate. themselves: to
futurestruggles agamst xplona-
tion and oppressmn

. SAâ\200\231s workers will be partof thls
show of worker solidarity. -+Â«

~ day will be an official holiday; .

National Union of Mineworkers shaft stewards at the union's AGM in Soweto - only some of the 650 000 Cosatu members who will

participate in May Day activities.

May Day unites

gress of SA Trade Unions
(Cosatu) the largest federation
in -SA will lead the Mayday
demonstration.

Under Cosatu's banner, work-
ers will attend rallies in all the
major centres and take off work
for the whole of May1.

They will celebrate 100
years of struggle

by the- international working .
- class. against the domination of

monopoly capitalism
The historic mineworkers' 1946

strike of 1946, and further salute -
the heroic: militancy: and .resis-
tance under the National Union

every May Day
7 commemora-

South African Workers' Union
linked United Workers' Union

South Africa's
workers gather
for the biggest

tion

of SA (Uwusa) intends to use

the symbol of international Y

working class unity to launch
* itself, an act which is designed to

of . Mineworkers at_ present .,
â\200\234 despite the brutality of the mine

"iThe: formation of Uwusa: by
- Inkatha is supported by the SA
3government â\200\230and the bosses. It.
. aims to divide workers in Natal,
_says Cosatu, Cosatu: has. con--
demned it as â\200\230a reactxonary and ;

'dehberately undermine tue
nity we have built.â\200\231

" Under the international workers' call, the Cosatu executive salutes the workersâ\200\231
ttrugglo From left to right at table: Makhulu Ladwabo (2n Vice-P
Xulu (Treasurer), Chris Diamini (VIoo-Prosldont), Elijah Barayi (President), Sydney Mufamad
i (Assistant General Secretary) and Jay Naidoo (Gonml Secretary).

SSP'u -OCUS 3

G

workers of the world

Hundreds of thousands of
workers will be taking part in
Cosatuâ\200\231s celebrations. Next to
that, Uwusaâ\200\231s meeting will be
very small whatever the com-
mercial press says.

Cosatu demands

Mayday celebrations this year
will be especially important for
most South Africans because it
is being organised by Cosatu,.

â\200\230the largest and strongest union
federationin our history.

- Cosatu-will mobilise its mem-
bership and the broader com-

â\200\230.banned

' tion for all unemployed people
@ equal pensions for all people
on a monthly basis;

@ full maternity benefits for all
working women; .

@ the rights of students to form
democratic SRCâ\200\231s and build an
alternative system of people s
education now.

@ the right to free polmcal
activity, the unbanning- of. all
organisations, the
release of all political prisoners
and the dropping of all treason-
charges; and

- @ theright to free movement and 73

decent housing,at rents workers*

that any victimisation or harass-
ment of workers celebrating
Mayday will be viewed as an
attack on the whole labour
movement

It welcomed the decision of the
National Education Crisis Com-
mittee conference that students
and . youthâ\200\231 support - Cosatuâ\200\231s
plans to celebrate Mayday.

With students, youth and com-
munities taking part, well over a
million people will commemmo-
rate Mayday,: making it the
-biggest - and' most powerful

celebrat(orrevermSA'â\200\224~~~â\200\224â\200\224 -

SRR e e e

mmmy'arotmddemandsfor"

@ the right to organise all work-
ers of all industries in democra-
tic unions;

â\200\234The slogans of today: Workers @ the right to strike;

Uniteâ\200\231, â\200\230Troops Outâ\200\231.
" pursue the cause of unionism but

* to protect the interests: of
employers and capital in Natal
-and more generally in SAâ\200\231.

to be a paid public holiday, a 40-
hour working week on a living.
wage, with social _security,.
increased UIF, and rent exemp-"

@ the right to work, for Mayday

can pay, an immediate end to
pass laws, influx control and all.

laws: that control the llves of
. people.-

â\200\230These Mayday demands meanâ\200\231

â\200\234â\200\230the - complete dismantling: of

apartheid and we commit ourse-
Ives to this struggle says
Cosatu.. -

â\200\230tation and: oppressi
<Africe

btruggle

All workers beheve that an
injury to'one is an injury to allâ\200\231,
Undet" this: banner; workers,
â\200\234their families and thelrsuppor- o
- ters will tell workers of theworld -
that the struggle.agam explox-â\200\230

5 South- :

8 Cosatu has warned employers

Even amid the turmoil there were quiet m

From Page 5

noticed it was a truck and that I
was close it.

â\200\234I decided I should reverse and
get out. It was a question of tak-
ing two inches back and two inch-
es forward. Thank goodness the
car had power steering and air-
conditioning, otherwise I'm sure
we could have died of heat.

â\200\234I started to push people away
with the bumper. I managed to
come out of the bigger crowd ...

â\200\234Then another vehicle ap-
peared in front of me. I braked
and as the Cressida stopped, two
people who had been sitting on its
roof landed in front of it.â\200\235

No doubt about it, Nelson Man-
dela was shaken by the episode,
too.

â\200\234That was a hair-raising expe-
rience,â\200\235â\200\231â\200\235 he says. â\200\234When we
reached the city hall there was
no way of entering and they said
they must first open a path for
us. They said we must drive
around. We did.

â\200\234Suddenly we rammed into a
crowd, I donâ\200\231t know how that
happened, the driver found him-
self in a crowd and we were
jammed there for some time.

â\200\234It was a very hair-raising ex-
perience. I feared for the safety
of my wife. The car was sur-
rounded, they were crushing it
and they were getting on top of
it. The windscreen was broken,

some of them were climbing on
the boot. It was unbelievably hot,
people were losingtheir temper.

It was a nerve-wracking
experience.â\200\235

Suddenly they were out. Sonto
put his foot down and didnâ\200\231t stop
until he reached Woodstock.

Dullah Omar's son Kemal, who was following, suggested they get out of the city. They drove to the quiet surrounds of the University of Cape Town to discuss what to do, then headed for a home in Rondebosch East, a nearby suburb.

Some of them, anxious about the press of the crowd, believed the Grand Parade appearance should be abandoned. But Walter Sisulu told Mandela: "You are going back. The people want you back. They are waiting for you."

You must go back and address them."

Mandela agreed with his old comrade. After all, that was why they had come to Cape Town.

Dullah Omar, telephoning from the city hall, also urged that Mandela should come because there was no way anyone would leave until he had been seen.

Archbishop Tutu also implored that Mandela be brought to his people. He feared what would happen if Mandela failed to show up.

oments for Nelson and Winnie Mandela . .

HOSE anxiously waiting in the mayor's parlour kept in touch with the traffic department, asking every few minutes for Mandela's whereabouts. Then, between 5.30 and 5.45 pm, to everyone's great relief, they heard he was in Corporation Street, just behind the city hall.

It would only be moments now, they thought. After 20 minutes, though, there was still no sign of the VIPs. -

Word came that they were in District Six ... his advisers had not expected such crowds and were fearful of things going awry. Then the mayor and the receiving group heard they had gone to the Baxter Theatre car park on the UCT campus.

Traffic officers at headquarters were relaying messages to Mandela's escorts, urging them to bring him back to town.

The crowd grew ever more restless and the mayor feared they might storm the city hall.

The next message said he had gone to a house in Rondebosch East.

Recalls Oliver: "We couldn't believe it. Again, we sent the message back: What are you doing there?"

Oliver asked Dullah Omar to phone and talk to Nelson Mandela. It was a long conversation and the mayor understood them

to be consulting. But Oliver was insistent: "Don't ask, just tell them they have to come," he told Omar. "Tell them they have to come because we fear for everybody's lives."

But Mandela had already taken the decision to return and was discussing strategy with his party.

Sonto suggested Mandela travel in another car and that the Cressida be used as a decoy.

Sonto got behind the traffic police motor-cycles and drove straight into town, past the city hall, to the Castle. He heard people saying "he's in that car". But, of course, he wasn't.

He turned back to the city hall and when he got there Mandela was already on the balcony.

Gordon Oliver recalls that as they finally heard Mandela had arrived: "We went down to the street. When the crowds saw us I was wearing my mayoral chain they swarmed in. As the car swung round to the back of the city hall, we rushed for the door. I saw him there, looking quite worried. With a person on each side of him, he was rushed into the building. There was much back-slapping, cameras clicking, people jostling to get near.

"It was quite moving. He recognised me and greeted me

. walking among the petunias in the Bishopscourt garden of Desmond Tutu. personally."

ELSON Mandelaâ\200\231s appearance on the balcony, finally, after all those hours, brought a roar from the crowd. At 7.38pm, in fading light, Walter Sisulu introduced him.

â\200\234The jubilation was astounding,â\200\235 Oliver remembers. Mandela gestured to an aide who produced a pair of spectacles. He put them on, but returned them, shaking his head. The wrong ones. Somebody on his right passed him a gold-rimmed pair. Nodding, he put them on.

~ Raising his right fist, his first word was: â\200\234Amandla!â\200\235 Nelson Mandela spoke for 25

, minutes or so, then he returned to

the mayorâ\200\231s parlour. Here, over drinks, mayor Gordon Oliver officially welcomed him on behalf of the city of Cape Town. The drinks, incidentally, were to have been for a symphony orchestra reception, cancelled at the last minute after the announcement of the historic release.

â\200\234The impression I was left with was of a strong, articulate man, with considerable authority. He made a tremendously good impression and his first speech gave you the sense that here was a man with understanding, compassion and wisdom,â\200\235 says mayor Oliver.

Military rivals
join forces to
give peace a
helping hand

B An air of optimism and
reconciliation prevailed in Pretoria
this week when the groundwork for
a new defence and peacekeeping
force was laid. A report by JOVIAL
RANTAO of the Weekend Argus
political staff. ,

IKE an old married couple, the two rival
politicians gave each other nudges and
smiles, consulting on almost every issue
and complementing each other where neces-
sary.

It was a sight that would have been unthink-
able a mere five years ago. In those days, Umk-
honto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise and
Deputy Defence Minister Wynand Breytenbach
probably spent much of their time planning
each other's annihilation.

The scene on the 13th floor of the Saambou
building on Wednesday - the day of the gener-
als - was different. The men were dressed in
suits and not military gear. The talk centred on
the future. The past animosity was history.

It was clear the spirit of reconciliation that
has engulfed South Africa's transition to a new
order had filtered down to the militia.

Both Mr Modise and Mr Breytenbach, assist-
ed by leaders of defence forces from six home-
lands, seemed ready to act as midwives at the
birth of a new National Defence Force (NDF)
and a National Peacekeeping Force (NPF),
which will be charged with the enormous task
of maintaining peace during the next six
months.

The formation of the Joint Military Com-
mand Council (JMCC),
whose main task will
be to plan for a new
NDF, was announced, as
as well as that of the
National Peacekeeping
Force Command Coun-
cil (NPKFCC).

No one is joining
anyone here, said Mr
Modise.

We're jointly blend-
ing a new force and ev-

ery decision is taken
collectively.â\200\235 ;

Force commanders
of all armies will per-
sonally serve on the
JMCC.

Mr Modise and other
members of the Transi-
tional Executive Coun-
cilâ\200\231s sub-council on de-
fence were clearly not Â\$
worried about the ab-
sence of armies such as
the Azanian Peopleâ\200\231s Â\$
Liberation Army (from
the JMCC) and the
Kwazulu Police (from
the NPKFCC). Both the Â\$
PAC and the Kwazulu Â\$
government were free
to send its soldiers and ;

olice to be integrated
{)nto the forces. g Wynand Breytenbach

â\200\234To legitimise the NDF, the SA Air Force and
the Navy, it will be necessary (to include) all
forces from all sectors,â\200\235 the MK commander
said. The only condition was that the armies
should belong to parties who participate in the
TEC.. .

However, Mr Modise made it clear that
Wednesday would be the last day on which the
armies could submit a register of their mem-
bers. â\200\234Some have arrived but we donâ\200\231t have all
of them,â\200\235 he said. ;

Mr Breytenbach emphasised people with no
military training would not be welcome to join
the NPKF. â\200\234We have a short time - five weeks -
in which we have to train the peacekeeping
force and only people with a reasonable, stan-
dard of training will be welcome. We donâ\200\231t
want to create kits-konstabels,â\200\235 he said.

A possibility existed, he added, that the con-
troversy-dogged Internal Stability Unit would
be part of the NPKF.

The tasks of the JMCC were outlined in de-
tail. The JMCC will:

M Liaise with all military forces in order to
promote the objects of the TEC.

M Formulate a code of conduct for the period
up to elections and for the NDF.

B Establish a â\200\234committeeâ\200\235 of experts to
agree upon and finalise arrangements for as-
sembly points and all other related aspects.

W Co-ordinate and finalise a strategic plan-
ning process for the NDF. -

M Engage research and planning into all as-

elating to the establishment of the NDF such as command and control, logistic arrangements, disposal of non-utilised main equipment and facilities, ceremonial discipline, uniforms, selection and assesment of personnel, financial implications and arrangements.

Piecemeal look for
new peacekeepers

NIFORMS for the new South African National Peacekeeping Force (NPF) are likely to be a hotchpotch of hand-me-downs from the country's security forces and security firms. According to senior military sources the 10 000-strong NPF would have to use existing uniforms when they first hit the streets because there was not enough time to design and manufacture a new uniform.

The force, to be deployed in violence-stricken areas throughout the country by the end of March, will comprise representatives of the Defence Force, the police, Umkhonto we Sizwe, the Transkei and Venda defence and police forces and the police forces of the self-governing territories.

The TEC said the NPF would be armed and equipped to handle any pre-election violence and would wear distinctive uniforms to set them apart from other security forces.

But a senior military source said the TEC was now faced with the daunting task of finding 10 000 ready-made uniforms which held no similarity to those of the police, the Internal Stability Unit or the SADF.

There is not enough time to design a new uniform and have 10 000 of them made by March, he said. :

He said it was likely the NPF's command council would probably be shopping around for existing uniforms from security firms to use alone or in conjunction with surplus army stores.

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e L R - 7 K]

LIn neanst, von allen angeteindet

Der Zuluhaupthling Gatscha Buthelezi in Bonn

cine Befiirchtungen, die allgemeine Radi-
kalisierung in Siidafrika, diese Eskalation

von polizeilicher Brutalitit und schwar-
zem Extremismus, werde wohl auch Chief Buthe-
lezi gezwungen haben, seine von Vernunft diktier-
te Haltung preiszugeben, erwies sich als vollkom-
men unbegründet.

Da stand er vorige Woche in der Hotelhalle in
Bonn in seiner nie auftrumpfenden, gewohnt zu-
riickhaltenden Weise. Niemand wiirde in ihm ei-
nen (fromincnten afrikanischen Politiker vermu-
ten, der mit grofler Selbstverstindlichkeit die gan-
ze Welt bereist, vom Papst empfangen wird, mit
Prisident an und Mrs. Thatcher verhandelt
und jetzt mit der obersten Fithrung in Bonn gere-
det hat. Das Gesprich mit ihm macht rasch deut-
lich, daf Gatscha Buthelezi, ungeachtet aller Ver-
suchungen und Anfeindungen, ein kiihler Beob-
achter und iiberzeugter Demokrat geblieben ist.

Buthelezi, der gegen Gewalt ist und fiir Ver-
handlungen mit der Regierung, wird daheim unge-
fihr ebenso angefeindet wie Staatsprisident BotE:,
der gezwungen ist, auf die nach rechts weggebro-
chene Partei Riicksicht zu nehmen, die besorgten
Weilen im Lande iiber ihre Zukunft zu beruhigen
und die ungeduldigen Schwarzen zu befriedigen,
indem er diesen genau das Gegenteil verspriche:
umstiirzende Verinderungen. Der Staatsprisident
versucht diese Aufgabe zu meistern, indem er auf
irrefilhrende semantische Vernebelungen ausweicht
und immer mehr luftige, staatsrechtliche Kon-
struktionen ersinnt.

Ein moderner Politiker

Buthelezi dagegen vertritt seine Grundsitze of-
fen und klar, eichgiiltig, wie viele Anfeindungen
ihm, dies eintrigt. Er bringt sogar noch Verstind-
nis fir die Situation der Weiflen auf, fiir ihre
Angst vor der Majorisierung: ,Wenn man ihre
Psychologie kennt, dann weiff man, daf die Ab-

des Verbots von Mischehen, die ja den

Kern des Apartheid-Dogmas trifft, fiir sie eine

emste Sache war und nicht, wie viele behaupten, nur eine Kosmetische Maßnahme.

Sein Kommentar zu der mit Spannung erwarteten Rede des Präsidenten zur Parlamentsöffnung am 31. Januar, in der Botha das Ende der Apartheid verkündete, war zunächst sehr positiv: „Botha hat wirklich großen Mut.“ Auch das Versprechen des Staatspräsidenten, einen Nationalrat unter seinem Vorsitz einzurichten, der beratend die Teilung der Macht vorbereiten sollte, imponierte ihm. Aber dann fand anufjcn viele empörende Szene im Parlament statt: Botha kanzelte seinen Außenminister ab wie ein ungezogenes Kind, weil dieser auf Fragen westlicher Korrespondenten gesagt hatte, er könne sich vorstellen,

es irgendwann einmal einen schwarzen Präsidenten in Südafrika geben werde. Der Führer der weißen Opposition, Frederik van Zyl Slabbert,

Buthelezi: Gegen Gewalt, für Verhandlungen
Aufnahme: Poly Press

war so empört über den „Dilettantismus, die Unredlichkeit, Doppelzüngigkeit, Blindheit“ der Regierung, daß er sein Amt und seinen Sitz im Parlament niederlegte.

Buthelezi erlg'!arte, er denke nicht daran, sich in Verhandlungen hineinziehen zu lassen, die nur dazu bestimmt seien, absurde parlamentarische Strukturen und pseudodemokratische Formen zu entwickeln. Schon vor Jahren, als P. W. Botha

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den Präsidentenâ\200\231s Cosndcl ins Leben rief, hatte er seine Teilnahme abgelehnt: „Es ist doch licherlich, einen schwarzen, beratenden Council zu schaffen, der den beratenden Council des Präsidenten berit.â\200\234 Immer, wenn die Regierung ihn vereinnahmen wollte, hatte er verlangt, daß sie zunächst die Rolle definieren müsse, die sie den Schwarzen zugedacht habe.

Gatsha Buthelezi, der heute Siebenundfünfzigjährige, ist ein Vetter des Königs der Zulu, die mit sechs Millionen den zahlenmäßig stärksten Stamm Südafrikas darstellen. Darum war er für die Pläne der Regierung schon immer besonders wichtig,

Buthelezi hat auf der Universität Fort Hare Geschichte und afrikanische Verwaltung studiert. Er ist ein kenntnisreicher, moderner Politiker, aber er scheut sich nicht, bei festlichen Gelegenheiten seines Stammes in traditioneller Aufmachung den Tanz der Krieger anzuführen. Er war als junger Mann Mitglied der Jugendgruppe des ANC und Mitarbeiter von Luthuli, dem ANC-Präsidenten

und späteren Nobelpreisträger. Auch heute noch spricht er mit Anhänglichkeit von Mandela, dessen Freilassung er immer wieder mit großem Nachdruck forderte – schon damit die sich radikalisierende Bewegung eine besonnene Führung bekommt.

Ein Mann – eine Stimme

Auf meine Frage, ob er sich irgendwann einmal ein Kondominium von Slabbert und Buthelezi in Pretoria vorstellen könne, sagt er: „Nein, denn wenn Nelson Mandela gewählt wird, dann unterstelle ich mich ihm sofort in Loyalität und alter Freundschaft, die nie abgerissen ist.“ Noch im Dezember hatte ich einen sehr warmherzigen Brief von ihm. Was Buthelezi vom heutigen ANC trennt, ist dessen Eintreten für Gewalt. In dieser Frage gibt es für ihn keinen Kompromiss: Er ist ein Gegner von Gewalt. „Es ist Unsinn“, meint er, „zu behaupten, die Regierung wackele und die Macht für die Schwarzen sei greifbar nahe. Die Regierung hat noch nicht einmal einen Bruchteil ihrer gewaltigen Macht eingesetzt. Außerdem: Die Vorbedingungen für eine Revolution existieren

doch gar nicht – Armee und Bürokratie stehen

loyal und fest zur Regierung.“

Chief Buthelezi, Präsident der Inkatha, einer kulturellen Freiheitsbewegung seines Volkes, die er neu belebt und erweitert hat und die bereits über eine Million Mitglieder zählt, ist ein Politiker von beachtlichem Rang. Der Rechtsstaat ist für ihn unabdingbar, auch die demokratischen Institutionen. Er kritisiert seinen Freund Slabbert, weil er aus dem Parlament ausgezogen ist, obwohl Erneuerung doch nur durch die gewählten Repräsentanten des Volkes erfolgen könne.

Chief Buthelezi hält Verhandlungen für das einzige Heilmittel. Aber er hat sich zum Ärger von Botha mehrfach geweigert, an Verhandlungen mit

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: „Unser Land steht an einem Kreuzweg“ / Von Marion Griffin Dönhoff

der Regierung in irgendeiner Form teilzunehmen, ehe diese ein Statement of Intent, eine Absichtserklärung, abgegeben habe. „Sie braucht nicht ins einzelne zu gehen, aber sie muß konkret den Rahmen für die Machtverteilung abstecken.“ Sein Ziel ist: ein Mann – eine Stimme; aber natürlich nicht von heute auf morgen. „Wie lange wird es dauern?“ Buthelezis skeptischer Blick schweift in die Ferne: „Das kann man im voraus nicht wissen,“

Die Regierung ist weitend, weil der Zuluhiptling sich standhaft weigert, sein Land Kwa-Zulu in die sogenannte Unabhängigkeit zu führen und es zu einem „Homeland“ zu machen. Mit aller Schirfe hat er die neue Verfassung, die den Indern und Mischlingen Stimmrecht gab, bekämpft und darauf hingewiesen, daß dies zur Katastrophe führen müsse. Was es ja denn auch getan hat. Auf seinen Vorschlag wurde schon 1980 eine Kommission eingerichtet, die seinen Namen trägt und die

binnen zwei Jahren sehr vernünftige Vorschläge für den Abbau der Apartheid erarbeitet hat.

In einem höchst interessanten Interview der südafrikanischen Zeitschrift Leadership fragte ihn der Chefredakteur Hugh Murray, warum er unbedingt auf dem Prinzip „ein Mann – eine Stimme“ bestehe und darauf, daß Südafrika ein unitary

state, ein einheitlicher Staat, sein müsse. Buthelezi –

antwortete: „Ich glaube, wir sind alle durch eine Gehirnwäsche gegangen, weil wir ja einmal Teil des britischen Kolonialreiches waren. Alles, was Westminster und das House of Commons betrifft, das scheint wie von Gott selbst verordnet. One man, one vote in a unitary state ist meine erste Wahl; allerdings kann ich nicht glauben, daß wir das Recht haben, um dieser Werte willen unser Land und uns selbst zu zerstören.“

Buthelezi ist Pragmatiker und Realist. Er ist ein Befürworter der Marktwirtschaft: „Man darf die Henne, die die goldenen Eier legt, nicht schlachten. Umverteilung des Reichtums ist Quatsch – die Schwarzen müssen an der Marktwirtschaft beteiligt werden, darauf kommt es an.“ – „Disinvestment“ – „Das schadet auf die Dauer nur uns selber.“

Man kann sich leicht vorstellen, daß die schwarze Opposition aller Schattierungen tobt. Der Vorwurf: Buthelezi arbeite innerhalb des Systems. Aber auch die Regierung ist weitend, weil er alles ablehnt, was nicht mit seinen demokratischen Prinzipien übereinstimmt.

Um wie sieht Buthelezi die nächste Zukunft? „Wir stehen an einem Kreuzweg: Entweder rafft Südafrika sich auf und bildet eine Regierung der nationalen Versöhnung, hinter der das Volk steht, oder – wenn die Kraft dazu nicht reicht – werden wir zusehen müssen, wie das Land in Gewalt und Anarchie versinkt.“

Man kann nur hoffen, daß die Regierung diese Kraft findet, solange es Minner wie Mandela und Buthelezi gibt, die über Autorität verfügen – danach kommt dann nichts mehr.

Der Schwiegervater

Deutsche Automobilexporteure verloren einen Geschäftspartner. Ernest Binnert, nach Korrespondentenberichten bislang wichtigster Exporteur für Kraftfahrzeuge in der deutschen Politik, nach Haiti, hat mit dem Sturz seines Schwiegersohns Jean-Claude Duvalier ausgerechnet. Der Mulatte war ein wirtschaftlich angeschlagener Kaffeeplanzer, als seine schöne Tochter Michele 1980 den feisten Tyrannen ehelichte. Baby Docs Schwiegervater wurde zum großen Kaffee-Exporteur, der selbstverständlich keine Steuern entrafte. Sein neues Vermögen legte er weise an: Er kaufte Anteile der belgisch-italienischen Fluggesellschaften (neue Macht, neue Privilegien), über ihn lief die Versorgung des herrschenden Clans und

seiner Handlanger mit angemessenen Fahrzeugen, und ins Ausland verschob Bennett genug Geld, um jetzt im Exil nicht von den Almosen des Schwiegersohns abhängig zu sein. Seine früheren deutschen Geschäftspartner brauchen vielleicht trotzdem keinen Nachfolger für Bennett zu suchen â\200\224 man kann sich ja vorstellen, daß das bettelarme Land in Zukunft seine Exporterlöse nicht mehr für teure Autos verwendet.

Informationelle Fremdbestimmung

Schweden ist ein Traumland empirischer Sozialforschung. Die Regierenden - besser gesagt: ihre Computer â\200\224 wissen fast alles über die Regierten, Schweden antworten gern auf die Fragen von Meinungsforschern und offiziellen Statistikern, und über ein Jahrzehnt lang konnte ein Soziologe alle, alle Daten sammeln, die irgendwo über die 15 000 im Jahre 1953 in Stockholm geborenen Kinder gespeichert wurden: Schulnoten und Eheschließungen, Abtreibungen und Drogenauffälligkeit â\200\224 seit einiger Zeit auch, welchen der heute 33jährigen Stockholmer diese Sammlung nicht paßt. Jan Free-se, Schwedens oberster Datenschützer, machte vor . einigen Monaten das Projekt publik â\200\224 und seitdem haben Hunderte von Betroffenen Einsicht in ihre Daten oder gar deren Vernichtung gefordert. „Das ist grotesk“, sagt der Soziologieprofessor Carl-Gunnar Janson von der Universität Stockholm. „Ich habe die Daten dieser Leute aus allen möglichen Quellen in jahrelanger Arbeit ermittelte. Es ist phantastisch, daß sie denken, Information über sie gehöre ihnen.“

Wiener Neustadt

Vor dem Zweiten Weltkrieg lebten in der österreichischen Stadt Wiener Neustadt über 1000 Juden. Heute, 1986, lebt kein einziger mehr hier. Vielen gelang es, vor den Nazis zu fliehen, und so leben viele von ihnen bis zum heutigen Tag im Ausland.

Für eine wissenschaftliche Dokumentation mit dem Thema „Die Geschichte der Juden in Wiener Neustadt“ werden nun Personen gesucht, die vertrieben wurden, und solche, die über wertvolle Begebenheiten mit Juden im Gebiet von Wiener Neustadt berichten können. Bitte, schreiben Sie an Felix Szolcsanyi, A-2700 Wiener Neustadt, Grazerstraße 69, Austria.

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH

Picture: MARTIN GILFEATHER

steel plant such as Ravenscraig

would once have been evidence that our economy was slipping behind the rest of Europe. No longer. Britain is the only major country in the European Community that has increased total steel production over the last decade. Impressively, British Steel has turned itself into the lowest-cost producer of steel in the EC, and Ravenscraig is more efficient than many comparable plants on the Continent.

Yet Ravenscraig cannot compete. One reason is the high level of state subsidy given to producers, often covertly, in countries such as France, Spain, Italy and Germany as they try in vain to postpone the inevitable closure of their plants. But a more fundamental reason is competition from outside Europe, increasingly from developing countries.

It is already general knowledge that South Korea has become a global force in steel production, but few people are aware that Turkey, Brazil and India, to name but three, are moving quickly up the international charts. The Mexican steel company Tubos de Acero, which hardly exported anything five years ago, is now selling successfully all over the Middle East.

Steel is not alone. The same pat-

CLOSURE of a large British

ponents, textiles, shoes and electronics. The tectonic plates of the world economy are shifting. Vast concentrations of mankind, long held in poverty by misguided ideologies, are now learning to play the capitalist game, and play it well. After witnessing the total failure of dirigiste models of development in their countries, the ascendant, educated elite of the Third World has embraced the free market with fervour. Foreign investment, once held at bay, is now courted. Tariff barriers are being torn down. Prices are being freed, and so are people. It is possible that the economic revolution seen over the past generation on the Pacific rim is about to be writ on a global scale.

We have acquired such a habit of dismissing the Third World as a hopeless assemblage of economic

Cold steel: Ravenscraig, one of today's most efficient steelworks, was deftly by the growing industrial power of the poorer nations :

over, here come the Third World capitalists

Europe complacently views the emergent nations as economic cripples but, argues AMBROSE EVANS-PRITCHARD, they are now running faster as we start to stagnate

tern is emerging in industrial com-

cripples that we often fail to see what is happening before our eyes. The debt crisis of the early 1980s, far from being a disaster for them, was a blessing in disguise. It discredited the old order, and because no more easy money was forthcoming, it served as a catalyst for radical economic reform.

Mexico is the classic example. A decade after going bankrupt in 1982 with the second highest foreign debt in the world, it has succeeded in

reducing its debt and is now able to borrow again on the international credit markets. The economy is well on its way to recovery, after a wrenching transition to the free market, and looks set for high rates of export-led growth of 6-7 per cent annually in the 1990s. The Mexican stockmarket, anticipating the new boom, has gone up 1,200 per cent in dollar terms since 1985.

Chile, the first country in Latin America to dismantle its bloated, socialist system, is now an integral part of the Pacific economy, and after a sustained recovery is growing at 5 per cent a year. The good news has spread. Argentina, Peru and Venezuela are now copying parts of the Chilean model. Much of south Asia has embarked on a similar if fitful course in the same direction. So has Turkey, which had 9 per cent growth in 1990 and seems set for a strong recovery from the recession induced by the Gulf War.

These countries have the huge advantage of a young population, with a strong work ethic, prepared to toil long hours for low wages. In the past this advantage was offset by the deliberate closure of their economies from the outside world and the slower spread of technology and information. Today the ignorant campesino is increasingly a figure of the past. Transistor radios are ubi-

quitous in the Third World. Young people are often well informed. They leave school with basic skills in maths, physics, reading and writing that often equal or even surpass levels attained by the European working class. Moreover, economic necessity has made them resourceful. The typical teenager in a Mexican village knows how to tune a car engine or fix a television - skills that are being lost in the affluent cultures of the North. Millions of these youngsters are entering the world labour force each year, capable of manufacturing increasingly sophisticated products at low cost.

ADVANCED countries can benefit from the coming challenge if they remain flexible, always in the vanguard of technology, quick to cut their losses in the older indus-

tries where they cannot compete. Mass-produced steel, for instance,

may be a loser but small American -

mills have shown it is possible to flourish in specialist niche areas of the industry. But prospering in this environment requires a fluid labour force, low costs for business, and low taxes. The European Community is moving in precisely the opposite direction.

Tucked away in the November monthly report of the German Bundesbank is a set of figures that shows how the EC is digging itself into a hole. It reveals that German business, already handicapped by some of the highest wage rates in the world, has to spend a further DM17-45 (Â£6) an hour on generous benefits for its workers. These include costs such as long maternity leave at full pay and equal benefits for part-time workers. (These are basic elements of the EC's Social Chapter, from which Britain is exempted under a special opt-out

clause secured at Maastricht.) The figure for Italy is DM15-13. Towards the other end of the scale is Britain, with supplementary costs of DM7-43, only slightly above the United States and Japan.

Supporters of the Social Chapter argue that these benefits, far from hurting Germany's economic performance, have actually enhanced productivity by creating a cohesive workforce. That may have been true once, before costs got out of control, but Germany is now beginning to decay.

The evidence for this is not so much economic, though Volkswagen has already shifted much of its car production abroad, and both BMW and Mercedes are considering doing the same. The evidence is cultural. There are signs that Germany is suffering the erosion of moral capital that invariably catches up with high-tax, corporatist, welfare societies. Absenteeism from work is rising. The trade unions, once models of restraint, are beginning to demand double-digit wage rises. Nor is the rot confined to Germany. Holland's disability system, which pays people 70 per cent of their salary, indefinitely, for ailments as vague as stress, is now the country's fastest-growing industry.

The EC's labour practices have an insidious effect. They make it expensive to take on new employees,

and prohibitive to sack them if things go wrong. This discourages the emergence of new companies and investment in areas of unproven profit. It also tends to inhibit job creation. In the United States, about 20 million jobs have been added since the mid-1970s. The EC has added none. Instead it is grappling with high unemployment, much of it long-term, particularly among young people.

The whole system, apparently benevolent and caring, is in fact deeply cynical. It favours the incumbents — those with jobs; established firms — to the disadvantage of the newcomer. Its natural response to competition and further unemployment will be protectionism. It is hard to imagine a formula more likely to produce stagnation.

/s

Herald Africa News Service

JOHANNESBURG.

MOZAMBIQUEâ\200\231S Foreign Minister, Major-General Joaquim Chissano, has appealed in Prague for Czechoslovakia to boost its military aid to the Maputo Government to help Mozambique defend itself against any further military attacks by South Africa. According to Radio Maputo, the Minister made the appeal

on an official visit to discuss closer military, political and economic co-operation between the two countries.

At the same time Algeria has called on African countries to unite their armed forces against South Africa following the South African raid on ANC houses in Mozambique. :

In a statement released by the Algerian â\200\230Embassy in Maputo, Algeria condemned the South African raid and said South Africa

was not only a serious threat to the independent countries in Southern Africa but to all other countries in Africa.

Radio Maputo yesterday reported that all of the surviving ANC members who were wounded in the South African raid were now out of danger.

Â® In New York the United Nations = Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, deep concern yesterday over reports that South African troops had

carried out. an incursion into Mozambique, Ziana-Reuter reports.

It was a serious violation of Mozambiqueâ\200\231s territory and contributed to a heightening of tension in the area, he said in a statement. He urged all concerned to refrain from further acts of violence.

Â® South Africaâ\200\231s State Security Council met in Cape Town yesterday to discuss the widespread and angry reaction to the South African

â\200\224 Mozambique seeks Czech military aid-

can defence ; oroz strike, reports
our corresponden

The oopuâ\200\230l,lcï¬\202 - which carries
as much weight as the Cabinet â\200\224
includes the Prime Minister, Mr P.
W. Botha, the Minister of Defence,
General Magnus Malan, and the
Chief of SADF, General C. Vil-

joen.

Among the new factors they
discussed were the Organisation o/
African Unity move fo form a
joint force to defend states ad-
jacent to Sogth Africa against

such raids, and the decision by
Zimbabwe Prime Minister Mr
Mugabe to strengthen his armed
forces as a result of what he
called â\200\234naked aggressionâ\200\235 by
Pretoria.

Â® In London British authorities
yesterday privately denounced
South Africaâ\200\231s raid. The Foreign
Office officially remained silent, but
a Government official said: â\200\234Our
views have been made known in-
formally to the South Africans,â\200\235
reports Ziana-AP.

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il shortly after arriving in Prague
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- | Japan races ahead,
Europe runs on empty

MICHAEL HARRISON However, by the end of the decade
The Independent Mr Eaton forecas at Japanese
2 . manufacturers would have â\200\234cornered
GENEVA. â\200\224 The number of vol o 30 Q&rggnt *of the European mar- 1
e

ume car makers in Europe could : T tha
be cut by half by the end of the <o Together with the share taken by

d ; smaller car firms, that meant there
ecade through a series of large- would have to be â\200\234fewer freestanding
scale defensive mergers in the

> volume manufacturersâ\200\235.
fa(i?t'Of fm_â\200\230crgâ\200\234sâ\200\231eï¬\202g?ggsg (ijgtlj1- hMeanwhile, Mr Lindsey
Halstead,

petition, a senior motor industry chairman of Ford of Europe, warned
eÃ©xecutive has warned.

Mr Robert Eaton, president of Gen-

that European car manufacturing ca-
pacity could outstrip sales by between
eral Motors Europe, said the existing
big six European manufacturers

two and three million by the late
1990s as Japanese imports and â\200\234trans-
might fall to as few as three as the
industry was forced to restructure he-

plantâ\200\235 production grew.
Mr Halstead aligned himself with
cause of the Japanese onslaught and
â\200\230the nÃ©ed to be cost-efficient.
; _Mr Eaton disclosed fhat the subject.

Peugeot chairman Mr Jacques Calvet,
of a Europe-wide rationalisation had

who wants tight import quotas on
Japanese cars to remain in place.
been discussed recently at a private ti MrthE?t%l . th?re ;vasfno qges-
meeting of the heads of most big-car t;?r?ty 1: %g%::
makers and component suppliers. lese. To counter
~The general view.to emerge, he

nese. To counter thiS overwhelming
said, was that the industry would be

; g_avggtagg_ efficiency gains had to be
condensed into three to five volume .
car makers.

But he ruled out the continuation of
R ; tight import barriers until Japanese

The ;& six are Volkswagen, Fiat, an levels and standards of social
Ford, GM, Peugeot Citroen and Re- enefits .were equivalent to those in
nault. Last year they built 75 percent the European Community â\200\224 the con-

of the 13,4 million cars sold in West- troversial concept promoted by Mr
ern Europe. Calvet.

. ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and President F W

â\200\230Mandela, FW slug it out

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

LAST nightâ\200\231s keenly anticipated
â\200\234great debateâ\200\235 between Mr Nelson
Mandela and Mr FW de Klerk
turned into the political slugfest of
the election campaign.

The 70-minute contest â\200\224 widely
billed as the most decisive encoun-
ter of the countryâ\200\231s first non-racial
poll â\200\224 was marked by a series of
sharp exchanges, with the two ad-
versaries at times freely trading
grave accusations and even insults.

But in the closing minutes of the
debate the ANC president sudden-
ly leaned over and took Mr De
Klerkâ\200\231s hand.

â\200\234I am proud to hold your hand,â\200\235
he told Mr De Klerk in front of an
audience said to be the largest in
South Africaâ\200\231s history.

â\200\234Let us go forward together, let us
work together to end division and
suspicion,â\200\235 he said.

The historic multi-channel de-
bate, which was carried live to an
audience of millions by dozens of
TV and radio stations in South
Africa and abroad, got off to a calm,
measured start with the opening
statements of the two leaders â\200\224 but
it was not long before the gloves
came off.

Mr Mandela, a one-time boxer,
was on the offensive for much of the

debate, delivering a number of
stinging personal attacks against
his National Party rival.

Mr De Klerk, who initially held
back in an apparent bid to play the
statesman, eventually joined in the
spirit of the bruising encounter, but
restricted most of his attacks to the
ANC rather than Mr Mandela him-
self.

Although both leaders stopped
short of accusing each other of out-
right lying, they repeatedly blamed
each other for being â\200\234less than
frankâ\200\235 or of â\200\234bluffingâ\200\235.

Mr Mandela charged that the NP

leader had been implicated in financing the â\200\234murderous activities

of the Inkatha Freedom Partyâ\200\235, â\200\234did not know what he was talking aboutâ\200\235, was guilty of making â\200\230â\200\230star-ry-eyed claims with no basis in factâ\200\235, had misrepresented the findings of Goldstone reports, and was â\200\234committed to a small minorityâ\200\235.

He blamed Mr De Klerkâ\200\231s administration for spreading â\200\234scandalous racismâ\200\235, wasting taxpayersâ\200\231 money on a vast scale, and â\200\234endemic corruptionâ\200\235.

Mr De Klerk countered that many homeland leaders responsible for the worst cases of corruption were currently on the ANCâ\200\231s candidate list â\200\224 which also harboured people guilty of violence.

The NP leader accused the ANC of being heavily involved in violence and intimidation and of blocking much-needed socio-economic projects.

At one point Mr De Klerk â\200\224 who blamed his opponent for â\200\234aggressionâ\200\235 â\200\224 visibly angered Mr Mandela by implying he did not have the experience to understand the complexities of running a modern economy.

However, the contest ended on a conciliatory note with both leaders

paying each other a rare compliment.

@Â® What viewers think â\200\224 Page 2

de Klerk shake hands after their TV debate last night.

Move to set up Â°
fresh summit

night, but it was not certain they would agree.

Indications are that all that can be negotiated are measures to ensure the poll is held in the region.

The seven-man team of international mediators said the reason for their decision to leave was that the parties disagreed on the terms of reference.

Chief Buthelezi refused to accept revised terms of reference that said the election date was not a subject for mediation.

The original terms of reference

Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu agreed to by an ANC/IFP team

: T made no mention of the election date.

g, l.]lhEIEZl has responded indifferent The IFP argued that the purpose of

After the collapse of the talks yesterday, he warned of a catastrophe, tional issues, leading inevitably to the but rilled out the possibility of armed IFP's rejoining the electoral process. insurrection in KwaZulu/Natal. However, the new terms of reference;

Inkatha was entering a period of once again drawn up in conjunction with resistance politics, he said. As the government when it joined the much as he tried, it was expecting too process as a full participant were

: : not acceptable to Chief Buthelezi.

%\200\230#g%i-\201{fygï-\202 tã\200\230;)/acsortlã\200\230tl?rlyh;ii-\201gporters. A last-minute attempt by Minister of

President FW de Klerk and ANC Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha to save leader Mr Nelson Mandela wanted to the mediation process came to nothing. arrange a summit with Chief Buthelezi. Mr Botha told mediator Dr Henry

lezi and the Zulu king, government
R o -1 [0

and ANC sources confirmed last

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THE government and the ANC are making a last-gasp attempt to secure a free election in Natal/KwaZulu following the collapse of international mediation,

As international mediators packed their bags last night to fly out, ANC and government sources confirmed there were plans for a second bush summit with Inkatha.

GOING HOME . . . Foreign mediators former US Secretary of State Mr Henry Kissinger, right, and former British Secretary Lord Carrington, left, leave a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday after announcing the

mediation team would return home immediately. Picture: AP

From S. Africa

PULLOUT, From Al

have eaten up huge amounts of management time, tarnished corporate images and jeopardized profitable sales in the United States, according to many corporate officials, business analysts and antiapartheid activists;

These substantial costs inside the United Statesâ\200\224aa much as a deteriorating economic and political climate in South Africaâ\200\224have accelerated a phenonemon that somanalymsaymaybeuniqueintheannahofu.s.

business: significant U.S. corporate flight from an economically advanced and until recently profitable foreign market. They also have underscored the power of a new arsenal of economic weaponsâ\200\224including shareholder resolutions, pension fund divestments and boycotts by city and state governmentsâ\200\224that social activists and local officials have employed to influence corporate behavior.

â\200\234Itâ\200\231s quite clear to me that, in terms of corporations responding to social pressures, what's happened in South Africa is quite unprecedented,â\200\235 said Mira Wilkins, an economic historian and author of the two-volume â\200\234Maturing of Multi-National Enterprises.â\200\235 â\200\234There was no specific governmental action that said these companies had to do this [withdraw] But itâ\200\231s become a bottom-line question. Whatâ\200\231s happening is that social activists have been clearly able to affect the overall performance of the corporations.â\200\235

The tactics used against companies in South Africa are also being studied as a road map for campaigns in a host of other â\200\234social responsibilityâ\200\235 issues, some activists say. During the past year, corporate shareholder resolutionsâ\200\224one of the early forms of pressure on South Africaâ\200\224have been filed on such diverse subjects as corporate involvement in the Strategic Defense Initiative, the enforcement of nondiscriminatory employment practices in Northern Ireland and the sale of dangerous pesticides in the Third World.

â\200\234It's a basic blueprint,â\200\235 said Tim Smith, executive director of the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, one of the more active antiapartheid groups. â\200\234The approaches, strategy and tactics [on South Africa] clearly are going to be used in other campaigns.â\200\235

Spurred by passage of economic sanctions against South Africa, the success of these measures have come into focus in recent weeks with announcements by Coca-Cola Inc., General Motors Corp. and International Business Machines Corp. that they were selling off their South African subsidiaries. Of the 310 U.S. companies doing business in South Africa in January 1985, 69 have sold their operations or announced plans to do so. Othersâ\200\224including such major players as Honeywell

DECIDING TO DISINVEST

COMPANY NUMBER
EMPLOYEES

3,056
1,500
1,043

YEAR

1986
1986
1985

General Motors Corp.

IBM Corp.

Carnation Co.

VF Corp.

General Electric Co.

Blue Bell Inc.

Navistar International Corp.

Computer Sciences Corp.

City Investing Corp.

Coca-Cola Co,

SOURCE: Investor Responsibility Research Center

1986
1985
1985

Inc. and Xerox Corp. are expected to follow suit by

~ done is not good enough," said Randall Robinson, executive director of TransAfrica, one of the leading anti-apartheid groups.)

Roots of Political Change

* For many major U.S. companies, the history of the campaign to pressure firms out of South Africa has

been a painful lesson in their vulnerability to the shifting winds of political opinion.

Since at least the 1960 Sharpeville massacre when white South African police armed with machine guns killed 69 peaceful black protesters there have been calls for economic sanctions against the South African government and sporadic boycotts against U.S. corporations doing business there. Starting with an Episcopal Church resolution filed at the GM annual meeting in 1971, church groups and others have been filing shareholder resolutions with companies demanding that they withdraw from South Africa.

But for years, companies viewed the protesters as

little more than minor irritants, and their resolutions

were voted down overwhelmingly. "We were seen to be on the fringe," said Smith, one of the early pioneers of the shareholder resolution tactic. "There was a patronizing and arrogant attitude on the part of management."

But all that began to change two years ago. Violence and political unrest in South Africa started to escalate.

- The Free South Africa Movement galvanized public

attention with around-the-clock demonstrations outside the South African embassy in Washington. Activists started to hit home with a series of new tactics aimed at

the companies.

The most highly publicized of these has been corporate divestment the move by public institutions to sell off the securities of companies with South African ties. Such moves took a quantum leap two months ago when Gov. George Deukmejian (R-Calif.) signed a sweeping divestment measure mandating the sale of \$9.5 billion in state securities. According to most recent tabulations, 116 colleges and universities, 19 state govern-

ments and 83 cities and counties (ranging from the city of New York to Montgomery County) have passed some form of anti-South African measures requiring the sale of a total of \$22 billion worth of stocks and bonds in U.S. corporations and banks involved in South Africa.

Even more effective, however, has been a novel and potent new weapon the passage of so-called selective purchasing laws that prohibit or restrict public contracts to U.S. companies involved in South Africa. Two state governments Maryland and Michigan and at least 31 cities and counties (including New York, Los Angeles and the District) have passed such laws. The consequences for companies have been immeasurable.

For the first time, corporations have started to lose business in the United States because they were doing business in South Africa. In the city of Los Angeles, whose stringent selective purchasing law took effect this summer, a half-dozen contracts have been blocked or held up because the winning bidders had business ties to South Africa.

And even when the results are not that clear-cut, the laws have injected an alien foreign policy issueâ\200\224South Africaâ\200\224into municipal contracting disputes, catching many companies off guard. â\200\234Itâ\200\231s probably the one thing that has bothered companies the most,â\200\235 said Archey of the Chamber of Commerce,