

THE SUNDAY TIMES, 08 AUGUST 1993

THE KwaZulu government was forced to leave the negotiating table after it had exhausted all other available options and remedies to ensure the cause of federalism and constitutional guarantees triumph over authoritarian and centralistic hidden agendas.

With all the means available within the process, we tried to change the course taken by negotiations. However, on every occasion we were overruled, ignored and even cut short. Our entire vision for the establishment of a federation prior to elections was not even put on the table.

In fact, on June 15 1993 we walked out for the first time precisely because the ANC/SACP alliance and the South African government/National Party delegation refused to instruct the technical committee to give full consideration to our proposal for a final federal constitution by the end of 1994 as an alternative to their proposal for a two-stage transition process centred on the empowerment of a constituent assembly and a substantially unitary state.

On that occasion propaganda attempted to describe our walkout as a reaction to the setting of a date for a democratic election, while our opposition to the election date was based on the fact that the ANC/SACP alliance and the government/NP were steamrolling the process into elections for a constituent assembly and avoiding the issue of federalism.

Our second walkout was at the meeting of the negotiation forum on July 2, and was caused by the decision to instruct the technical committee to draft a constitution to empower a constituent assembly and to establish a unitary state with some provincial or regional characteristics, rather than a true federation of states, such as the United States, Germany or Australia.

The decisions to instruct the technical committee and ratify the election date were taken over our most fundamental objections, which proved the point that our presence at the World Trade Centre is required only to rubberstamp what the ANC/-



BEN NGUBANE, leader of the KwaZulu government delegation at the multi-party talks, tells why he walked out a month ago

Overruled, ignored and often snubbed

SACP alliance and the government/NP have already decided.

If the process allows these two organisations to make decisions over our most fundamental objections, our continuing presence in the process is not required.

The hard fact of the matter is that we were right, for the draft constitution submitted by the technical committee conclusively proved our contentions and confirmed our and South Africa's worst fears.

Under the draft an extremely limited range of powers are considered for the regions, which are far less than those presently exercised by the self-governing territories. However, no power whatever will vest in the regions until and unless a decision in this sense is made by the new government and by two-thirds of the constituent assembly.

This process will decide how much power will be exercised by the regions and whether such power will be exercised as exclusive or concurrent power under the control of the national government's overriding powers.

Therefore, a one-third minority lobby in the con-

stituent assembly would have effective power to prevent the vesting of any functions in the regions.

Similarly, the regions have no power to truly organise themselves in autonomy to participate effectively in the decision-making of the national legislature due to the limitations set forth on the adoption and contents of regional constitutions, and by the fact that the senate will have no say on any matter which has financial implications.

However, and most importantly, whatever is written in this draft constitution is totally volatile because the draft empowers a constituent assembly and charges it with a specific constitutional duty to tear apart the interim constitution and replace it with a "total revision".

Because of treacherous deadlock-breaking mechanisms, a 51-percent majority will have the effective power to adopt the final constitution and the full discretion to decide on its contents.

Even if the draft provides for a 60-percent majority to ratify the final constitution at a referendum, this requirement is defeated by another provision in the draft which

makes it political suicide for any party to oppose the ratification at the referendum of the constitution adopted by a 51-percent majority of the constituent assembly.

In fact, if a 51-percent majority of the constituent assembly is defeated at a referendum it will be entitled to an absolute blank cheque to do whatever it pleases the next time round.

Ostensibly, the draft attempts to circumscribe the discretion of a future constituent assembly, but we strongly believe that the techniques used for such a purpose are totally ineffective and tantamount to a token of faith and good intentions.

We are fighting for the establishment of a federation with residual powers to the member states and with devolution to the federal government of only those powers which cannot be adequately or properly exercised at state level. We are also demanding the recognition of the constitution of the state of KwaZulu/Natal as one of the founding blocks of the new federation.

The draft constitution presented by the technical committee excludes the very notion of federalism and gives a 51-percent majority of the constituent assembly a final say over what our destiny is going to be. To us, this is a formula for sure disaster, irrespective of whoever controls the constituent assembly.

The KwaZulu government believes its constitutional goals should be achieved through negotiations. However, it sees no point in returning to negotiations until the rules of decision-making have been either clarified or amended to ensure that its participation in negotiations is not circumscribed to the role of a mere rubber stamp.

To have true negotiations, the rules of the game need to force the participants into real give and take. It appears clear that, irrespective of the many promises and high-sounding declarations, there have been no real concessions coming from the ANC/SACP alliance for the cause of federalism and pluralism in our country.

OPINION

Violence gathers new momentum

LOOSE talk about civil war, often expressed as a prediction of descent into Bosnia, has been around for some time; this week, the reality of violence seemed to be catching up with the rhetoric.

When organised forces ambush trains, rolling boulders onto the rails and attacking with firearms from both sides of the cuttings, or when huge tank traps are dug in the streets so that Casspir crews can be ambushed, or when arms smugglers masquerade as priests, then it is fatuous to talk of "unrest" or "riots" or "faction fighting". We are dealing with paramilitary conflict. The causes of the violence are becoming irrelevant. The killing is driven by fierce hatreds, as Mr Nelson Mandela discovered when, to a chorus of boos, he asked his followers to seek conciliation with members of the Inkatha Freedom Party. ANC leaders still trot out their ritual accusation that a "third force", which is an ill-disguised code word for whites, is responsible for the violence, but the accusation has lost credibility; it is simply not believable that any force could unleash violence and slaughter on this scale, month after month, without being caught.

Hatred accounts for the savage character of the conflict, but the conflict itself is politically driven, by the determination of rival parties to secure their own turf. Tolerance of dissent, or acceptance of diversity, are not con-

cepts that govern the hearts and minds of the people in the townships, the hostels, or the squatter camps. Instead, rival political groups are establishing no-go areas.

This situation has been a long time coming; the new factor, it appears, is that the police have lost all control over the illegal arms trade. They are attacked still with petrol bombs or primitive instruments, but more and more often find themselves up against automatic rifles.

Unfortunately, but not unexpectedly, these conditions have at last driven the police back to using the paramilitary methods, including machine guns mounted on armoured vehicles, which have always been their preference but which have always failed in the past. It is not difficult to see why: the use of armoured vehicles which separate police from the community, or of automatic weapons that can flatten a squatter's hut in seconds, raise immensely the chances that innocent people will be killed or maimed. Sensible people know it is only a matter of time before the police, or the soliders, will again stand accused of massacre.

The long-term answer to violence is one which our police are least equipped to apply: a stolid determination to ensure the proper administration of justice: arrest, trial, conviction and sentence. But that prospect has, in the past week, receded farther than ever before. The outlook is grim.

1993

No vote at 14, and that's official - ANC

THE ANC has given the assurance 14-year olds will not vote in the next or subsequent elections. Carl Niehaus, national spokesman for the ANC, told a youth symposium that he did not know why the media has blown Nelson Mandela's personal views so out of proportion, but it is the opinion of the majority of members on the ANC's Executive Council that 14-year olds will not get the vote.

ANTICIPATED BATTLE of Schweizer-Reneke fails to materialise

Police avert bloodshed

■ **Peace reigns:** An expected clash between the AWB and the ANC in Schweizer-Reneke was averted yesterday by a strong police presence.

By MONICA OOSTERBROEK

THE quiet Western Transvaal town of Schweizer-Reneke was transformed into a bustling centre of activity yesterday as thousands of people from around the country gathered for political meetings.

While AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche received the freedom of the town, the ANC's military chief, Joe Modise, received the freedom of the nearby township of Ipelegeng.

As AWB and ANC members flocked into the town the scene was set for a bloody battle.

However, any possibility of a violent confrontation between militant groups was averted by the presence

of thousands of policemen.

Riot police patrolled the town on foot, in cars, armoured vehicles and flew overhead in a helicopter.

Roadblocks set up outside the town on Friday evening checked every car going in. Drivers were required to produce identification documents and car registration numbers were taken down.

Large safes at the roadblocks were used to store confiscated illegal weapons. Receipts were given for the return of legal weapons.

Handgrenades

According to an agreement between police and the two political groups, civilians were allowed to carry only one licensed sidearm in a holster. However, police still had to confiscate more than 100 rifles and shotguns, two handgrenades and a crossbow from AWB members.

About 1500 AWB members dressed in their new camouflage uniforms stood in platoons outside the town hall to greet Terre-Blanche,

who arrived at 11 am on a large black stallion.

When mayor Gerrie Fourie handed Terre-Blanche and his followers "the freedom to march through the town in full regalia with flags flying high and trumpets blaring", Terre-Blanche said it was a historic day for his organisation.

He said the AWB would never accept a communist government and, although they were willing to share the country with blacks, they would never give them any power.

AWB members stood to attention to watch the newly formed AWB air wing get off the ground in their first show of power. The commander of the air wing, Andre Snyman, told the Sunday Star it consisted of 21 planes, although only 10 arrived yesterday.

Modise arrived in Ipelegeng at midday, dressed in full military uniform, and was joined by a guard of honour made up of about 40 MK cadres.

He told a crowd of more than 3000 that the ANC was committed

to creating a government of national unity.

"We believe no single party can ever build the South African nation. In South Africa we do not have a nation, we have factions."

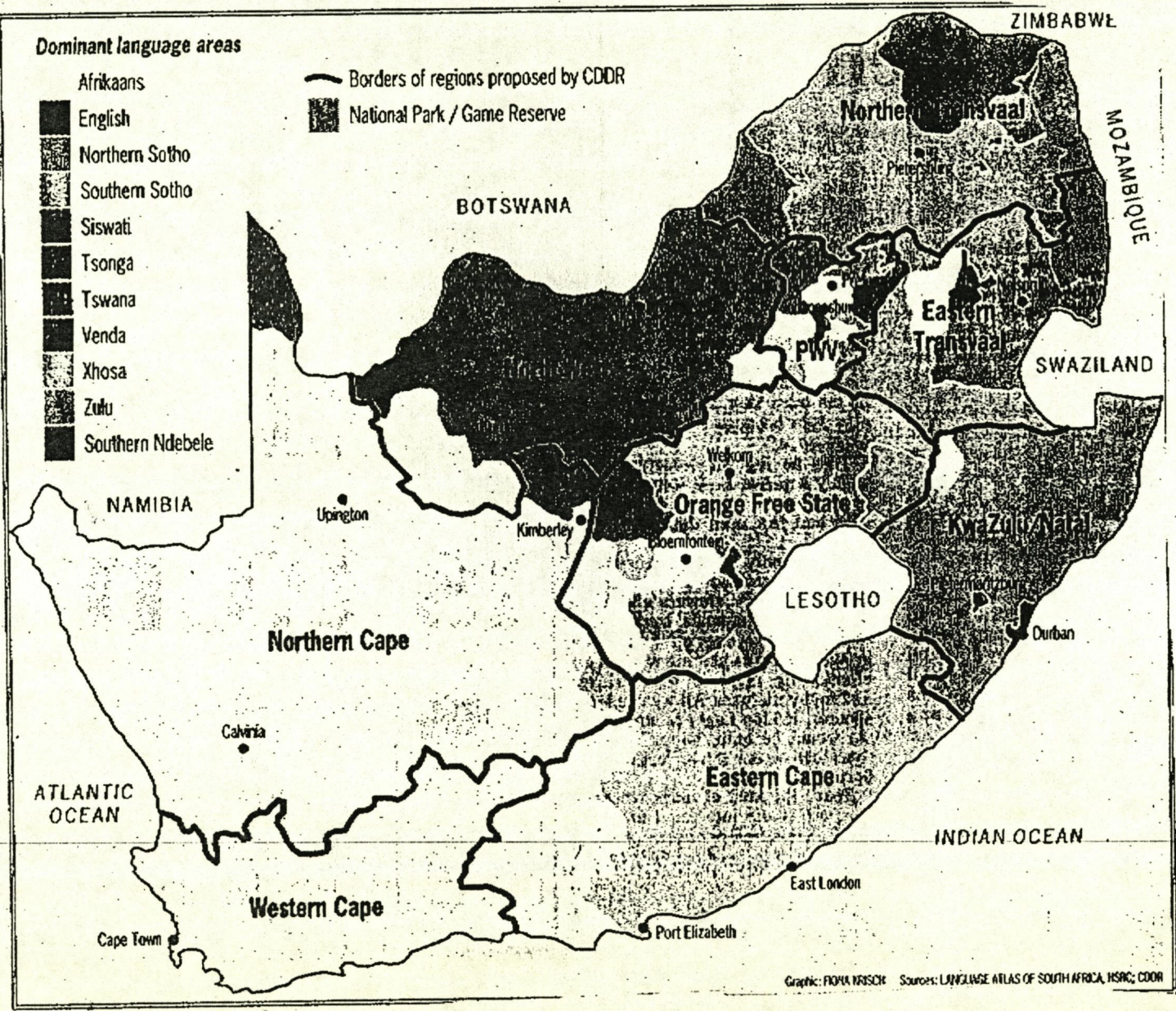
Modise also lashed out at the political enemies of the ANC.

He reacted to Eugene Terre-Blanche's reported threat that he regarded the freedom of the city awarded to Modise by the ANC as the beginning of the third Boer War.

Modise said: "We know violence, we have fought and lost many dear ones. Possibly Mr ET has not been involved in war. We want to warn him and his friends they are following a path of destruction that will bring misery to the country."

Modise also extended an invitation to the PAC's military wing, Apla, to lay down its arms.

"There comes a time in the lives of a nation when they have to resort to arms and there comes a time also when they have to lay down these arms," he said.



Graphic: ROMA NRSCHT Sources: LANGUAGE ATLAS OF SOUTH AFRICA, HSAC; CDDR

Toaster gang set our town alight

By EZRA MANTINI

AFTER counting the bodies of more than 41 people who died in this week's violence in Tembisa, residents and hostel dwellers agreed on one thing — the notorious Toaster gang had a hand in sparking the bloodshed.

Residents say members of the gang are being sheltered at the Vusumuzi hostel, and that forcing them out would be the only way to bring peace to the area.

The hostel dwellers, too, acknowledge the danger posed by the thugs living among them, but they say the decision to shelter gang members was taken by their leaders.

Toaster gang members have been moving into the hostel since residents started attacking them and forcing them out of other parts of the township.

The conflict is complex, and is clearly more than just the work of a gang of thugs. Nonetheless, the name of the Toaster gang keeps coming up.

Teacher Dudu Mkhize, of the township's Mthambeka section, said: "We have lived with hostel dwellers for decades. We have been the best of friends, and some of us have relatives inside the hostel."

Revenge

This chaos was started by the Toaster gang who attended a party last week and caused hell by beating up people and robbing them.

"In revenge, party-goers grabbed a Toaster gang member and killed him. The rest sped off to the Vusumuzi hostel."

"On Saturday afternoon, hostel dwellers were called to a meeting, and later that night they launched an attack on residents."

"I am convinced that if the hostel can rid itself of thugs like the Toaster gang — who, I want to believe, are easily manipulated by the third force — we can have lasting peace."

Miss Irene Mphahle, of Kopanong section, said some of the attackers did not speak local languages.

Armed thugs take refuge in hostel



HIT THE DECK... as police and marchers exchange gunfire during a funeral procession in Katlehong, peace monitors take cover behind a car

They spoke Shangaan and Portuguese, indicating they may have come from Mozambique.

"We are not sure if they also came from the hostel, but they certainly joined the attackers," she said.

"However, the violence here was not simply a fight between residents and hostel dwellers. Tensions between the two sides were manipulated and exploited."

"We cannot wish either group away. There are strong family ties bonding certain people of the two groups."

I decided to visit Vusumuzi hostel, despite warnings from residents not to.

As I drove off, a youth said: "No one goes under that bridge and comes back alive — unless you

are one of them."

At the hostel, the atmosphere was tense, but almost every person I talked to said they had nothing against township residents.

Thoko Gumede, an office clerk, said: "People in the hostel are also worried about the situation — some of them have not been to work because they cannot cross the bridge."

"We have relatives in the township, and many girls who are married to hostel dwellers still have strong links with their homes in the township."

"But we have a problem because the leadership in the hostel gave shelter to the notorious Toaster gang."

"Since gang members sought shelter in the hostel, we have been experiencing

hell."

"We do not want them either, but until our leadership gets rid of them, there is nothing we can do."

Later, I met a man who was described by some as a Toaster gang member. He denied this, but said he was friendly with some members of the gang.

Refusing to identify himself, he said: "My friends are being terrorised by township youths and their homes have been set alight. That is why they have sought shelter at the hostel."

"If there was pressure on them to leave the hostel, they would not know where to go."

He said this week's fighting started because comrades had waged war against gang members "for

no apparent reason".

With cars from the hostel being stoned by township youths, I was only able to leave by driving behind a police armoured vehicle.

The ANC's Tembisa peace officer, Mr Isaac Mahlangu, acknowledged part of the problem was the Toaster gang.

He said: "We have a working agreement with IFP members who come from the Vusumuzi section."

"But we realise they are powerless against the headmen who run the hostel and who seem to be in favour of the Toaster gang."

"We particularly want to talk to the headman, named Mbatha, and we have invited him to several meetings without success."

Trouble

"We have noticed that each time there is violence, their thugs are used to stir up trouble."

Mr Lawrence Zikalala, an IFP branch secretary and member of the Peace Secretariat, admitted: "Our investigations found that residents and hostel dwellers would live well together if only the gang could be weeded out."

"We have reported the matter to the region, but without response. We will now be taking the matter to Uthandi."

Buthlezi by the book

REDOUBTABLE
Chief Minister
Mangosuthu
Buthlezi has
honed his stone-
walling tactics to a
point where not
even the most
pointed
representations by
foreign dignitaries
make a dent.

The chief has
long been known
for his lengthy
aide memoirs
which he
painstakingly
reads to every

delegation he meets and then distributes
publicly immediately afterwards.

What can now be revealed is that he also
reads off a prepared statement even in
one-to-one meetings with prominent visitors
— rarely deviating from the text and
discouraging questions.

Diplomacy often involves poring over the
sub-text. At Ulundi, it appears, the
challenge is to escape the text.



New probe into death of 'Monster'

VICTOR Kheswa, the "Vaal Monster" who died in police custody almost a month ago, may have succumbed to suffocation, electrocution or poisoning, according to an independent post mortem.

This contradicts police claims at the end of July that Mr Kheswa died of a heart attack.

Three policemen, who were suspended after his death, have been reinstated.

Mr Kheswa was held by police on suspicion of being involved in a number of massacres in Sebokeng on June 9 and died the following day.

Mr Kheswa's family intends applying further pressure on the state for an inquest into the cause of his death.

The independent pathology report commissioned by Mr Kheswa's family and the Inkatha Freedom

By CHARLENE SMITH

Party, to which Mr Kheswa belonged, has already caused tension among his supporters at the Kwamadala hostel near Sebokeng.

Force

Johannesburg forensic pathologist Dr Gert Saayman conducted the post mortem examination on Mr Kheswa two weeks after his death.

The corpse had been extensively cut up during the police examination, making investigation of some areas impossible. The heart for example, had been sliced into 20 pieces.

In his findings, Dr Saayman noted that no cause of death could be determined. He said there were no significant injuries on the body, except for evidence of blunt force in one area, but that was not sufficient to cause death.

He could find no indicators of natural causes of death and concluded: "The possibilities of conditions, including acute suffocation, electrocution and hypothermia, as well as occult toxic substances, should be considered in the causation of death."

Mr Kheswa's family arrived yesterday from Lesotho to begin planning his funeral, which Vaal IFP organiser William Nhlapo said would probably take place in Evaton next weekend.

DP stoned at Orange Farm rally

■ **On the rampage:** Youths slightly injured a member of the Democratic Party and stoned their cars at a rally at Orange Farm yesterday.

By SIBUSISO MABASO

AT LEAST one official member of the Democratic Party was slightly injured and several cars damaged when a group of youths went on a rampage, stoning cars belonging to DP members and setting the Orange Farm stadium's grass on fire yesterday.

Hendry Nkosi, Orange Farm's DP organiser and vice-chairman of the Soweto branch, sustained minor injuries when stones rained on him as he attempted to calm the mob.

The DP public meeting which was supposed to have been held and addressed by top DP

speakers — including MP's Tony Leon and Douglas Gibson — had to be abandoned because of the threats.

The theme of the meeting was to have been peace and democracy, including teaching members of the community how to vote in the new election.

The controversial "Kill the boers, Kill the farmers" slogan was chanted as members and officials of the DP entered the TPA stadium at about 2.30 pm.

The DP bakkie which carried the public address sound system was doused with petrol by the rampaging mob, but saved by the driver who quickly managed to get into the car and drove away at high speed. Large rocks were seen flying over it.

DP T-Shirts and peace posters were confiscated, torn into pieces, doused with petrol and set alight as the mob chanted "We don't want

you here, go away... we don't want peace, we want war ... we don't want whites here, this is our place."

Reacting to the chaotic situation, Jack Bloom, official of the DP and Johannesburg city councillor, said it was "unbelievably sad that this has happened in a peaceful community such as Orange Farm, which has never had an incident of political violence".

He said the meeting was an important test of political tolerance in the face of past threats from certain other political formations against recruitment in black areas.

"The meeting was called for democracy and peace, and when a party such as the DP, which has clean hands and has never been involved in violence, is treated in this disgusting manner, it's a tragic day for South Africa," Bloom said.

THE WAR IN THE EAST BY A MAN WHO SPENT 64 HOURS IN HELL

By ABBEY MAKOE

NOW the army has been unleashed on the East Rand. Will township residents accept that the bloody battles are now over?

Not likely.

As Louis Sibeko, of the Tokoza Civic Association puts it: "The people are angry. No leader nor army can stop them." On Friday, and yesterday, residents were donating R80 per household towards the purchase of AK-47s, ammunition and high-powered LMG machine-guns capable of destroying the local hostel. The decision to raise funds, which was unanimously supported, was taken at a residents meeting on Tuesday night.

One section of Tokoza, according to a report-back by leaders of the

Angry residents are buying AK-47s, even machine-guns

defence unit, had already "purchased" its own LMG. Other items on the "buying list" were two-way radios, primarily to be used when the army or police raided sections of the township.

Sections under the security siege would radio those likely to be raided to either converge for support or hide their weapons, leaders said.

"The hostel must go, once and for all and at all costs," is the message

that is on the lips of most residents.

This week's dramatic deployment of the army in the East Rand townships, particularly in Tokoza, is seen as nothing but the protection of the hostel dwellers from residents, a prominent defence unit member in Tokoza said.

The residents of this township, which is adjacent to Phola Park squatter camp and on good political terms with it, have accounted for at

least half the death toll in the estimated 150 casualty list since last weekend.

They blamed the police role in the violence, saying police were inept in dealing with the menacing hostel dwellers who allegedly drove in the townships, firing indiscriminately at residents.

And now, as the township's vigilant residents brace themselves for confrontation with both the security

forces and hostel dwellers, it seems the stage is well set for even bigger, bloodier clashes.

Adding to the apparently hopeless task of getting the two sides together a hostel dweller, who declined to be identified, said JFP supporters in the hostel saw their role in the township violence as defending the Zulu nation against the ANC.

And a police spokesman bitterly lashed out at attacks on officers. At least two have died during the violence. The spokesman said his men would mount machine guns in their armoured vehicles patrolling the townships.

"We are fed up with the murder of policemen," he said. "We will not hesitate to respond in full force against anyone who fires at us."

Let merit follow its course

DENE SMUTS warns against the sort of gender tokenism practised at the World Trade Centre talks

TWENTY-TWO years ago, I was vice-chair of the SRC at Stellenbosch University when the opportunity arose to send a few students to England on an Abe Bailey Travel Bursary.

I was one of those elected by my fellow SRC members. When the names were sent in, we were advised that females were not eligible.

So someone else went. I didn't like it.

This year, I have experienced exactly the opposite, and I don't like that either.

A decision was taken — by sufficient consensus — by the planning committee of the Multi-party Negotiation Council that every negotiating party would have two delegates, one of whom had to be a woman.

One of the Afrikaans newspapers featured a cartoon on the first morning of this programme of affirmative action, showing a very muscular person, with hairy legs and dressed in women's clothing, mincing up to the World Trade Centre. One security staff member mutters to another: "Should we check for steroids?"

We have reached the point

where the matter must be discussed openly, since there are lessons to be learnt. My party was not a part of the sufficient consensus.

The decision was largely driven by Inkatha, which proceeds from an Ulundi decision that seats should be reserved for women in all future public bodies, including parliament. This is, in my view, retrogressive, since it perpetuates the marginalisation of women.

Of all the parliaments in the world, only four reserve seats for women: Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan and Tanzania. But it does not work, according to a Bangladeshi delegate who addressed a recent conference of our National Women's Coalition.

Clearly, the non-interventionist approach does not work either — only the Scandinavian countries have 30 percent-plus female representation in parliament. Until very recently, the old democracies — the US, Britain and France — have all had only six percent female MPs.

The position is improving, but slowly. One of the problems is structural rather than the product of prejudice: few

women with young children can decamp to the legislative capital for part of the year.

The same applies at the World Trade Centre. I am able to be an MP because I live in Cape Town. But I can't decamp to Johannesburg full-time, so I share our women's seat with one of the DP's most senior elected female officers, Martheanne Finne-more, party leader in the Eastern Cape.

Since few parties or organisations have senior female office bearers, there was a problem to start with.

You run the risk with this sort of arrangement of placing people at a disadvantage, and in the full glare of public scrutiny, instead of the other way around. You run the further risk of inviting unfair questions about their competence and of creating the impression that they are passengers — sidecar riders on a machine driven by men.

It is important to put senior party women in the hot seats because they have been elected to speak for their parties and because they are then already part of the process of policy formation.

It is expecting the impossi-

ble of a woman from outside those structures to slot in — especially part-time or now and then.

Discrimination is often simply a pattern of behaviour that can be broken. But we have to be careful not to disadvantage people all over again by tokenism.

Our policy approach is influenced by Linda Human: bring people into the system and up to the point of selection (or election), but let that take place on merit.

In the case of the World Trade Centre, we proposed a technical committee of women on women, an upgrading of the gender advisory committee which the DP was the first to propose; and once the sufficient consensus started going against us, we pleaded for compulsory inclusion on the full teams, but not reserve delegates' seats.

In that way, you are genuinely serving the interests of the group in need of affirmative action. Beware of empty measures which can backfire!

□ Dene Smuts is DP MP for Groote Schuur. This is extracted from an address to a recent conference on affirmative action at the University of Stellenbosch

Draft peace force plan

□ From Page 1

Institute for Defence Policy co-director Jakkie Cilliers, who said any peace-keeping force should be permanent and independent of the current security forces.

The proposal, due to be tabled this week, is based on months of bilateral discussions on the integration of armed forces, which have at times involved MK chief Joe Modise and SADF chief Kat Liebenberg.

ANC police board representative Matthew Phosa, who has been involved in the discussions, said agreement had been reached that the force would be totally integrated — from its command structure through to troops on the ground.

However, several areas of disagreement between the government and the ANC remained.

These included:

- Whether the force would carry AK-47s or SADF-issue weapons;

- How long it needed to be trained, and when it should come into operation;

- Whether it should be the primary force dealing with unrest, or should act as an auxiliary to police.

Mr Phosa said the ANC wanted the force on the streets within a month of the multi-party talks reaching agreement.

But Dr Cilliers said the force would need at least six months' training.

He estimated it would cost taxpayers R1-billion a year to keep a force of 20 000 troops in the field.

Peace force breakthrough imminent

By RAY HARTLEY
and NICK OLIVARI

NEGOTIATORS will make a crucial decision this week on whether to accelerate the formation of a national peacekeeping force to quell the mushrooming violence which has claimed 180 lives since last Saturday night.

A breakthrough proposal, outlining the next step towards establishing the force, has been formulated for consideration at the World Trade Centre democracy talks.

Sources said the proposal, drawn up by the technical committee concerned with drafting legislation for the first stage of joint rule by a Transitional Executive Council, is believed to advocate that:

- The size, composition and deployment of the force be set by a TEC sub-council dealing with security matters when it is established in September;

- All police forces and armies, including the SADF, MK and SAP, be represented in the force;

- The force use existing SADF bases and equipment.

Doubt and mistrust were expressed by policemen and MK cadres interviewed this week — but they said they would serve on the force under certain conditions.

Eastern Transvaal MK commander Che Masilela, 38, said it would be impossible for MK personnel to work with members of the internal stability unit, formerly the SAP riot squad.

He said working with IFP members would not be a problem provided their participation was a decision arising out of the negotiating process.

A 23-year-old ISU lance-sergeant serving on the East Rand said he doubted whether such a force would be viable.

"Party politics will always interfere," he said. "Even at ground level, I would always worry whether a person was acting from past loyalties."

But he said he would be happy to serve in a multi-party force and undergo training provided he could remain in the SAP.

This option was not envisaged, according to

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SA may get seat in UN council

By SIMON BARBER: Washington

SOUTH Africa could get a permanent seat in the UN Security Council if the Big Five powers agree to take in new members as part of a major re-organisation planned for the world body's 50th anniversary in 1995.

The acting chief of the ANC's observer mission, Mr Kingsley Makubela, disclosed this week that several African countries are very interested that we take this seat.

South Africa's UN ambassador, Mr Jim Stewart, confirmed there had been conversations where the possibility is mentioned.

Both emphasised, however, that neither the government nor the ANC had developed a formal position on the issue, and that it was too early to say when or how the Security Council would be enlarged.

The permanent members — the US, Britain, France, China and Russia — and 45 other nations have submitted their views on revamping the council to UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

The US is keen to add Germany and Japan to the permanent list. Britain and France are hostile to any major changes. Russia and China have not evinced

strong feelings.

Beyond the five, there is a growing sentiment that, if Germany and Japan are added, Africa, Asia and Latin America should get seats, too.

One option is for each of these regions to select three of their most powerful countries, which would have "permanent" status complete with veto, on a rotating basis.

Alternatively, each region could pick one country to represent it. In the case of Africa, the likely contenders would be South

Africa, Nigeria and Egypt. The choice would ultimately be up to the Organisation of African Unity.

Mr Makubela said the question was being discussed within the ANC, but no decisions had been taken.

"Several African countries have approached us and said we should take part," he said, adding that Nigeria was already hinting that it was willing to take the African seat if it

Diplomats said privately that if South Africa wanted the seat it needed to act quickly with the open back-

ing of ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Mr Stewart agreed that "South Africa would miss the boat if it failed to put its candidature forward", but he emphasised that the scenario under which it could get a seat was still one of many being bandied about in UN corridors.

He noted that there were pluses and minuses to permanent membership.

South Africa would find itself wielding substantial power within the UN after years of exclusion from even the General Assembly, but there would be substantial new financial obligations, too.

AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE

THE popular sport for journalists when the democracy talks began in autumn was to compete to find the blusteriest filibustering.

We did not have to look far, and it was easy to construct sarcastic gibes at the stalling, the slow progress, the fiddling about while the country burned.

The fear and mistrust of the smaller parties — and significant players, like Inkatha — were rank as sour sweat. The parties themselves, easy targets.

But the talks soon picked up a healthy bustle. Technical committees were deputed to do this or that, and before long, their reports began to filter in.

These were "substantive issues"; Roelf Meyer and Cyril Ramaphosa held press conferences to claim real progress had been made, or beckoned.

Talks were "on track".

As winter closed in on the Highveld, the political battles at the World Trade Centre claimed centre stage; walking out, bursting in, empty chairs in the negotiating chamber, chairs occupied by overweight racists ... all rich pickings for the political pen.

And still progress was relentless, and the results that trickled down were enticing. Here were constitutional principles, and future governments would be bound by their lofty ideals. Here were human rights for South Africans used to legislated inhumanity. Here were words that would stop the violence.

Together, these decisions would make our world safe for democracy. Then the pace picked up again. In came the draft constitution. Penultimate or final reports from committees were tabled. I's were dotted and T's crossed in a blur.

Niggling doubts about the content of some of these documents were whispered in the corridors, but the process itself was so seductive; at last something was happening, and if there were flaws, well, these were the product of this strange process and would be fixed up by the planning committee/the technical committee/after the elections.

The emperor was clothed in finest gold, and it was churlish to question the raiments.

Then the commission on regions tabled its report and demonstrated, with crystal clarity, the flaws caused by the desperate haste of the negotiations.

It had been set an impossible task — to draw the map for South Africa in six weeks. This is too important and sensitive to be left to the politicians, the commission was told, so go out there and consult the people, call in experts, convince us that yours are the regional lines we should agree to.

The commission went away, confident it could fulfil this mission, and confident that, with the detailed maps of the larger political parties in hand, "all the work has already been done; we just have to put it together", one commissioner admitted privately.

Another commission member, Urban Foundation director Ann Bernstein, was so appalled by the lack of real consultation with South Africans, or real debate about the very philosophy of setting up new regions, that she tabled a minority report.

The treatment of this heresy was illuminating. Before the delegates had even studied either report, they were asked to damn hers as "unfortunate".

Startled debate on this point by delegates was irri-

gates was irri-
tably cur-
tailed. Then
the negotiat-
ing council
was told it
would have
one hour to
ask questions
of the com-
mission itself
in order to
clarify the re-
port.

During that
debate, the
chair tried to
disallow some
questions, an-

swered others itself and generally chivvied the debate along until even veteran tricameral politician Amichand Rajbansi — increasingly more-ANC-than-thou in council debates — took issue.

"With due respect, I very strongly urge you to allow flexibility," he said.

"We have done that," chairman Pravin Gordhan shot back.

The debate did not appear flexible to observers. Partly, this was due to an attempt to discourage political rhetoric, but there was also a sense that the session was a mere formality — and a potentially embarrassing one, as the commission's answers increasingly revealed badly thought-out reasons for taking certain decisions.

Time and again, the answers tailed off with the words: "This should perhaps be revisited ..."

The entire report should be revisited, if its aim is to allow those affected, and not the politicians, to take decisions on the regions.

The commission turned in one-and-a-half pages to justify the borders of each region, leaving each so open to question as to place the final decision right back in the laps of the politicians.

If this happens, the exercise will have amounted to no more than window-dressing, an inference few want to draw.

Last autumn, journalists at the World Trade Centre mocked the slow pace; with spring around the corner, the plea must be for less hurrying. The map, the constitutional principles, the human rights, will be with us for a long, long time.

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON

Slow down and
let the people
have a say
in the new SA

'Control violence before elections'

By KEVIN DAVIE
Victoria Falls

ELECTIONS in a climate of violence could bring South Africa to the brink of war, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, vice-president of the HSRC told an investment conference in Zimbabwe yesterday.

Professor Schlemmer said elections should only proceed only if violence could be controlled beforehand.

He called for the urgent establish-

ment of a transitional governing council and an upgraded transitional governing executive council with all major leaders on board.

"We are fighting for survival. Anyone who can mess up the process should be on the council."

Professor Schlemmer said research showed a disturbing new trend where those questioned were increasingly seeing the violence in ethnic terms.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said that delaying an election would amount to giving the people who caused violence a veto.

"They must know the election will go ahead."

The ANC's Tito Mboweni said postponing elections would cause more problems. The IFP's Frank Mdlalose said there were no doubts an election would be held, but this required time for proper planning.



THE OLD SA: The AWB's Wenkommando

Two tales from ONE town



THE NEW SA: Umkhonto we Sizwe's Joe Modise

Schweizer-Reneke's residents salute two different 'heroes'

THE western Transvaal town of Schweizer-Reneke returned to the old South Africa yesterday when freedom was divided up — one for whites, the other for blacks.

In Schweizer-Reneke itself, 1 200 uniformed members of the AWB's Wenkommando went on parade as the organisation was granted freedom of the town.

At the same time, the ANC responded by granting Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise freedom of the local township, Ipelegeng.

It was feared that holding the two ceremonies on the same day would lead to violence between the AWB and the ANC, and the town was declared an unrest area.

But with an overwhelming police presence separating the two sides, there had been no incidents of confrontation by 3pm.

SAP spokesman Ray Harrauld ascribed this to "the tremendous amount of co-operation by both organisations".

Prior agreements had been reached, and both organisations had adhered to the conditions, he said.

By BILL KRIGE and KURT SWART

The AWB used the day to unveil its air wing — 13 light planes which made ragged attempts at a flypast under the close escort of a police helicopter.

The air wing's abject failure did nothing to detract from a strong display of martial discipline on the ground, with AWB units assembling from as far afield as the Western Cape.

There were no balaclavas and revolvers were holstered. Only three men — AWB leader Eugene Terre Blanche's bodyguards — carried rifles in canvas gunbags.

Mr Terre Blanche, his brother Andries, who is a general in the movement, and several other right-wing luminaries arrived on horseback.

In a brief ceremony, Schweizer-Reneke's mayor, Mr Joey Fourie, said: "There is no greater honour than to be given the freedom of the town."

"The town council took the step with the greatest goodwill."

In response, Mr Terre Blanche said: "Today Schweizer-Reneke becomes the town that wants law and order while everything else is collapsing about us."

"You have opened the road of the Wenkommando to Pretoria."

He signed off with a Nazi salute and to a huge ovation from the townsfolk, who left no doubt that Schweizer-Reneke is happier with the past than with the future.

In Ipelegeng, Mr Modise received thunderous applause from about 2 000 supporters, who were watched by UN monitors, Red Cross observers and a large police contingent.

In his address, he called for an end to violence and condemned Mr Terre Blanche for "beating the drums of war".

Lumping Mr Terre Blanche and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi together, he questioned whether they knew the consequences of war.

"We want to warn them that the path they are following is the path of destruction," he said.

Additional reporting by Sapa

THE SUNDAY TIMES, 08 AUGUST 1993

Mandela's high-speed vote chase

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

ANC leader Nelson Mandela hit the election trail in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage's coloured areas yesterday, speaking Afrikaans to supporters and zooming from venue to venue in a high-speed motorcade.

To rousing cries of "Kom Mandela, kom in! Gaan uit De Klerk, gaan uit!" Mr Mandela appealed to thousands of prospective supporters not to be misled by the NP which had disenfranchised them and was now calling them "broertjies".

● The Eastern Cape's Regional Commissioner of Police, Major-General Jaan Huggett warned policemen taking part in an ANC-organised "reconciliation march" in Port Elizabeth today that they will face departmental action.

About 500 policemen and prison wardens are expected to walk through Port Elizabeth's black townships to show solidarity with township residents.

THE BATTLE LINES are drawn as the talk in Tokoza is of full-scale war

Trapped in a nightmare

■ Under siege: More than 140 people have died in the latest Tokoza violence. A reporter who spent 64 hours there gives an eyewitness account of a township fighting a civil war.

By Abbey Mande

VICTIMS of violence on the East Rand are primarily, and often systematically, mowed down according to their ethnic ties.

That is why many residents in Tokoza and Katlehong find tribal rituals so repulsive.

For Xhosas, the traditional cuts on their cheeks mark them for death by their foes, Zulu hostel dwellers, who are by and large Inkatha Freedom Party supporters, if not card-carrying members.

But hostel dwellers, too, are targeted. Xhosas identify their Zulu enemies by their cut earlobes.

Caught in the cross-fire are the Sothos.

The Mshaya zafe (hit him until he dies) hostel is barely 500m from the unpopular Tokoza police station, yet hostel dwellers manned illegal roadblocks on a sunny afternoon, hurling township residents out of "cornered" minibustaxis.

When I arrived in Tokoza I stopped at the police station for a chat with police officers about the situation in the township.

Many were standing outside the main gate at the station, watching the activities of the hostel dwellers.

Identifying myself as a pressman, the immediate answer to my inquiries was: "Broer, moenie daar gaan nie." (Brother don't go there).

Yet I was determined to investigate and drove towards Mshaya zafe.

Someone from the front of the hostel waved me to stop. I moved faster, despite the barricades.

Soon I came across a group of men, women and teenagers.

Armed youths openly brandished weapons and closely watched every approaching motorist or pedestrian.

I stopped to identify myself and them ask a few questions. The youths were quick to warn me not to go past the hostel until they had explained what was going on.

"If you had not speeded up you would have been dead now," another youth said, trying to hide a shotgun behind his back. He was standing on a huge rock, part of the barricade system they had built to protect their area.

My first night in Tokoza brought back memories of footage from Bosnia. My hosts, who prefer to remain anonymous, did not seem at all perturbed by the sporadic gunfire

outside the house.

For my sake, my host ordered the lights switched off, although heavy blankets covered the curtains to ensure absolute darkness.

We had supper by the light of the television.

At about midnight Tokoza residents - the ones not manning the "defence line", mostly the elderly and generally females of all ages - go to bed.

However, I could not fall asleep

amid the shots that continually rang outside. A woman in the house informed me they only responded to the sound of a whistle.

"Then it means things are really bad," she explained.

This was one of the amazing things about these people trapped in this nightmare of death: they did not seem concerned about the danger threatening their lives.

What they were preoccupied with

was the destruction of the hostel. To them, Mshaya zafe is the chief source of mayhem in the area.

In my last hours I bumped into Louis Sibeko, a prominent civic leader, who said: "People here are ready for a full-scale war." As we spoke AK-47 gunfire erupted nearby.

"Let's get inside my house... I told you it's war here," Sibeko said.

His house resembled a surgery. Many residents came to him for

advice and others came to report on the activities of "Nkabe", a term Tokoza residents invented to refer to hostel dwellers. It is used to confuse the police.

What sparked the war in Katlehong and Tokoza?

Sibeko said there were individuals who harassed the community. Every time the community hunted them down or reported them to the police, they joined Inkatha.

South African Choices

South Africa is a strange place. It is a place where politically motivated thugs periodically board buses and spray the passengers with machine gun bullets, but where the moral outrage of the year involves illicit payments of a few hundred thousand dollars by the white government to the Inkatha movement. The African National Congress is having a delicious time declaring that the secret funding of Inkatha permanently taints the organization. The ANC, recall, is an organization that for the past decades has received tens of millions of dollars from the most tyrannical regimes on earth: Libya, the Soviet Union, Cuba, the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The Inkathagate scandal is not shocking, but it is surprising. It is not shocking that ministers such as Adriaan Vlok, who was willing to defend a system like apartheid, would also be willing to engage in public deception. Nor is it shocking that the government would try to boost the power of Inkatha vis-a-vis its rival, the ANC. Inkatha endorses a mixed economy and economic pluralism, while the ANC remains dominated by communists, as has been widely reported in Western news accounts recently. Nor is there anything wrong with funding Inkatha. The U.S. government will do it to the tune of \$2.5 million through the Agency for International Development's Transition to Democracy project (even more money is marked for the ANC).

The South African government transfers to Inkatha are nevertheless surprising because they are so stupid. The ANC has always accused Inkatha of being a lackey of the white regime. That's groundless, but by shoveling funds to Inkatha, the government has given them a sheen of legitimacy.

Out of this mess, it is possible to discern positive developments. Presi-

dent F.W. de Klerk, who is the key to South African reform, has acted decisively in the face of the scandal, demoting two senior cabinet ministers. He has replaced them with men from a younger generation, both with a clear record of opposing apartheid.

The ANC could still scotch progress if it thinks that it can now exclude Inkatha from South Africa's future. And the ANC's recently announced negotiating team includes aging hardliners such as Joe Slovo.

But on the positive side, the team is led by Cyril Ramaphosa. Mr. Ramaphosa calls himself a socialist and his links to the South African Communist Party are unclear. But he is from the wing of the ANC that remained in the country and did practical work while the ANC radicals were touring university campuses in the West. Mr. Ramaphosa has had the courage to condemn Winnie Mandela. He has organized a non-racial local authority in Pretoria, including black moderates who had been ostracized by more radical members of the ANC.

It never pays to be too optimistic about the ANC. Just when Nelson Mandela verbally renounces communist economic planning, his Congress adopts radical economic rhetoric. Its "Cultural Desk" is contemplating positions that would forbid Afrikaans from writing in their own language under an ANC regime.

Inkathagate doesn't alter the fundamental situation. Inkatha is a legitimate organization that must play a role in the negotiations. The ANC seems unable to embrace democratic liberalism. President de Klerk remains a force for positive change. South Africa is still a place where progress comes slowly, and scepticism toward all factions is rewarded.

CRUCIAL DIFFERENCES bog down the proposal for a non-partisan force

Keeping the peace is cause for war

Peace force: Some private armies want nothing to do with the proposed peacekeeping force while others differ over who should be in it.

SERIOUS differences are emerging over the proposed peacekeeping force which is supposed to control violence before and during the April 27 elections.

This week's consensus between the ANC, the Government and the Goldstone Commission for a new non-partisan force of about 10 000 to keep the peace, threatens to become bogged down in detail.

■ The Pan Africanist Congress is adamant that its armed wing Apla will have nothing to do with the force.

■ The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging will not let its Ystergarde and Wenkommando take part.

■ The Inkatha Freedom Party likes the idea of a peacekeeping force, but is keeping its options open.

■ Most seriously, there are crucial differences between the main players — the Government and African National Congress — over the role of the police in the proposed force.

Both agree that the new force should at least include members of the SA Police and ANC armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

But the key difference revolves around the role which the Internal Stability Unit (ISU) will play — the ISU is in effect a revamped version of the SAP's old Riot Squad, once also known as the Reaction Unit.

A panel of the Goldstone Commission this week recommended the urgent formation of the new force, which it calls a multi-party Peacekeeping Service (PKS) under the civilian control of the proposed Transitional Executive Council due to be set up by the negotiating parties at the World Trade Centre.

But this is the easy part. The question is exactly who would man the PKS. The panel suggests two phases. In the first phase, the entire ISU would be transferred to the PKS. In the second phase, about 2 000 specially-recruited members of other forces — the so-called "private armies" — would join them.

The proposal that the ISU form the core of the new force is, of course, music to the ears of Government. Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Craig Kotze said the ISU "seems a natural recruiting pool".

Kotze says members of the new force should at

DAVID Breier

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT



least have matric — and be subject to psychometric testing on their suitability. All ISU members have already undergone the test.

But the ANC disagrees. Spokesman Carl Niehaus says some of the ISU's existing personnel would be "entirely unacceptable" to the ANC.

He says the ANC believed ISU members were associated with violence in the Natal Midlands, while on the East Rand they had not done their job, allowing attacks to go on "for hours".

With a virtual state of war between the ANC and IFP, the IFP is adopting a cautious line on the proposed force. It is not opposed "in principle" as long as the peacekeepers do not supercede the existing security forces — which of course happen to include the KwaZulu Police which the ANC says is effectively under IFP control.

The IFP says that the new force must use equal numbers of recruits from different political formations and must not come primarily "from the ranks of certain private armies". In effect, the IFP is saying it must have as many members on the force as MK.



"This proposal may have flaws and difficulties, but it's the best one we have."

President F W de Klerk has also insisted that the Government must retain ultimate political responsibility for the new force even though it would interact with the TEC.

The PAC says this is totally unacceptable. Spokesman Waters Toboti said: "Our own people are dying because of the SAP. Apla will not participate in a peacekeeping force with them. Our own commanders will not bite on that."

He said the PAC wanted a completely new army and police force.

The PAC is a strong supporter of an international peacekeeping force from the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu has also called for an international peacekeeping force as has Transkei military ruler Bantu Holomisa who controls his own army.

Holomisa says the proposed new multi-party peacekeeping force will take time to set up and run into a logistical minefield while an international force would be more effective.

But international intervention is anathema to the SA Government which totally rejects outside peacekeepers. Kotze says the example of the UN in Somalia should be enough to put anyone against the idea of international "peacemakers".

The ANC is cool on an international force. Niehaus says South Africans must first try to resolve their own issues. "We are not ruling out an international peacekeeping force, but it should only be considered if the national peacekeeping force initiative fails," he said.

On the far-right, the AWP's own private armies will have nothing to do with the proposed multi-party force — the Ystergarde and Wenkommando are reserved purely for the defence of the volk.

While this hardly comes as a surprise, it could complicate matters. Hawkish Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel said this week that the peacekeeping force would have to include right-wing parties.

Niehaus said Kriel's right-wing tendencies were showing.

If all this sounds to you like an uphill struggle, you are in good company. Eminent British academic Jack Spence, director of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, cannot think of another country in the world where opposing forces had merged before an election.

"This proposal may have flaws and difficulties, but it's the best one we have," he said.

OUR VIEW

Bring on the peacemakers

The issue:

The country is crying out for joint action against violence.

We suggest:

De Klerk and Mandela initiate multi-party peacekeeping now.

It may go down as one of the bitterest ironies of our history that while the politicians fiddled in Kempton Park, the country burned a few kilometres away in Tembisa, Katlehong, Tokoza and Daveyton.

The exception was Nelson Mandela who had the courage to stand up in Katlehong and tell his supporters what they needed to hear even if they didn't want to — that they were just as guilty of wanton violence as anybody and that their only hope for peace was to embrace their Inkatha enemies.

A pity, then, that this was followed by an ANC attack on the Government for sending a massive security force into the townships. Certainly the Government should have consulted other parties. And yes, as this newspaper has said many times, the security forces need to fall under multiparty control. But this will take time and while the politicians argued, the people would have died.

How unfortunate that Mandela and De Klerk could not set the ball rolling this week when they met to discuss the immediate crisis on the East Rand. They squabbled over details instead of showing the solidarity and leadership the country desperately needs.

This spat proved unnecessary as the Government's decision to send in a strong show of military force has broad approval. The correct route would have been joint agreement in the first place.

But such a concerted approach will only become the norm when the politicians put their talk of multiparty control or supervision into practice. Hopefully the Transitional Executive Council will be in place by next month to do the job.

Back to the drawing-board?

The eagerly awaited regional map of South Africa was tabled this week, but the haste of its drafting may prove to be its undoing, reports **CLAIRE ROBERTSON**

FOUR weeks ago a daily newspaper took regional maps drawn up by the main political parties and fed them into its graphics computer.

What emerged was a compromise map for regions in South Africa.

The exercise in educated guessing by Beeld could have saved the democracy talks at Kempton Park a lot of time, because the map tabled by the Commission on the Delimitation of Regions this week is almost identical.

There is no suggestion that the commission copied the map, but the coincidence fuels fears that the body acted as little more than a computer program itself, rigidly interpreting its brief and never questioning vested interests when it simply married the maps of the larger parties.

The commission did what it was asked to do — but was doomed from the start by the instructions it received from the negotiating council, and its unwillingness or inability to question these, say detractors of its report.

The worst of it is that problems identified weeks ago — the PWV and the Natal/eastern Cape border, whether the eastern Cape should be one region or two, whether the northern Cape should be separate from the Western Cape — have not been solved by neutral experts and are now back in the hands of the politicians.

The plea from Miss Ann Bernstein, Urban Foundation director and commission black sheep for having dared to submit a minority report, is that the commission be sent back to the drawing-board.

The commission — and the negotiating council — needed to know several things before it could pronounce upon regions, Miss Bernstein argued — not least of all what real people living in real cities and villages wanted for their future.

Deeper questions, if answered earlier, could have prevented some of the glaring inconsistencies and holes in the report. Are local or national interests paramount in deciding regions? Should economic and developmental criteria not take precedence over — or at least equal — political issues? Should criteria be applied uniformly?

Her temerity was pounced upon by the highly defensive commission and ignored, but

for one slighting reference, by the negotiating council's planning committee.

But, in introducing his report, the co-chairman, economist Dr Bax Nomvete, spent 10 minutes making excuses for it.

Indeed, the commission was given only six weeks to prepare its report. And it met only seven times.

But on Friday delegates were openly asking to see the submissions which had helped the commission arrive at its decisions — with the clear implication that these were open to other interpretations.

Delegates asked whether the much-criticised criteria it

had set the commission for delimiting each region had been adequate.

THIS question did not need to be answered, as it was covered in the report, said the chairman of the debate, Mr Pravin Gordhan of the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses.

Dr Nomvete, answered anyway, saying that the criteria were those used in other countries and were "adequate".

The brief exchange masked a heated debate in the commission itself.

Then, as in the council this week, Big Brother had

stepped in to squash uncomfortable questions.

Papers tabled at the commission show that Miss Bernstein asked right at the start that the commission receive three things to help it interpret its brief: A briefing from politicians, a workshop on why boundaries mattered and what the commission could realistically achieve in the available time.

A sub-committee of the talks' planning committee — three men known by the nickname "the facilitators" because of their efficiency at carrying out the will of their bosses — rejected the first request. The commission agreed to the second — but it

never actually happened — and ignored the third.

Another commission nod to thoroughness failed to materialise. Early on it agreed to appoint a "senior team of specialists" to read the final report.

The men named are among the country's pre-eminent economists: Wits University professor of economics Charles Simkins; Cape Town University professor of economics Philip Black; Stellenbosch University professor of economics Colin McCarthy, and Natal University's Economic Research Unit director Professor Gavin Maasdorp.

They never saw the report.

"I suspect they ran out of time at the end. The commission was given terms of reference that were unsatisfactory, and was put under immense pressure," Professor Maasdorp said this week.

THE commissioners are proud of the fact that they received more than 300 submissions from around the country.

But a head count shows these to have been overwhelmingly from the white establishment — and even then, some urgent and apparently very reasonable pleas were not heeded, such as Namaqualand's request that it

fit into the western Cape region.

Noticeable by their absence were "many communities and identifiable interest groups," Miss Bernstein says in her report.

These included non-homeland groupings in the western Transvaal and black communities in the northern Transvaal and the PWV.

The commission was established in the first place to "widen the negotiating process beyond the political parties".

But tomorrow, faced with a report that leaves too many philosophical issues — and even many ground-level, practical questions — unanswered, the map will be back in the hands of the politicians.

The commission continually emphasises that some local disputes may have to be revisited. The politicians will have to decide this week whether they return at least some of the report to the drawing-board — or simply take the decisions themselves without further consultation.

A small part of Natal that everybody wants

By RYAN CRESSWELL

THE son of a once-great Basotho chief who was given East Griqualand to rule over by Queen Victoria wants to reclaim the region.

Meanwhile, businessmen, farmers, politicians and workers in East Griqualand — a farming area at the tip of southern Natal — are squabbling over whether the area should be part of Natal or a new eastern Cape/Transkei region.

The Commission of Boundaries of Regions has recommended to the negotiating council that East Griqualand be incorporated into the new eastern Cape region, but the area has been part of Natal/Kwazulu for more than 20 years and the decision has outraged many residents who fear economic disaster.

While the land battle rages around him, Mr Ntshahlokoa Moshesh, 78, sits in his small home on a hill at Queens Mercy and broods on how to reclaim the region for his family and tribe.

He says that on October 10, 1881, and then on December 3, 1883, representatives of Queen Victoria met Chief George Moshesh, then head Griqua chief and parliament member, at Matatiele and Kokstad and promised him that he would be the independent head of the region after 50 years if he kept peace in East Griqualand.

Mr Moshesh said that at times the white community of the area fought against this decision but failed because the chief and his people had the title deeds.

He said that later, after the Lesotho and Natal borders had been drawn up, the government of the day took back the land.

East Griqualand was originally part of the Cape, but some people in the area felt isolated from the administration there, and in 1978 it became part of Natal.

Businessmen and farmers say it makes economic sense to stay that way, but workers in the area have close ties with Transkei and say that, ethnically, it would make sense to combine the region with the new eastern Cape/Transkei zone.

Mr John Vos, director of the East Griqualand Development Association, said that

EAST GRIQUALAND

over the years several commissions had looked at the question of where East Griqualand belonged.

"But we believe the recommendation of the latest commission is economic nonsense."

In its report the commission said the border between

Kwazulu/Natal and Cape/Kel "is a highly complex issue which would require further consultation with affected parties".

"We are waiting to hear what form further consultation will take. As soon as we are aware what channels to pursue we will hold protest meetings, public meetings and even referendums," said Mr Vos.

Although the region is not traditionally a Zulu stronghold the Inkatha Freedom Party also objects to the recommendation.

But Mr Geoff Doidge, a regional executive member of the African National Congress, said that if the region became part of the Cape people should try to be "positive" about the change.

IFP wants equal set-up

THE Inkatha Freedom Party will insist on equal representation in the multiparty peace-keeping service proposed to the Goldstone Commission this week.