

CITIZEN

29/04/93

FW warns on TEC

FROM PAGE 1

Klerk said one of the major stumbling blocks to reincorporation was the ANC's refusal to accede to strong regional government.

He accused the ANC of attempts to force Ciskei and Bophuthatswana while it ignored the irresponsible actions of the Transkei.

Asked by Mr Hennie Bester, DP, Green Point, whether he would take alternative steps to create the TEC if no agreement was reached within six weeks, Mr De Klerk said he did not see six weeks as an absolute deadline.

"If after the six weeks, we are on the point of breakthrough, we would promote the breakthrough.

"But if it appears at the end of May or early in June that we are close to a deadlock, then the government will very seriously consider whether initiatives can be undertaken to allow the process to continue."

The government believed the TEC could be de-linked from other aspects of the negotiations. If the rest of the process had not been completed, the government was prepared to institute the TEC in terms of legislation.

Questioned about the

hard-line attitude of Inkatha, Mr De Klerk said Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Inkatha were not his exclusive responsibility. All parties should help ensure they were fully involved.

The government would continue in bilateral talks with the IFP to seek an end to differences or perceived obstacles.

Senior ANC spokesman in Parliament, Mr Dave Dalling, asked whether the government would use financially coercive measures against Bophuthatswana and Ciskei which, he said, were delaying the negotiation process.

"We have never threatened any of the four TBVC states with coercive steps with regard to giving up their independence. We are against unilateral action in that regard and we have made it clear all along."

Mr Dalling, as a representative of the ANC, clearly showed his prejudice against Bophuthatswana and the Ciskei, and by implication defended the irresponsible statements, actions and stance of the Transkei.

"If we want to coerce people into co-operation, then we are on the wrong road. We are committed to negotiation," Mr De Klerk said.

Haste could be made if

the ANC committed itself to what the overwhelming majority of South Africans and the TBVC states wanted, namely, meaningful and entrenched powers for the regions.

"It is the mistrust as to what the role of regions will be which is causing a lot of the refusals, a lot of the suspicion, which is at the moment blocking progress in negotiation."

Describing Mr De Klerk's reply as "a petty attack on me", Mr Dalling asked whether the taxpayer should continue to foot the bill for "illegitimate governments which are blocking progress".

Mr De Klerk said the TBVC states were legitimate in terms of South African constitutional law. Secondly, if they were reincorporated and became part of South Africa, the taxpayer would still have to foot the bill for all the services there, such as health and education.

"In that sense we are not going to save a penny or a cent by reincorporation. The expenses will increase and not decrease."

Responding to questions by Mr Douglas Gibson, DP Yeoville, Mr De Klerk said it was fundamentally important that new constitutional arrangements should be achieved by real negotia-

tion and not by "storm tactics".

"Only then can we ensure that a new constitution will, right from the beginning, have the support of the overwhelming majority of the total population."

"We need to make sure that any new constitutional arrangements will not be a source of conflict, but a source of reconciliation."

Regarding economic growth, Mr De Klerk said the major obstacle to foreign investment and internal business confidence was the level of violence and the lack of progress in negotiations.

"It does not lie primarily in the economic sphere. It lies in the political sphere and the law and order sphere. Therefore, with the economic purpose in view, all of us should concentrate on bringing violence to an end."

"Therefore, we propose that the Peace Accord should be strengthened and effectively implemented."

"It is fundamentally important that those political movements whose supporters are at each other's throats should also find a way of reconciling and calming down their supporters, and disciplining their supporters."

COMMENT

Reincorporation

PRESIDENT de Klerk's reference last week to the speedy reincorporation of the independent homelands seems to have been unduly optimistic, judging by the remarks of Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope at the opening of the territory's national assembly on Tuesday. Mangope says there is no question whatsoever of Bophuthatswana giving up its independence.

The return to the fold of the TBVC states is taken for granted in most discussions on the new South Africa, and they are all represented at the multiparty talks.

The Nationalist government which created them now believes, in De Klerk's words, that it is advisable and desirable that the nominally independent states be reincorporated as soon as possible, and that they be given full opportunity to participate in the mechanisms of transition. There is no longer talk of residents deciding for themselves in referendums. It is simply assumed that most people think it would be a good idea. After all, the states are not properly independent, and their change in status as part of the grand apartheid dream should never have happened in the first place.

Government did not want to make a unilateral decision on reincorporation, De Klerk told Parliament, but he gave the impression an agreement was in the offing. This is certainly not true of Bophuthatswana, judging by Mangope's remarks, and assumptions that Transkei would happily return to the fold may also be misplaced — for entire-

ly different reasons.

Mangope, who once spoke of Bophuthatswana's independence being mocked by its various pieces, believes the territory's relative prosperity would doom it to neglect in a new South Africa, while resources were poured into less developed areas more favoured by the country's new rulers. He has no wish to be subject to the "whims and prejudices" of an elected interim administration, and therefore supports the Concerned South Africans Group's insistence that the form of state, boundaries and regional powers be settled before any transition begins.

Transkei, on the other hand, seems determined to use its independence as a bargaining chip not only with government but also with the ANC. Moreover, its military ruler, Bantu Holomisa, has grown accustomed to power and seems to have enjoyed his sallies with government over Apla and Military Intelligence's dirty tricks. He has the capacity to play a leading role in the affairs of a populous and impoverished Xhosa region, stretching from Natal to Port Elizabeth and beyond. This is solidly ANC-supporting territory, and Holomisa has so far played his cards shrewdly in getting himself into the liberation movement's camp. He will not easily be discarded.

How the issue is resolved will have a profound effect on South Africa's eventual form of government. As with so many problems, solutions may lie with regionalism.

BUSINESS DAY

29/04/93

Picking up the fallen spear of 'comrade Chris'

NEWLY appointed SACP general secretary Charles Nqakula is destined to live in the shadow of his charismatic predecessor Chris Hani, but it is a role he is comfortable with.

While Hani was a high-profile orator who kept the party in the lime-light, Nqakula is a softly spoken man who prefers working quietly at the grassroots.

"If you have to take over from someone like comrade Chris, it increases the pressure on the incumbent that has to pick up the spear, so to speak. I am not a public figure. I'm more suited to working at the grassroots and my training abroad concentrated on the organisation of the underground," he says.

He describes the April 10 assassination of Hani as "a very, very major blow" to the SACP, but adds that the killers have underestimated the resolve among SACP members to "ensure that the party not only exists and survives as a party, but is going to grow".

"Comrade Chris developed a particular style around which all of us performed our duties. He left a very good collective — a collective that he was consulting consistently. We are going to continue with that, and in the context of that collective, I am confident that the comrades who are part of that collective are going to guide me," he says.

Nqakula, 50, worked in the ANC and SACP underground inside SA from the mid-70s before he left the country in 1984 to work in exile. He returned clandestinely in 1988, participated in Operation Vula and became the SACP's national organiser in 1991. Later that year he was appointed deputy general secretary.

He was appointed to the position of general secretary by the party's central committee last week.

Nqakula says that he will continue Hani's programme of increasing democracy within the party and strengthening the party's alliance with the ANC and Cosatu.

He says the party will continue with its "two-stage" view of transformation in SA, with the first phase of establishing democracy being followed by a transition to socialism.

The fact that the SACP will jointly contest elections with the ANC will not damage its ability to put forward more radical ideas within the alliance, but SACP candidates will go along with ANC policy during electioneering, he says.

Nqakula's support for thorough transformation is tempered by the reality of the global failure of socialism in the last five years: "In the beginning socialist transformation may not be thoroughgoing. It is very, very difficult to predict exactly how this is going to come about."

RAY HARTLEY

But Nqakula says the SACP remains a Marxist-Leninist party which still hopes to achieve communism in SA at some point in the distant future.

"There is no break at all, we are the same old party. We are saying that socialism is inherently democratic. Practices by various leaders (of former communist countries) did interfere to a certain extent with that principle of democracy.

"We still say that in the final analysis the working people of this country must play an important role in terms of the decision making processes and therefore they are key to what kind of an economy we will have in our country. We maintain that it is possible to develop a classless society, which is the main tenet of communism," he says.

Nqakula says the SACP envisages business, the state and labour as equal partners in the reconstruction of a democratic SA, but warns that business is not adapting fast enough to change.

"Business has not as yet taken a quantum leap with respect to the unfolding situation in this country.



□ NQAKULA

"Whether business likes it or not, it was they who have firmed up the apartheid regime. If business made the decision to cross the Rubicon ...

they would have applied so much pressure on the regime that many of the things that the regime has been involved in would have long been abandoned.

"We will have to sit down together with business and discuss how we are going to reconstruct this country — that is going to be the immediate job of big business," he says.

With reconstruction as an immediate priority, the SACP does not envisage state intervention in the economy in the short term, he says. "Of course at some point in the distant future we shall be looking at possibilities of intervention in the economy by the state, but that kind of intervention will mean some sort of partnership between the state, the employer and the worker."

He dismisses the idea that the party is a diminishing force in SA politics and refers to the rapid growth of membership from 3 000 in January 1991 to around 50 000 according to the most recent figures.

Nqakula says he does not allow himself to become obsessed with the possibility of attempts on his life.

"When we join the kind of struggle that we are involved in, you say to yourself that you may or may not see the dawn of freedom. If you fear death, it means that there is nothing you are going to be able to do," Nqakula says.

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DE KLERK WARNS ON TEC

May go ahead even if
there's no full agreement

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — The government may go ahead with plans for a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) in June even if full agreement has not been reached in the negotiation process by then, State President De Klerk told Parliament yesterday.

Mr De Klerk also made it clear to the ANC that he would not unilaterally reincorporate the TBVC states. This had to be achieved by agreement, he said.

During the fortnightly question and answer session in Parliament, Mr De

TO PAGE 2

THERE have been two strange developments in the English language print media in the wake of Chris Hani's assassination.

Leader writers and columnists across the spectrum of the "English" Press first lashed out at the SABC for having demonised the slain SACP general secretary during his lifetime instead of informing the public at large about what the man really stood for, and then hit on ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba for making inflammatory statements during and around the commemoration services.

Both sets of accusations raise questions about the media itself. Questions like: where was the English Press during the past two years in telling its readership about Hani the negotiator, the man concerned about peaceful solutions, or, for that matter, the private man? Where was a reflection of the confidential briefings that Hani gave to journalists or of insights gleaned in off-the-record interviews, which we are now told took place? The SABC incidentally stopped demonising Hani a couple of years ago. Their biggest fault was not putting anything else in its place — exactly the same fault of omission the English language print media itself has been guilty of.

Perhaps even more disquieting questions are raised by the Mokaba affair. Not that the preposterous chant of Kill the Boer does not deserve the strongest condemnation. What the public is entitled to know is: why is that condemnation only forthcoming now?

The Not Afraid To Kill the Boers chant has in the post-February 1990 period been an integral part of every single alliance mass action happening, be it a march, a public rally, or any other kind of mass meeting — as PAC officials, piqued at being unilaterally taken to task for their equally repulsive chant of One Settler, One Bullet have repeatedly pointed out.

Not that anybody took any notice. I have had the same experience. Those to whose attention I brought those nasty songs included individual editors, organisers at Idasa getting-to-know-each-other meetings (once

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It's time the print media took a long, hard look at itself

ANNA C STARCKE

by way of explaining why I could not join in the happy toyi-toying of the assembled sisterhood), and organisers of a Five Freedoms reconciliation march through Alexandra (when my fellow white reconciliators appeared to think I was not showing quite the right spirit); and I keep arguing about it with senior alliance members themselves.

The former did nothing. ANC alliance members have at least the grace to be somewhat embarrassed, before offering the same explanations (shouldn't be taken literally, just a traditional mobilising chant, etc) that PAC officials routinely offer about the settler slogan.

So now everybody focuses on Mokaba, the man officially charged with mobilising the shock troops in the '80s for making SA ungovernable, and who could perhaps be forgiven for thinking he is being made a scapegoat. After all, most of the time when he (or, dare I mention it, other NEC members) have been leading the rallies in the Not Afraid To Kill the Boers chant, the rest of the alliance hierarchy has shared the platform with him.

Until Mokaba helpfully gave us the translation, the alliance killing chants, unlike that of the PAC, have been exclusively in Xhosa or Zulu. Obviously whites, those of the media included, could not be bothered to find out what black compatriots so

passionately sing about when they toyi-toyi in the stadium aisles or down Main Street, SA.

And while we are at it: could we please now have a line-for-line translation of the official MK dirge that was so movingly sung by Sam Shilowa at Chris Hani's funeral?

Still on the subject of Peter Mokaba, there was a previous eyebrow-raising remark of his that to my knowledge has never been followed up. Some two years ago, after (subsequently squashed) rumours that Mokaba was an informer, he stressed in an interview with the Weekly Mail that he enjoyed the full confidence of his comrades. If it were otherwise, he said, he would long ago have been eliminated, his death made to look "as if it had been done by the system". He was quoted as adding "as has been done many times before".

I am not the only one who thought at the time that this statement should have brought the combined political Press corps down on him. Instead — nothing. Have the dastardly deeds allegedly committed by the CCB led to the media going soft on the ANC, or was there another reason for such reticence?

Also underreported in connection with the Hani commemoration protests in Johannesburg on April 17

was the extent to which supposed ANC marchers — identified as such by T-shirts, banners and sashes, and including those in the lead car of the Alexandra contingent — were shouting mainly Viva Apla.

I should like to add for the record that I have personally heard Mokaba — the erstwhile prime proponent of no education before liberation — make a passionate plea in 1991 in front of a largely black audience for "putting the excesses of the past behind us" and turning the liberation struggle into "a struggle for knowledge, with respect for learning that will lead us to an understanding of constitutional options, as otherwise we will not have a true democracy".

Mokaba's speech was not reported in the mainstream media. Nor was that of MK chief Joe Modise in 1992 in which he argued in front of a similar audience for realistic expectations in relation to the structure of the anticipated integrated security forces. I have also not seen a word reported on a recent address by ANC legal expert Penual Maduna at the Institute for Multiparty Democracy; it was one of the most forcefully pragmatic arguments in favour of a government of national unity, in the course of which he impressively demolished the opposing PAC and Azapo positions.

Conversely, at a subsequent meeting a man who called himself an

Apla commander gave a speech of breathtakingly unbridled racist venom — and received the same sort of rapt applause from the same sort of black professional audience that had applauded Maduna. That is the kind of detail an informed public needs.

I would go as far as to argue that the mainstream media's past treatment of the PAC as a bunch of inconsequential clowns contributed to that organisation's outbreak into stepped up violence at this stage of our political development.

Last year's mainstream media silence on the political activities of Winnie Mandela once the ANC had declared her persona non grata — during a period when she toured the country making rousing speeches — left the average reader dumbfounded about her "sudden reappearance" in January 1993, when Mandela chose an occasion (Helen Joseph's funeral) that ensured she could not be ignored.

It must also be said that Eugene Terre-Blanche's much-quoted remark about wanting to have killed Hani himself was incorrectly reported in every single English language newspaper. What he said was abominable enough without a news agency making it worse.

Omissions of reporting by the mainstream media have another consequence. In my capacity as a political consultant I am constantly struck by the fears expressed by members of the business establishment concerning the depth of skills — or rather the presumed lack thereof — among, especially, the ANC and its alliance partners in relation to the incoming public service.

If there is one area in which familiarity brings pleasant surprises it is in discovering the breadth of new talent within the ranks of the alliance and other formations of the currently still disenfranchised. The general public should be told more about them.

Chris Hani's obscene death will not have been in vain if we draw the right kind of lessons from it. One of them should be the recognition of our urgent need for a more alert and less parochial media in this crucial period of transition.

LETTERS

Xhosas again destroy all to achieve dream

Dear Sir,

IN 1856 in the time of the frontier wars, a young Xhosa woman, Nongqawuse, told the Xhosa nation that the day was imminent when all the whites in SA would be driven into the sea. On that day ancient chiefs would rise from the dead, ripe crops would miraculously stand in the fields, kraals would fill with cattle, there would be no more sickness and people would never grow old. On this day of a red sun, the whites and all other wrongdoers would be carried away over the sea by a great wind.

To make these things happen, all livestock owned by the Xhosa nation, all crops, and all stored food would have to be destroyed. These things were done, but on the great day nothing happened. Despite outside help scores of thousands starved to death. It was said that the military strength of the Xhosa nation had been destroyed forever.

Now nearly 140 years later, under the cloak of the ANC, the Xhosa people expect to take over power. But before their expected victory, once again they are destroying the basic means of survival. Factories, mines, the transport system, farms, crops and livestock and commerce generally are being destroyed by murder, fire and pillage, by strikes and stayaways.

Victorious in the smoking ruins, will they rise Phoenix-like to achieve Nongqawuse's heaven on earth, or, more realistically, will they slide into an abyss of hopelessness and despair to become just another Somalia?

C MOORE
Saxonwold

□ □ □ □

Dear Sir,

IF, as Jack Curtis says (Letters, April 28), the prophet Jeremiah was "scathing" about people who called for peace, I wonder what Jeremiah would have thought of a biblical figure who once said "Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the children of God".

J S KANE-BERMAN
Executive Director
SA Institute of Race Relations

Business Day 29/04/93

X Kulindeleke X

izihlwele

embizweni

yeNgonyama

DAN XULU

KULINDELEKE ukuba kuthelwe izinkulungwane zezinhlanga ezehlukene eS.J. Smith Hostel, eMerebank, ngeSonto mhlaka May 2 ukuzothamela inkulumo yeSilo uGoodwill Zwelithini. Kuthiwa bonke abantu kufanele besebekhona ngo-9 ekuseni.

Ngokusho kwehhovisi eThekwini lamanxusa aKwaZulu, lokhu kuhambela kweNgonyama kulendawo akuhlangene nezombusazwe kumbe izinhlangano kodwa inhloso wukuzobona abantu baso futhi akukhathalekile ukuthi abantu bangaphansi kwaliphi iqembu kumbe inhlangano yezombusazwe.

URev Dr J.E. Mdlalose kanye noMnuz. F.S. Ngwenya, abangamanxusa kuHulumeni waKwaZulu batshele ILANGA ukuthi kulomhlangano kulindeleke ukuba kuthelwe abantu abaqhamuka eThekwini amaphethelo, abaseMgungundlovu, ePort Shepstone, Newcastle, Ladysmith kanye nakuzozonke izindawo ezingamadolobha amakhulu eNatal naKwaZulu.

Babuye benxusa amakhosi nezinduna zakusonke izindawo ukubakulungiselele abantu ukuba bakwazi ukuthola izinto zokuhamba ukuya eThekwini.

Babuye benxusa nabefundisi imbala ukuba baphelele ngobuningi babo futhi badelele nama-kholwa abo ukuba atheleke ngobuningi bawo kulomhlangano.

Mayelana neminye imininingwane abantu baseThekwini bangaxhumana noMnuz. T.S. Nxasana eS.J. Smith Hostel kumbe baxhumane nehhovisi lamanxusa aKwaZulu aseThekwini.

ILANGA APRIL 29 - MAY 1-93

I-IFP idinwa ukumbuluza

kwe-ANC noHulumeni – isikhulu

ISIKHLU esiphakeme seNkatha Freedom Party (IFP), uMnuz. Joe Matthews, ngaleliso nto uthe i-IFP kuyidina kakhulu ukumbuluza kwe-African National Congress (ANC) yona noHulumeni ngendlela eyisinxele ethathe okuqukethwe ngumqulu wencwadi ye-IFP eyenekwe ngomSombuluko phambi kwamaqembu ehlukene abonisana ngomthetho-sisekelo eWorld Trade Centre, eKempton Park.

UMnuz. Matthews uthe bona bathi ngeke ziphumelele izingxoxo zokubonisana ngaphandle kokuba kungandwe-udlame, wathi inkundla yokubonisana exube amaqembu ehlukene kufanele athathe isinyathelo esibonakalayo ngodlame.

Uthe i-IFP ngeke isakwemukela ukuthi kuqhubeke ukubulawa kwezikhulu zayo kubesengathi akuzithinti izingxoxo zokubonisana eKempton Park, wathi bona bafuna ukuba kuqedwe nya ukubulalana. Uthe bafuna futhi ukuba iphele imizamo yokukhishwa inyumbazane kwelinye lamaqembu ezingxoxweni zokubonisana ezixube amaqembu ehlukene.

Ubuzwe ukuthi uNobhala-jikelele we-ANC, uMnuz. Cyril Ramaphosa, angakusho kanjani ukuthi i-IFP izama ukubhidliza izingxoxo zokubonisana, phezu kokuba inhlangano yakhe isivume ukuthi kubekhona

ukhukhulelangoqo wesiteleka esizothatha amasonto ayisithupha nesikhinyabeza kakhulu umnotho wezwe. Uthe inhlangano kaMnuz. Ramaphosa yahoxa ezingxoxweni zokubonisana ngonyaka odlule ngenxa yodlame kwezombusazwe.

Uqhubeke wathi nje nganje sekubulewe abaholi be-IFP abangaphezu kuka 270, wathi kulamasonto ambalwa edlule sekubulawe izikhulu nabaholi abaningi be-IFP kodwa akukho lutho olwenziwayo ngalokhu.

Maqondana nokushiwo nguNgqongqoshe wezoMthetho-sisekelo, uMnuz. Roelf Meyer, kokuthi lokhu okushiwo yi-IFP akulungile, uMnuz. Matthews uthe lento eshiwo nguMnuz. Meyer yiyona kanye engalungile. Uthe bona bayenqaba ukuhlala phansi baxoxe ngoba uHulumeni akenzi lutho ukunqanda ukubulawa kwabaholi be-IFP.

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Phuthumani eNtuzuma

NANXA iNtuzuma College of Education seyineminyakana isebenza futhi isiza abazali nezitshudeni ngokufunda zihlala ngaphandle, kongeke imali yokubhoda, kodwa sidinga ukuphuthunywa isimo esibi esifufusayo sokuthi abafundi abahlala ngaphandle lapha kabaphathekile kahle.

Nanxa kungelula ukuba uMnyango weMfundo namaSiko KwaZulu uguqule lelikolishi wenze ukuba abafundi bahlale ngaphakathi ngokuphazima kweso, kodwa liyadingeka ikhambi kulesisimo. Abazali bezitshudeni ezithintekayo badinga ukushesha bathathe izinyathelo zokuvikela izingane zabo uma okushiwoyo kuliqiniso. Okokuqala abazali bangafuna izindawo eziphephile lapho abantwana babo bezohlala khona okwesikhashana kusalungiswa.

Umfundi okubhekeke enze umsebenzi wesikole ngokugculisayo ngeke aphumelele, uma ezofunda abuye alale obenyoni ngenxa yeziphithiphi. Abaphathelene nezepolitiki badinga ukusiza nabo lingathikaziseki lelikolishi namanye kanye nabafundi balo ngoba kuphekwa abaholi bezingane zethu kulezizindawo. Uma abantu bonke abahlala kulendawo bekuvuma ngeqiniso ukuthi imfundo ibalulekile kumuntu oMnyama, izizinda okuphekwa kuzo abafundi mazihlonishwe, zivikelwe.

Sethemba uMnyango weMfundo KwaZulu, usizwa yibobonke abakhele lendawo, uzothatha izinyathelo uphenyise ukuze kutholakale ikhambi. Kodwa nabafundi abakulendawo kuhle baqaphele ukuthi ngeke lelikolishi liguqulwe-nje bese kuyabhodwa ngoba kusho bona, ziningi izinto okuzoqale kwedlulwe kuzo ngoba konke kudinga ukuhlelelwa. Ngeke futhi liguqulwe lelikolishi uma abafundi bephehla impi yezepolitiki njengoba kwake kwenzeka ngomunye unyaka eMangosuthu Technikon eMlazi befuna kuguqulwe igama.

Makuphenywe kutholakale ngeqiniso ukuthi zifunani ezinye izitshudeni zaseNtuzuma.

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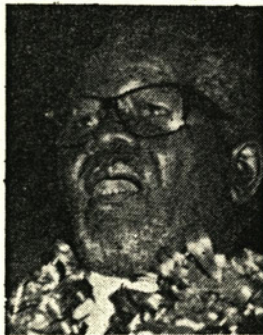
Amalungiselelo okufihla u-Oliver Tambo eBenoni

ZANELE MSIBI

UMNGCWABO kasihlalo kazwelonke we-African National Congress, uMnuz. Oliver Reginald Tambo, uzokuba seBenoni, e-East Rand, ngeSonto mhlaka May 2, emva kwenkonzo ezokuba seWattville Stadium ngo-10 ekuseni.

Isidumbu sakhe sizohlala kulendawo kusukela ngo-6 ekuseni. Inkonzo izokwenganyelwa ngu-Archbishop Trevor Huddleson weBandla laseSheshi, naye owake wadingiselwa eBrithani eminyakeni edule. Kulomngcwabo kulindeleke ukuba kubekhona nezi-thunywa eziqhamuka emazweni ase-Afrika naphesheya kwezilwandle. Nokho amagama azo abengakatholakali ngesikhathi sokuloba.

OliPhini likaNobhala we-ANC kuSouthern Natal, uMnuz. Mpho Scott, uthe eNatal kuhlale ukuba babe nezinkonzo zesikhumbuzo sikamufi kumaZone ehlukenengalo usuku lomngcwabo iSonto. Uthe basazokwaziswa ngeminye iminini-



UMNUZ. Oliver Reginald Tambo.

ngwane. EGoli bamemezele ukuthi ezifundeni ezingu-25 eNtilasifali naseFree State, nakhona bahlele izinkonzo zesi-khumbuzo.

Kusenjalo izikhulu ze-ANC ezindaweni ezehlukene, sezikhiphe inhlabamkhosi zayibhekisa kumalungu ayo, zixwayisa ukuba kungabibikhiqizigameko zodlame nezobugebengu ezizokuba khona emngcwabeni waleliqhawe. UMnuz. Scott uthe unxusa abamabhizini bavale izitolo zabo ngelanga lomngcwabo, kusukela ngo-1 kuyaku-2 ntambama ukuze kuhlonishwe lolusuku.

UMnuz. Tambo (75), oshaywe yi-stroke entathakusa yangeSonto, ushone nje emuva kwamasonto amabili kubulawe ngesihluku umholi weSouth African Communist Party (SACP), uMnuz. Chris Hani. Yize isimo sempilo yakhe besingasesihle, kodwa kundenkolelo yokuthi ukushona kukaMnuz. Hani kwamthinta kakhulu.

UMnuz. Tambo, obedume ngelika-"OR", washaywa yistroke sokuqala ngo-1989 esekhovisi lakhe eLusaka eZambia, nokuyisona esamshiya efe uhlangothi langakwesokudla. Ungowokuzalwa eBhizana eTranskei.

Ubethathwa njengomgogodla we-ANC, owabumba uphiko lwayo lwezempi Umkhonto weSizwe (MK), emazweni ase-Afrika nawaphesheya, nguye futhi owabumba umbutho wentsha ye-ANC. Waba nguMongameli we-ANC, ngo-1977 emuva kokuba uMongameli we-ANC kwakugcine kunguChief Albert Luthuli engakashoni.

Ushiye umkakhe u-Adelaide, nezingane ezintathu uThembu, Tselane noDali.

ILANGA APRIL 29 - MAY - 1 - 1993

Kufe inqwaba yabadlali bebhola kuwa ibhanoyi

ELIBREVILLE. - Kufe abantu abangu 30, abangu 25 babo okungabadlali bebhola abaziwayo eZambia, ngesikhathi indiza abebhamba ngayo iphahlazekela olwandle emuva kwemizuzwana embalwa isukile esikhulweni sezindiza ePort Louis, okuyidolobha elikhulu laseMauritius.

Amasotsha aseGabon aphuthume ukuyotakula imvithimvithi yezinsimbi zendiza ephahlazekela e-Atlantic Ocean phakathi kwamabili ngolwesi-Bili. Kukholakala ukuthi bonke abebekulendiza baminzile.

Lendiza yaseZambia beyinabadlali bebhola baseZambia, phakathi kwabo obekukhona nezikhulu zabo kanye namatilos (abashayeli) abayisihlanu.

Abadlali bebevela ePort Louis lapho bedle khona ikilabhu yakhona ngo 3-0.

Abadlali bese bephikelele eSenegal lapho

bebezodlala khona ngeSonto emdlalweni wokulungiselela umdlalo omkhulu weWorld Cup. Indiza yabo ithe ukuma eLibreville lapho igcwaliswe khona amafutha.

Ithimu yaseZambia, bese iwine imidlalo eminingi e-Afrika ebizilolonga kuyo ukuyongenela umncintiswano weWorld Cup ngo 1994.

Njalo lethimu uma iyodlala kwamanye amazwe iye iphelekezelwe yizikhulu zayo, odokotela kanye nabaqeqeshi bayo.

Iphini likaNgqongqoshe wezemidlalo eZambia, uMnuz. John Chintala, uthe abakholwa ukuthi ukhona osindile kulenhlekelele. - (Sapa)

Isililo sikaNdunankulu ngo-Oliver Tambo

OSWALD MHLONGO

OLUNDI:-UMongameli weNkatha Freedom Party, uDr. M G Buthelezi, uzwakalise okukhulu ukukhalisana nabomndeni wakwaTambo, kulandela ukushona kukaMnuz. Oliver Reginald Tambo (75), oshonele esibhedlela saseMilpark, eGoli emva kokuhlaselelwa yisifo sohlangothi.

Ephawula ngoMnuz. Tambo, uDr. Buthelezi, uthe

Izimemezelo

UNKSZ. Snenhlanhla Cleopatra Mkhize wakwanoombolo 2179 Kwa-Makhutha, ucela ukutholiselwa ihand-bag emnyama eyasala esitimeleni ngomSombuluko mhlaka April 26. Lesisitimela sasisuka eDurban Station ntabama siya ngase-Mkhomazi, inombole yasoyayithi-0770. Okubaluleke kakhulu okwakukulelisikhwama yi-PassPort. Owasithola kucelwa ukuba asize athinte uNksz. Mkhize kulenombolo yocingo:9051498, noma asishiye emahhovisi ephaphandaba ILANGA kwanoombolo 128 Umngeni Road, eThekwini.

UMNUZ. William Bheki Mazibuko waseStander-

ton unxusa kunoma ngubani owalahlekelwa yimali yakhe eMbalenhle eyayisesikhwameni asheshe amthinte kulenombolo yocingo (01331) 46 895 ukuze amtholisele. **UMnuz.** Mazibuko uthi lemali wayithola kulendawo ngomhlaka April 3 futhi yimali enkulu impela.

EMONDLLO. Unobhala osakaza izindaba zeziko le-IFP eMondlo, uMnuz. Elphus Xaba, wazisa onke amalungu aleliqembu ngomhlangano ozobaseSolomuzi High School ngomhlaka May 2 ekuseni ngo 8 lapho kuzobe kujoyinwa khona kubuye kuvuselelwe nobulungu.

kubuhlungu kakhulu ukuzwa ukuthi akasekho emhlabeni uMnuz. Tambo emva kokuba wonke umuntu ubeseneme ngokubuya kwalomholi obesesebenze umsebenzi omkhulu kangaka, elwela izwe lakhe kanye nabantu abaNyama.

UDr. Buthelezi, uthe ubecabanga ukuthi sekusondele ukuba lelizwe libe yilokhu uMnuz. Tambo, akuphuma kulelizwe eyokufuna, ukuba lelizwe libe ngelikhululekile nelibuswa yintando yeningi.

Uqhube wathi ukungaboni ngaso linye obekukhona phakathi kwabo bobabili akuzange kwaba yinto abayifaka ezinhliziyweni kepha kwakugcina ngokuba sezingeni lezepolitiki, ngoba ubelokhu emkhonze njalo ngokuzinikela kwakhe ekusebenzeni isizwe.

Uqhube wathi uMnuz. Tambo, waba ngowokuqala ukuba ahole inhlango ye-ANC ekudingisweni, lapho afika wazabalaza khona kabanzi ezama ukuhlanganisa lenhlango ukuba ibe yimbumba, ukuze kuzwakale izwi lomuntu oMnyama.

Uthe ngesikhathi uChief Albert Luthuli, emthumela emazweni angaphandle ukuba ayosebenzela lenhlango kwakulukhuni, wonke umuntu wayemfisela impumelelo evela kumdali nesheshayo ngesikhathi ehla enyuka umhlaba wonke ezwakalisa izikhala zabaMnyama kuleli nasebedingisiwe.

Ube esethi kungumshophi ukuba leSouth Africa, ayilwele kangaka uMnuz. Tambo, ithi seyibuyiselwa ekhaya ifike ixabane yodwana. **Uqhube wathi** ngesikhathi ibuya ekudingisweni lenhlango wabanethemba elikhulu lokuthi ubuhlobo obudala nobungani obehlula ngisho ukungaboni ngaso linye buzoqala phansi, ukuze kusindiswe izwe lase-SA kanye nokubulalana kwabaMnyama.

UDr. Buthelezi uthe usuku luyenza noma engaseyukubalwa nalabo abadonse izintambo zokugcina ekubuyiselweni kwalilizwe endleleni eqondile yokubuswa, nalapho abaNyama beyoba nezwi elihlangeneyo lokubuswa kwalilizwe ngokwentando yeningi ngokungacwasi ukuthi ngubani owine ukhetho.

Uqhube wathi mhlawumbe ukufa kukaMnuz. Tambo, kuzosiza kukhumbuze isizwe ukuthi ukuphakama kokungezwani nodlame okukhona ezwenise kusi-khinyabezile isithunzi soMnyama ngisho nakwamanye amazwe.

Uthe uMnuz. Tambo akazange wazabalazela ukudala ukungezwani phakathi kwezinhlangano njengoba sekukhona phakathi kwamaqembu nezinhlangano zezombusazwe. Ube esenxusa ukuba kuphindelwe emulapho kwakuzabalazwa khona ngesizotha nokuhlonipheka, kukhunjulwe ukuthi kunezinkulungwane zabaMnyama asebefile egameni lomzabalazo wokulwela lelizwe.

Unxuse wonke umuntu aqaphele ukuthi labo abandisa izindlela zokubhekana ngeziqu zamehlo phakathi kwezinhlangano, bagovuza imimoya yalabo abafela lelizwe ngokweqiniso belwela inkululeko yoMnyama, ngokungakhethi amadodana namadodakazi ase-Africa.

UDr. Buthelezi uthe makusukunywe kuyiwe phambili lapho amaqembu eyofeza iphupho lesizwe esihlangeneyo esiMnyama nalapho abantu beyoba nelungelo lokukhetha inhlango ayikhonzile navumelana nayo ezweni elibuswa ngentando yeningi.

Ukhumbuze abanengi ukuthi uMnuz. Tambo, ukuze ayee ekudingisweni yingoba wayekhohlelwa ekubusweni kwalilizwe ngokwentando yeningi, okwenza ukuba ahlale phezu kwegeja lishisa ngoba wayehlose, ukufeza izinjongo zoMnyama wakuleli.

Unxuse umhlaba ukuthi umkhumbule uMnuz. Tambo, ngalemisebenzi yakhe wayesethi kumele ukuba kukhonjiswe ngokusobala ukuthi ubeyiqhawe uMnuz. Tambo, waphinde wathi kumele kuhlanguwe ngeindlela yokuzotha kuzanywe ukuba kuqedwe lokhu khlaselana kwabaMnyama ukuze kwenziwe izinto uMnuz. Tambo, afe engazifezile njengoba kwaziwa ukuthi ubengelona iqhawe kuphela kepha ubengumuntu obethanda ukuba kuhlangukise abantu kuthelwane amanzi.

ILANGA APRIL 29 - MAY 1 - 1993

Ring dance to hide double agenda

If ordinary South Africans wonder what sort of future they would be facing if the current government continues to manoeuvre itself into a junior partnership in Government with the African National Congress, it need look no further than the ring dance being performed all round following fresh calls by the ANC youth league to kill farmers and the boers.

First the President's estranged wife and her consort-in-arms, Peter Mokaba, publicly lead the chant exhorting their audience to kill farmers and boers.

ANC Secretary General, Cyril Ramaphosa, blithely tells South Africans that the President's wife and Mr Mokaba should not be taken seriously.

There is a moment of discipline when Mo-

kaba decides to remain silent at the funeral of Chris Hani. No doubt headmaster Cyril had told his head boy to shut up.

Then South Africans are treated to nauseating humbug by both the

headmaster and head boy to the effect that the chant is nothing but an exhortation to kill "the system" and that murder is furthest from their minds.

All the while farmers continue to die, or disappear, and symbols of the system, the police of South Africa, are targeted and murdered.

And the chant goes on.

When will those in the Nationalist Party so desperately keen to consummate their marriage with the

ANC come to their senses and realise that the ANC is not the angel it now wants the world to believe it is?

The ANC remains a radical party as Ramaphosa was at pains to point out on television recently. Many of its senior leaders have a long history of a commitment to violence and murder. There are tomes to prove this serious allegation.

It has always been a party with multiple agendas. While the one part makes war,

the other practices its smooth tongues in diplomacy. While the one part starts to negotiate, the other "suspends" armed struggle and stockpiles its weapons of war. While the one part tours the West to keep the Western currencies flowing into ANC coffers, the other keeps recruiting men of war and sends them for training in Africa and the East.

But, what delicious irony - elements spawned by the chosen bedfellow of the Nationalist Government actually

call for the murder of the very people its peers wish to get into bed with. It will yet discover that

the expected bliss between what the President's wife calls silken sheets, will become its worst nightmare.

Speeches: Plea for more responsibility

Winnie could soon be prosecuted, says FW

MRS Winnie Mandela, ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba and ANC Western Cape Secretary Tony Yengeni could soon be prosecuted, President de Klerk told Parliament yesterday.

He told MPs during State President's question time that the three ANC leaders were currently being investigated by the police for alleged

Political Staff

inflammatory remarks they had made.

He said that some of the recent statements by the three could amount to a crime under existing legislation.

The three investigations were being carried out in close co-operation with Attorneys-General.

Mr de Klerk said a similar probe was being made into

statements made by Mr Eugene Terre Blanche. The AWB leader was also being investigated for a possible breach of the law as a result of his displaying a weapon in public.

He said all political spokesmen in South Africa should refrain from making inflammatory statements.

"The situation in the country is such that an irresponsible word could lead to violence," he said.

Mandela mission to boost UK investment

JOHANNESBURG—ANC leader Nelson Mandela will urge more British investment in post-apartheid South Africa when he visits London next week, the ANC said yesterday.

"His message will be that as soon as the transitional executive councils are in place and a date for an election is set, there should be additional British investment," said Mr Carl Niehaus.

Mr Mandela will address a joint session of the British Parliament on Tuesday.

"He will tell Parliament that South Africa should move towards democratic rule as fast as possible and that we (South Africans) have to deal with, and face, the problem of violence."

He said he expected the transitional councils to be in place by June.

Britain, which for years resisted imposing severe sanctions against South Africa is the largest foreign investor in South Africa.

The most up-to-date figures available for trade between the two countries put British imports to South Africa at R5,4 billion compared to R4,5 billion in exports to the United Kingdom during 1991.

Mr David Graham, international division general manager of the South African Foreign Trade Organisation said Mr Mandela's appeal for investment would be a tremendous boost for international confidence in South Africa.

Mr Mandela's proposed visit to Portugal on Sunday has been postponed to enable him to attend the funeral of Oliver Tambo. — (Sapa-Reuter)

11/11
Speeches: Plea for more responsibility

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~~South African~~ Mercury
29/04/93
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A constitution by Nat and ANC brains only?

Some parties to the multi-party negotiations are at a considerable advantage over others. More specifically, the governing National Party and the ANC have held unending bosberade and consultations on all aspects of the negotiations for a new constitution for South Africa.

This has meant excluding any inputs or wisdom from those citizens of South Africa who do not belong to either the NP or the ANC. The obvious result is that there will be a tendency for these two parties to stick to their agreements, perceptions and understandings to the exclusion of any inputs by others.

Centuries ago it was remarked that "ex Africa semper aliquid novi". Out of Africa there is always something new. The ANC and the South African government have invented a new method of providing a universally accepted constitution for a country.

In other parts of the world major empha-

sis has been on obtaining a nationwide social and political consensus among all relevant formations. We would have thought the same would apply in our country.

Instead we are being treated to a process in which two political parties do the negotiating and expect the rest of the country to toe the line.

The people who have been engaged in detailed negotiations and discussions are

the very people who are now calling for urgent action and speed accompanied by veiled threats to proceed without those who were absent from the bosberade.

On April 26th, 1993 the first session of the Negotiating Council opened at the World Trade Centre. The documents for the session were delivered one hour before the conference began. Any request for time to study the documents in order to make

meaningful contributions was dubbed "delaying tactics". Once again the key word was urgency, haste and speed.

Last year the IFP called on the negotiating forum (Codesa) to appoint technical and legal experts to draw up a constitution which would be adopted and ratified by referendum.

By now elections would have been held and a new government would have taken office if the IFP plan had been adopted. The ANC rejec-

ted the plan. They insisted that there should be transitional arrangements and an interim government.

They engaged in the demagoguery of calling for a constituent assembly to draw the constitution. They left Codesa in a huff and called for unnecessary mass action. All this has caused endless delays. But guess what? They now accuse others of delaying the process.

The idea that all the constitutional brains in South Africa are to be found exclusively in the NP and the ANC is going to lead to fatal mistakes for which the country will eventually have to pay a heavy price.

If a constitution is to serve as a basis for stability and prosperity all the people of South Africa must feel that they had a hand in its fashioning and making. In political and social affairs short-cuts often turn out to be

the longest and most difficult way of solving a problem.

ILANGA APRIL 29 MAY 1 - 1 - 1993

DONWALD PRESSLY reports on a possible new-look army

NATAL MERCURY 29/04/93

SADF troops may soon take orders from MK men

THE old joke about the white general who led a black regiment into battle springs to mind when pondering the future of the South African Defence Force.

When asked if the commanders of his units were black, he replied: "No only my privates."

The SADF, however, is likely to remain predominantly white during the interim period running up to the country's first non-racial election — but many of the commanders will be drawn from Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, and the homeland armies.

That's if the African National Congress wins this concession at constitutional negotiations.

If all goes well at talks in the next few weeks, South Africa will move into a phase of transitional government in the second half of the year.

This means that for the first time black South Africans will be represented in the government in the form of a transitional executive council (TEC) on a non-elected basis.

Blacks will also have a major influence on the security forces which have been seen by extra-parliamentary parties as a partisan force representing white power.

Sources close to the military predict that many generals will find themselves retiring early — to make way for black faces.

Transkei's Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa, who has close links with both the Pan Africanist Congress and the African National Congress, is tipped to land a top job in the new "interim" defence force.

The ANC seeks multi-party political and military control of the security forces in order to "level the playing fields" in the run up to the first non-racial general election expected to be held later this year or early next year.

Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) commanders may find themselves commanding white conscripts during the interim phase.

The TEC will work side-by-side with the existing Cabinet and will include members of the 26 political parties — representing both blacks and whites — participating in the multi-party negotiations.

Exclusive National Party rule will come to an end after 45 years and the TEC will rule the country until the elections.

Control over government functions — including the security forces — will fall under sub-councils of the TEC.

The SA Defence Force announced this week that it had already begun discussions with a spectrum of political parties in anticipation of sweeping changes.

Former chief of the SA Air Force, Gen Bob Rogers, said a number of "ticklish" problems would have to be resolved at talks — including the question of national service, changes in the rank system, the medium of instruction for training and the size and shape of the new defence force.

Gen Rogers, the Democratic Party's defence spokesman, believes the SADF would have to shed a considerable number of white personnel in order to make it more representative of the population make-up in the country.

The homeland armies and MK, representing up to 25 000 troops will have to be included in existing SADF structures.

This means that at least a similar number of whites — who constitute 60% of the permanent force — may face retrenchment or early retirement. Up to half of the white personnel, therefore,

may lose their jobs.

Gen Rogers said the question of whether English is used as the medium of training will be a tricky issue to resolve. "Will it mean that there will be a Xhosa battalion in the Transkei or a Zulu battalion in Natal?" he asked.

He pointed out that it was more effective to use the troops' home language "in the field of battle", but it may be politically insensitive to form ethnic-based units.

In the interim period it would be inappropriate to call up black troops and the system of national service was likely to continue in a revised form.

Gen Rogers said it was the talk in military circles that a ballot system — similar to that which operated in the 1950s and 1960s — would take the place of a blanket call-up of white men.

The Democratic Party, the

National Party and the ANC agree that in the long term a volunteer professional army will be formed but Gen Rogers said there was general agreement that white men still had to be called up in the transitional phase.

Citizen force regiments and commando units would probably remain in place, said Gen Rogers, but they would have to be non-racial.

All changes will, however, have to be agreed upon by the 26 parties.

A major revision in the rank system can be expected. It can't be ruled out that a black "comrade general" will command a "veldkornet" or that a "lieutenant colonel" will be in control of "private comrades".

Six months from now a black general in a newly-named SA Armed Forces may even claim to have "just white privates"!

IN. ZIBA JIYANE comments

V NATAL MERCURY

Freedom must 29/04/93 be secured for one and all

IT IS one of the ironies of our time that some leaders dedicated to the cause of freedom for black people should deny those same black people freedom to choose, who to associate with, what to listen to, and what to believe.

For example, Mr Dan Mofokeng, regional head of the SA National Civic Association warned recently that "the people will use every tactic to prevent political activity by the (white) parties."

He argued that they were "not going to allow those parties to come to the townships and start discrediting the sons of our land who fought so hard for liberation".

I don't doubt that Mr Mofokeng, and many others who think like him, are committed to the cause of black liberation.

Indeed, many who think like him have spent years in jail, others have even lost their lives in the struggle.

What I question is their understanding and commitment to the type of democracy we all strive for in South Africa: multi-party democracy.

That knowledgeable persons may make various alternative choices available to ordinary people, is both expected and historically approved. Nothing entitles them, however, to usurp another person's rights to make final judgements showing personal preferences from the available menu of political choices.

To exclude any political party from black townships violates the principle of political equality in two ways.

First, the excluded party is treated unequally; it is deprived the right to deserve political equality and freedom to choose. He implies that they are not fit for democracy.

But words promoting the exclusion of different political views are merely symptomatic examples of a serious malady afflicting South Africa's body politic: political intolerance and misunderstanding of what multi-party democracy entails.

I choose to discuss the latter problem because, in most cases, political intolerance results from misconceptions of what multi-party democracy means.

Only children, lunatics, and

other abnormal personalities, lack the capacity to judge authoritatively what is good for themselves. That is why these exceptions are not accorded the right to an equal opportunity to win adherents to its political perspective, in a free market of ideas.

If a political party could justifiably be excluded because it is a "white" party likely to "mislead our people", nothing, in principle would prevent the exclusion of other parties, black or white, for a similar reason.

Secondly, and more relevant to our argument, such arbitrary exclusions rob the township residents of the opportunity to hear all political perspectives, after which they can exercise their sovereign right to decide which one would best serve their interests.

Township residents deserve to be treated as political equals even before our country becomes fully democratic. On what prevalent principle of democracy can black Africans be held back in check until after a particular date.

What justification can one put forward in 1993 to stem the tide of democracy and liberation?

We must be totally consistent in our fight for political equality.

We cannot condemn the racist principle of apartheid that certain persons should be a "master race" over some other normal adult citizens only to allow part of the black community to appoint itself to a "master caste" which arbitrarily dictates what black people ought to believe, who to listen to, and who to associate with.

I would sincerely like to believe that those worthy countrymen who dedicated their lives to freedom and equality of the oppressed cannot now be seen as treating blacks as if they do not deserve political equality.

All of us who aspire to a truly democratic South Africa should speak out now, before it is too late.

Dr Ziba Jiyane is a senior lecturer in the Department of Political Science and Public Administration at the University of Zululand, and also a regular lecturer at the Institute of Multi Party Democracy workshops.

Province faces weeks of marches

Mercury Reporters

NATAL could face a month-long series of marches, rallies and city blockades by the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance over the deaths of Chris Hani and Oliver Tambo, and Workers' Day on Saturday.

No stayaways have yet been planned but the alliance has threatened "drastic measures" if certain conditions are not met.

A lunchtime memorial service in Pietermaritzburg's Market Square is set for noon today to mark the death of the ANC national chairman.

The events of the past three turbulent weeks have given impetus to what the alliance calls "the final push" beginning on Workers' Day with two key demands — an election date and the immediate establishment of a transitional executive council.

Joint control over the security forces and peace efforts are also on the agenda.

The alliance announced in Johannesburg yesterday that if these demands were not met by the end of May, "a programme of unprecedented mass action would be embarked upon".

A Worker's Day rally will be addressed by Numsa president Moses Mayekiso at Edendale's Wadley Stadium on Saturday and next week a march to NPA headquarters at Natalia is planned. On Tuesday alliance supporters intend blockading the city.

Pickets at Alexandra police station and the military headquarters in Longmarket Street are planned for Wednesday, and on Thursday marchers to the Home Affairs office will demand efficient processing of ID documents.

Also on Thursday, the alliance is to march on the New Pietermaritzburg Prison to demand the release of Popercu members.

Four main rallies are scheduled for Sunday in Kwa Mashu, Umlazi, Inanda and Mpumalanga for Mr Tambo while Workers' Day rallies are planned for Saturday, at Currie's Fountain in Durban, Ladysmith, Newcastle, Port Shepstone, Kokstad and Matatiele.

Reaction to the memorial plans has been sympathetic, but the Pietermaritzburg chamber of commerce and industries and the Durban Regional Chamber of Business are seeking meetings to express concern over possible disruption.

Pietermaritzburg employers are to treat today as a normal working day.

THE NATAL MERCURY
29 - 04 - 93

*Minimal impact on Lake St Lucia'

Staff Reporter

MINING the dunes at Lake St Lucia would have a minimal negative impact on the lake and wetlands but it would have a highly negative effect on the vegetation and animals in the mining area for the next 30 years.

This is according to an environmental impact study report recently released by the Council for Scientific

and Industrial Research, which also found that the negative effects, except for the topography, were not irreversible.

According to the report Richards Bay Minerals, the company which wants to mine the area, would pay R157.1 million in taxes for the 17-year life of the mine and would earn R606m in foreign exchange.

The company would invest an annual R8m in social responsibility programmes and would create 313 jobs.

At a meeting at UCT last night, as part of a public review process, members of the public were allowed to make comments and ask questions of experts which would be conveyed to the review panel which will make

recommendations on the St Lucia mining plan to the Cabinet.

A member of the ANC's environmental desk said the government should avoid making any long term decision of this nature which may be overturned by a future government.

Richards Bay Minerals may find that a future government would want to restore the land to the people who were moved off it.

The Argus, Thursday April 29 1993 5

Black pupils bar heads from schools

JOHN VILJOEN
Education Reporter

BLACK pupils in the Western Cape have barred principals from high schools and announced marches on police stations in an intensive campaign for the scrapping of matric examination fees.

Congress of South African Students spokesman Mr J J Thyhalisisu said today the organisation demanded that principals occupy Department of Education and Training offices. Principals yesterday told the department of the pupils' decision and their "militant" attitude.

According to a report supplied by the department, principals informed officials that matric pupils from all department high schools in the Western Cape had unanimously resolved not to fill in matric entry forms or pay exam fees. Tuition had been suspended un-

til fees were scrapped.

Principals urged officials to refer the issue to Minister of Education and Training Mr Sam de Beer.

Officials, circuit inspectors and subject advisers should regard school premises and townships as "no-go areas", principals said.

Department area manager Mr A E M Ndamase said his office did not have the power to take action on the issue. Regional director Dr Johan Brand was expected to meet principals in Cape Town today.

Mr Thyhalisisu said the burning of department subject adviser Mr Mike Cameron's official car at Oscar Mpetha High School in Nyanga yesterday was "the first demonstration of student anger".

Mr Thyhalisisu said Cosas had set May 10 as a deadline for exam fees to be scrapped.

Cape Times

THURSDAY, APRIL 29 1993

Get on with it

THE obstructive politicians of the COSAG group who are seeking to hold up the negotiating process seem to imagine that they are scoring points over the others at Kempton Park who are anxious to move ahead in the national interest.

But the COSAG partners, Inkatha, Bophutatswana, Ciskei and the CP, are surely mistaken. If they persist in posturing and delays when negotiations resume tomorrow they will do themselves little good. The broad electorate has long since lost patience with political gamesmanship as the country bleeds.

If they do not come to their senses, the would-be wreckers could find themselves impotent on the sidelines as the NP, the ANC and the DP move ahead to put the Transitional Executive Council in place and implement a system of multi-party supervision of the security forces in the run-up to the election.

The national leadership has no other option but to lead the country to elections and a new constitution as quickly as possible, taking all significant groupings along with them, as far as they can. If there is prolonged uncertainty South Africa will pay a terrible price in economic stagnation and social upheaval. Strongly-worded statements this week by Mr Derek Keys, from the perspective of the finance ministry, and by Mr Ken Andrew of behalf of the Democratic Party, have left no doubt about the urgency of the situation.

It is instructive that the parties angling for delay are those who have the most to lose in democratic elections, such as the COSAG parties. There are also obdurate or extremist elements in the NP and the ANC who will have to be brought into line. As Mr Keys told Parliament, international markets do not like to see the economy being made into the plaything of politics.

Meanwhile, there are encouraging signs that the ANC's mass action starting on May 1 will avoid creating opportunities for urban hooliganism and will be limited in mode and scale. The economic penny has dropped in ANC leadership circles, it seems, and there is no wish to inherit a slagheap. Now is the time to calm things down and get on with the transitional arrangements.

'Looming anarchy' a test for new SA rulers

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The question of who exercises power in the new South Africa would become irrelevant in the face of "looming anarchy", according to visiting Canadian sociology lecturer Professor Heribert Adam.

Prof Adam was addressing lecturers, staff and students at the University of Durban-Westville.

He said any power guaranteeing a semblance of order and safety was better than the "descent into barbarism" seen in Yugoslavia, Angola and Somalia.

Prof Adam added that although the ANC would find itself in government,

it was unlikely to exercise much clout.

In a lecture titled "The Negotiated Revolution in South Africa", Prof Adam said the ANC's "certain victory in the first non-racial election will give Mr Nelson Mandela's movement the right to rule, but does not bestow power".

"Life in the new South Africa goes on as before, but with a transitional government of greater legitimacy. Whether stability and development result from this settlement remains to be seen," Prof Adam said.

He predicted the National Party would muster about 25% of the vote, the ANC 45% and Inkatha 10%.

Wosa's national conference

Political Correspondent

THE Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa) is to hold its third national conference in Cape Town this weekend.

The conference, with the theme, "Socialism is democracy — building the socialist alternative", is to be addressed by a member of the Workers' Party in Brazil, Ms Elisabete Burigo.

It is to be held at Community House, Salt River.

Sasco targets white schools

Argus 19.8.73
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — White schools would be a target of protests this week, black student leaders have warned.

SA Students Congress (Sasco) regional chairman Mr Peniel Masehele said that by calling on people to occupy and disrupt white schools his organisation was "hitting the state where it hurts most".

"We don't understand Mandela's call for calm," he said. "Students have been re-energised by the killing of Hani, and our people are ready for action."

Classes would be boycotted and disruptions at schools, universities and colleges intensified, he said.

When the disruption of white schools was first mooted two

weeks ago during protests over black education, the CP and white parent organisations warned that any such action would be met with force.

Transvaal Education Department executive director Mr Ken Paine said it would be "business as usual" at white schools this week. Any breaches of security would be handled under individual schools' contingency plans.

Norway 'will not abandon ANC'

Argus 29.4.

STEFAANS BRÜMMER
Staff Reporter

THE ANC has been assured by Norwegian Foreign Minister Mr Johan Jorgen Holst that "we will not abandon friends when they are about to succeed".

At a Press conference yesterday to announce the Norwegian government's sponsorship of a violence-monitoring institute under the auspices of the Goldstone Commission, he said: "There is concern in the ANC that we will abandon them just as they are approaching the goal. I have assured them that will not happen."

But Mr Holst indicated that there may have to be a shift in "ways and means".

He said his government was constrained in giving money to political parties and when the ANC converted from a liberation movement to a political party other means of making money available for the same

purposes would have to be found.

The ANC had been given about R10 million this year — a fifth of Norway's funding for "anti-apartheid work".

Next year's budget had not been finalised and discussions would be held with the ANC.

"We will not abandon friends when they are about to succeed, thereby jeopardising their success..."

"We don't want to intervene in the democratic process in South Africa, but we want to help ensure that the process is democratic."

During his visit Mr Holst has met President De Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Zac de Beer and the Reverend Frank Chikane.

He said: "I have been impressed by the way people to whom I talked seem committed to the process of negotiations."

IFP claims of joint spying

Argus Times 28.4.

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) alleged yesterday that a policeman on Natal's Peace Accord structures held "secret" meetings with the ANC's Department of Intelligence and Security (DIS), and suggested they were jointly "spying" on the IFP.

Meanwhile, the IFP has called on the Goldstone Commission to investigate claims that the SA Police were involved in an attack on mourners at a vigil for a slain IFP official near Empangeni.

IFP spokesman Mr Ed Tillet claimed yesterday that negotiations about a

merger between South Africa's National Intelligence Service (NIS) and the ANC's DIS had reached an advanced stage.

The IFP has alleged that Colonel James Louwrens, who sits on the Regional Dispute Resolution Committee, held "clandestine meetings" with the head of the ANC's DIS in Natal, Mr Mo Shaik.

The SAP last night denied the allegations.

"It is regrettable that whenever the SAP has to take steps against members of an organisation it is automatically accused of siding with any opposing organisation," a police spokesman said.

Need to move toward joint rule is urgent

GERHARD ERASMUS argues the case for rapid movement ahead to joint rule.

THE death of Mr Chris Hani has had an impact on many aspects of South Africa's politics of transition. There seems to be widespread understanding now of the need to quicken the process.

If the dangers of extremist exploitation from Left and Right, the requirements for a relatively peaceful transition and the frustrations and fears of the population are better understood, political leaders and the general public can only benefit from such new insights.

We would then be better placed to do what was necessary and to be prepared for certain outcomes.

What are the lessons?

It has not been recognised that the potential for violence and disruption is enormous — and that relatively little of this has materialised.

That the ANC leadership, at the risk of their own safety and popularity, have defused much of the potential for anarchy has gone unnoticed or unmentioned.

Need for co-operation

This teaches us the need for co-operation between the official structures and those of the mass movements. Apartheid isolation has always robbed South Africans of mutual understanding. Now, at the time of its dismantling, its legacy bedevils the co-operation necessary to create its successor.

Official bodies such as the police cannot unilaterally control the dangerous potential in mass responses. This is admitted. So we already have the de facto basis for joint action and indeed for the Transitional Executive Council.

Why, then, postpone it if the additional benefit will be that black South Africans will then also see and experience tangible results from the promise of February 2, 1990? Until now very little change has materialised in terms of their experience and expectations.

We should not lose sight of the vast scope of the exercise undertaken at present. To change apartheid rule into democracy through peaceful negotiations is extremely difficult. To do so under the conditions of a highly divided society devoid of mutual trust and legitimate structures is fraught with danger. The sobering effect of this reminder should only strengthen the case for co-operation and urgency.

New experience

A form of joint rule (through the TEC) will also create a new political style of co-responsibility and collective accountability. It will be a new educational experience to see South Africans of all races jointly deciding on difficult issues and defending their choices. These choices will be the outcome of give and take and of recognition of the merits of the other party's standpoint. This will in any case be the style in the government of national unity and reconstruction which is promised for after the first elections.

Once the TEC is in place the transition may benefit in additional ways. Involvement by the international community through assistance and monitoring becomes in-

creasingly necessary, perhaps inevitable. Once there is the single structure of the TEC, drawn from all the parties involved in the multi-party talks, foreign governments and international organisations will be able to liaise with a single entity. The present fragmented scene frustrates the full benefit that may flow from constructive involvement by the international community. Monitoring itself will become more acceptable and easier to implement.

Other benefits following the launching of the TEC will I hope include improvements of economic conditions through positive local and international responses.

Crucial phase

Soon after the establishment of the TEC, the campaign for the election of the Constituent Assembly will start. That is a crucial phase. We must at all costs prevent a repetition of the Angolan experience. There an important contender rejected the election results and opted for civil war.

Every aspect of the process will have to be planned and monitored in advance to ensure a free and fair election result. One of the reasons for the Angolan failure was the fact that there were only 450 international "observers" (Namibia, with a much smaller population, had 6 000 Untag members with effective powers) who wanted to get it over as soon as possible.

Angolans went to the polls before the conditions were right and without unification of or joint control over private armies. The lessons are obvious: proper and comprehensive monitoring (with international assistance) and a binding and implemented deal on all the armed forces. Mr

Hernus Kriel's recent outburst against MK may be a true reflection of his own feelings; it definitely cannot form the basis on which to enter the elections.

The ANC alliance and the government were the parties more directly involved in the recent incidents of mass action and violence. These are, however, not the only parties to be accommodated. Many others have the potential to derail the process. The lesson of two weeks ago points towards the need for vision and proactive initiatives, not post facto responses. A comprehensive and imaginative deal will have to be worked out together and implemented in a manner which will involve all the relevant players.

Compromises

Our negotiations have to produce a new constitution — containing the rules on which to build stability, democracy and eventually economic development. But the outcome of negotiations will be compromises between differing views. No single party will bring home the first prize. Expectations will have to be lowered.

The sooner South Africans experience some form of joint rule and meaningful co-operation the better the prospect of producing tangible results and of achieving this difficult objective.

Extremists will try to frustrate these efforts. We shall have to demonstrate that the moderate option can work, that it is the only realistic alternative.

□ Professor Erasmus teaches in the Law Faculty at the University of Stellenbosch.

before the elections!

The star
29-04-93
**ANC anger
over death of
psychologist**

NELSPRUIT — The ANC's eastern Transvaal region has condemned the burning to death of KaNgwane clinical psychologist, Moses Silangu, earlier this week.

Travelling in his official vehicle marked with red crosses, Sihlangu was stopped by a group of youths who stoned his car and petrol bombed it.

ANC publicity secretary Jackson Mthembu, yesterday described the killing as barbaric, and said it had been performed by "criminals and thugs".

Many ANC-affiliated organisations condemned the killing and also condemned what was described as the unprovoked murder of Michael Nkambule — a pupil at the Khaliphani Secondary School who was shot dead allegedly by members of the police on April 2. — Lowveld Bureau.

16/1/11

MK, SADF units 'can remain in new army'

CITIZEN 29-04-93

UMKHONTO we Sizwe and traditional South African Army units, such as the Transvaal Scottish and Pretoria Highlanders, could remain intact within an integrated new defence force.

This is according to the co-ordinator of the Military Research Group and a former MK member, Dr Rocky Williams.

He addressed a Johannesburg seminar

yesterday on the concept of a volunteer defence force as opposed to conscription.

The seminar was attended by prominent academics, members of political parties and representatives of MK and the SADF.

Dr Williams outlined a scenario of an integrated defence force consisting of a small professional army core, supplemented by volun-

teer units.

He said a new defence force, acceptable to all South Africans, would attract volunteers because of the high rate of unemployment in the country.

The Military Research Group is funded by foreign organisations and aims to stimulate debate on defence issues pertinent to a new political dispensation.
— Sapa.

16/1/11

ANC 3 probed for 'inflammatory' talk

CITIZEN 29-04-93

PARLIAMENT. — Consequent on investigations now being undertaken by the police it was possible that Mrs Winnie Man-

dela, Mr Peter Moka-ba and Mr Tony Yengeni could be prosecuted for their inflammatory utterances, State President De

Klerk said yesterday.

Speaking in State President's Question Time, he said some of the recent statements by the three ANC figures could amount to a crime in terms of existing legislation.

All three were subject of a police investigation being carried out in close co-operation with Attorneys-General.

A similar investigation

was being carried out into statements by AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche, and into whether he broke the law by displaying a weapon in public.

Mr De Klerk said all political spokesmen in SA should refrain from making inflammatory statements. The situation in the country was such that an irresponsible word could lead to violence. — Sapa.

Acting Administrator

THE Transvaal MEC for Social Service, Dr Willie Hoods, will act as Administrator of Transvaal for 10 days while the Administrator, Mr Danie Hough, is in Europe.

Mr Hough said in a statement released in Pretoria yesterday that he would be on a private visit to Europe from April 28 to May 7.

16/1/11

Mandela, convince me to stay in SA

CITIZEN 22-04-93

OPEN letter to Mr Mandela:

You are alienating the "middle of the road" citizens of this country, Black and White, Coloured and Indian.

We were content to accept whatever came out of Codesa. Now, through manipulating tragic circumstances, you have unilaterally decided that you will rule this country, after bankrupting it.

Your strikes and "mass action" will bring this country to its knees and then you will take over. Your followers will be dumped into total poverty that will make Ethiopia look like a banquet.

Let me tell you, Mr Mandela, that I and most of the "middle of the

road" types will not stay to watch you destroy this country.

I will leave this country and make my life work somewhere else. I will not do this because I don't like the country, because I do. I love this country and I wish I could stay.

You say that you need the White people to stay and make this country work. What assurances can you give me that my family will be safe in this country because you are unable to control your followers?

If you come into power, will you abide by the promises that you make now, or is your rhetoric aimed at instilling a false sense of security into gullible people to gain votes?

Are you prepared to make a commitment to people like myself that will convince me to remain here — a commitment that is legally enforceable if need be?

When are you going to tell us what your plans are for your "New South Africa?" State your policies — then we can decide if we are prepared to stay. We need to know now, before you close the borders to prevent us from leaving.

As things stand now, I and many like me are already exploring overseas possibilities, before it is too late.

Convince me to stay, Mr Mandela!

PACKING FOR PARIS
Lyttelton

16/1/11

Be thankful for Tambo, Mandela and Sisulu

THE year was 1960. Sharpeville had just exploded and South Africa was in turmoil. I met Oliver Tambo, then deputy president of the ANC, in Cape Town. Tambo invited my opinion on whether the Unlawful Organisations Act, of which the then government had given notice, signified that this was how far the Verwoerd administration would go for the time being.

I suggested that the Act contained little that was not already available in the Suppression of Communism Act and that the Bill's main purpose, therefore, was to embarrass the United Party opposition. The conclusion I drew from this was that further measures against the ANC could be expected. Tambo returned immediately to Johannesburg, and on the instructions of the ANC leadership left the country to establish the organisation in exile.

A few days later, the government declared a state of emergency and took almost 2 000 leaders and activists into detention. If Tambo had been present he would have been one of the detainees. The Unlawful Organisations Act was passed, and both the ANC and PAC were banned.

In a tape-recorded interview in London on July 31 1983, Tambo — who lived in Muswell Hill not far from my house in Highgate — recalled with a chuckle my contribution to his departure for exile. The acknowledgement gave me little pleasure. In 30 years of exile, Tambo literally worked himself to death.

When Sharpeville exploded, many prominent South Africans, business leaders in particular, but also some Dutch Reformed Church ministers, implored the government to modify its policies. The fanatical Dr Verwoerd brushed them aside. Twenty-five years later, after the 1984 unrest,

the same organisations were still making the same appeals. It took South Africa 30 years after Sharpeville to come to its senses.

I shall never forget that interview with Tambo, as he regretfully shook his head, and said: "I think South Africa is lucky to have an organisation like the ANC. I really think they are. It will be a non-racial force ... the majority of people in South Africa will have to come round, and they will be looking for a new kind of society, and not a polarisation. The bitterness of the struggle will diminish support for the regime. I think it must."

Tambo, of course, belonged to the old school of ANC leaders, which includes Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu — remarkable men, in their wise and tolerant guidance. White South Africans indeed can count themselves lucky, not only that men such as these held the reins of power for so long.

but that they have been able to rear a new generation of ANC leaders trained in the same tradition of tolerance.

If white South Africans really want to know what race strife can be like, they should wait until Winnie and Peter Mokaba start their ritual fire dance.

In my lengthy interview with Tambo, he stressed the same point again and again: that the ANC pursued non-violence for as long as it possibly could. For 12 years, from the National Party's accession to power in 1948, it doggedly refused to resort to violence.

"Never had there been a more violent regime in South Africa," said Tambo, "but we stuck to our non-violence. As the years went by, the violence increased. We saw more and more of armed police — pistols at first, then sten guns, then the tanks came on. The whole situation was becoming very militarised."

Even after Sharpeville, the ANC decided to continue with non-violence. It called for a national convention to write a new constitution, and in 1961 embarked on civil disobedience, beginning with a national strike.

The government then mobilised the army "on a scale not seen since World War 2 ... the army had left its barracks and we knew then that the army had reached the end of the road of non-violence. We couldn't take it further than that, if the army was now involved. Police were no longer sufficient. It was then that we decided to embrace violence as a method of struggle," he told me.

Even then, "the strict rule was that the sabotage must be done in such a way that there must be no injury to life at all ... I recall the office of some Cabinet Minister in Pretoria could not be attacked because he happened to be there".

In the mid-1980s, when Chris Hani and Steve Tshwete began to attack "soft targets", Tambo publicly repudiated them.

South Africa's white leaders came to their senses in 1990, but even now there are still some who absurdly accuse the ANC of "mob violence". The ANC can be held responsible for unleashing a beast in its lair when it called on the townships to make South Africa ungovernable, but not to recognise that now, as a government-in-waiting, it has nothing to gain by mob rule, is crass.

Tambo's words are as true today as they were when I spoke to him in 1983 — that white South Africans can count themselves lucky that they are dealing with an organisation such as the ANC. It fumbled and foundered on its return from exile, but it is a more mature movement today, and for white South Africans not to recognise this is wilful blindness. □

16/1/11

The Star
29-04-93

Hani probe: man surrenders

By Anna Louw
East Rand Bureau

The investigation into the assassination of SACP general-secretary Chris Hani took a dramatic turn yesterday when Keith Darroll (33) surrendered in Cape Town after being sought by the police for nearly a week.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Brigadier Frans

Malherbe yesterday said Darroll, who is said to have strong right-wing connections, was being detained for questioning "somewhere in the Cape Peninsula".

Malherbe said no further details would be released about Darroll's detention at this stage.

It was confirmed Darroll was being held in terms of the Criminal Procedures

Act.

People in Cape Town who know Darroll well said he had told them he had very good contacts in Germany and that he planned to emigrate to that country.

Another man said he saw Darroll driving a car with a neo-Nazi sticker

According to police information, Darroll has been doing freelance work lately.

16/1/11

ANC's message called 'arrogant'

Dave Dalling's message from the ANC has been described as "arrogant" in Parliament. **MARTIN CHALLENGER** reports.

CAPE TOWN: The African National Congress yesterday sent a message to the staff of Parliament: stay, we need your skills to build a legitimate Parliament.

This was conveyed by Dave Dalling, the ANC-aligned MP for Sandton, in the debate on Parliament's budget. He was attacked by the Chief Whip of Parliament,

Alex van Breda.

Mr Dalling said that when the ANC became the majority party in Parliament, this would impact on Parliamentary procedures and staff.

"ANC thinking on these aspects of the new South Africa must therefore be of more than casual interest to us all."

Parliamentary staff were not part of the Public Service, and provided a unique service to MPs.

"It would be an unwise majority which tried to turn the Parliamentary staff structure upside down overnight. Any new majority will have to seek a good working relationship with the existing personnel," Mr Dalling said.

But there would be changes. "Principled affirmative action will be applied in the recruitment for the first time of black South Africans into all levels of Parliamentary service.

"The ANC will look to develop a Parliamentary staff structure which in the future will more closely reflect the broader community," Mr Dalling said.

"We are going to need the skills of every current staff member in the building of a legitimate and democratic Parliament in the new non-racial, non-sexist South Africa," Mr Dalling said.

Chief Whip Mr van Breda described Mr Dalling's speech as typical ANC arrogance. Its message to the staff was just "behave yourself".

Pending election seen as a huge operation

CAPE TOWN: At least 70 000 policemen and soldiers would have to be on duty on the day South Africans go to the polls to elect a democratic, non-racial government, says Peter Gastrow, Democratic Party MP for Durban Central.

He was speaking in Parliament yesterday in an interpellation he tabled on the role of observers during the election campaign.

With a possible 21 million voters, Mr Gastrow described the pending election day as a massive operation.

During the campaign, on any one day, there would be scores of

Political Correspondent

meetings. Thousands of policemen and observers would have to be busy in all parts of the country to ensure that the election campaign was peaceful.

On election day there would be 7 000 polling stations. Each polling station would need 10 law enforcement officers, and at least 10 observers. This would mean 70 000 policemen and soldiers, and 70 000 observers. The observers would comprise 21 000 international observers, 21 000 South African observers and 28 000 ob-

servers from the political parties. Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said the Government would be completely open about the election. The Government alone would not decide these issues. They had to be negotiated at the multi-party talks.

The acceptance and credibility of the election result would be just as important as the election result itself, he said.

Any doubt over the result would lead to more instability and uncertainty than before.

The election should be experienced as free and fair by all, Mr Schutte said.

EDUCATION FEATURE *Fort Hare rector is facing opposition from the left and right*

DR SIBUSISO BENGU became Fort Hare's new vice-chancellor and rector in mid-1991, 30 years after he was refused admission on the grounds that he was a Zulu.

When he took over from white administrators, campus dynamics shifted considerably. Here, for the first time, was a rector whose political views largely mirrored the majority of the students'.

Other key positions were taken by similarly enlightened individuals — among them Zimbabwean professor Vincent Vera, deputy registrar (academic) — and ANC NEC member Arnold Stofile, who took over as public relations head.

And so the bush college of old was transformed into a little liberated haven of academia, a vibrant, happy centre of learning...

And yet, and yet. Things are not so simple. The administration, although broadly supported by staff and students, is under fire from the right and left. Both residual conservative elements within the teaching fraternity and sections of the student body view Bengu and his team with suspicion.

Difficult to accept

A number of white staffers find it difficult to accept black control. ("Some of them feel it is too early for blacks to run anything," says Vera).

On the left, students belonging to the Pan Africanist Students Organisation feel threatened by what they see as an ANC administration.

The students in the middle — the majority of them ANC-aligned to various degrees — find themselves in the unusual position of having to choose between supporting the suits and retain-

Black control

■ **POLITICAL HOTBED** *Fort Hare is hamstrung by political ideologies:*

ing their traditional role of uncompromising militancy.

A number of problems relating to registration, accommodation and dining facilities has been troubling students for some time. A shortage of accommodation meant some were placed in crowded, impromptu spaces. A handful of students were not properly registered, not having paid the minimum initial tuition fee.

Some students were providing shelter for non-students. Some of these "squatters" have reportedly been linked to recent armed clashes between ANC and PAC supporters in nearby Fort Beaufort.

Rumours spread that some may have been Azanian People's Liberation Army members, using the campus as a hideout to plan and launch attacks. (Paso students call each other by titles such as "commissar, chief of staff, etc", noted Stofile. "Whether it's just student rhetoric or real military designations, one doesn't know.")

Occasionally, shots were fired on campus at night. In an effort to restore control, the university introduced a system of tighter control over food

distribution — to the chagrin of some students.

The SRC was mandated to take up the matter with the administration. SRC official Jaycee Montoedi said the issue was on the verge of being resolved when a group of students took matters into their own hands.

On March 19 a mob of male students, allegedly accompanied by non-student "criminal element" squatters, broke into a kitchen complex, stole R250 000 worth of food and damaged equipment.

Identified and suspended

Fifteen students were identified and suspended. At a mass meeting students decided the suspensions had been unfair and that the entire student body should accept responsibility for the damage and losses.

A class boycott followed and incidents of intimidation of non-boycotters were reported. Finally, on March 24, the administration acted, shutting down the campus a fortnight early.

Last week students were invited to return for the new term, on condition each signed a form undertaking to uphold the law and obey regulations.

‘If they weren’t satisfied with things, they should have called the administration’

Nehawu officials

Montoedi said the SRC supported crime-combating measures taken, and "wouldn't object to raids of hostels by campus security — but not police — and confiscation of illegal weapons".

Kitchen staff and security guards are among some 950 Nehawu members on the campus, and were also affected by the students' misconduct.

"If they weren't satisfied with things, they should have called the administration and others, as they used to do in the past," Nehawu officials said.

The ANC-leaning South African Students Congress believes the problems resulted from "serious covert and overt endeavours to cause chaos and disruption".

Media officer Tando Nyati made no bones about the alleged culprits: "Members of Paso have a consistent history and political programme of attempting to prove that Bengu's management is inefficient and therefore has to be replaced".

Paso's national deputy president, Eugene Motati, said Paso was against students "taking the law into their own hands", did not oppose "crime-combating measures", and did "not believe it is necessary for any student to carry a gun".

And the phrase "Paso by day, Apla by night"? Paso representatives simply responded: "It's a slogan".

Motati described Bengu's administration as "inefficient and ineffective" and he repeated Paso's call — made last year — for it to be probed by a commission of inquiry.

However, it is clear Paso's antipathy towards Bengu goes beyond suspicions of mismanagement. The Africanist students feel they are targeted for their beliefs.

"Fort Hare is being governed as an ANC institution. Sometimes the administration reminds us of previous regimes on campus. We predict a worsening situation and more confrontation," Motati warned.

The Fort Hare administration is learning that firm action may have to be taken at times, difficult though it may be.

"We know students are visionaries, looking for a Utopian environment," chuckled Vera.

"They take one course in Marxism, then want to come and tell us what Marx was all about. But not so long ago we were students ourselves. We can and do learn from them too." — Ecna.

One in four Sandton residents is black X

ABOUT a quarter of Sandton's population is black, a Sandton Town Council population survey has shown.

The survey was conducted by the HSRC on behalf of the council to gather information on local demographics, data on domestic employees, perception of services provided by the council, and future expectations regarding council services.

It was intended to be a guide for urban planning.

The survey has found that domestic workers made up more than 20% of Sandton's population. Many had been living in the town as long as their employers.

Domestic worker employment was high. About 90% of households interviewed retained one or more people, and almost 60% of these lived on the property.

Most were black women who regarded Sandton as their home, the survey said.

"While many do have obligations to people outside the Witwatersrand metropolitan region, there is strong evidence suggesting that they are integrated into a social network that revolves around their life in Sandton," the survey said.

GAVIN DU VENAGE

The survey found that domestic workers would place increasing demands on social infrastructure such as schools, clinics and recreation facilities. The survey added it was clear that the council should be planning to meet these demands.

The survey also showed that most of other Sandtonians were English-speaking (90%) and wealthy. Average yearly income was R155 000 and private home ownership was more than 90%.

Almost 1 200 interviews with people living in townhouses, flats and houses were conducted for the survey.

Level of education was high, with more than 60% having post-matric qualifications. Many were employed in professions and held managerial positions.

Main concerns were crime, security, the lack of public transport, and office development within the town.

The survey showed that residents wanted more council funds directed to public transport and street lighting, as well as to environmental issues.

Referendum 'could open the way'

A NATIONAL referendum could solve the impasse at multiparty negotiations, Idasa director Van Zyl Slabbert said on Tuesday.

Sapa reports that he said posturing by negotiators at multiparty talks would make it more difficult to obtain a government of national unity. A referendum would help to speed up the process and prevent a national tragedy.

Our political staff reports that Inkatha rejected Slabbert's suggestion of a national referendum on the question of a government of national unity. Inkatha said a referendum on the form of government would be more appropriate.

Inkatha information centre spokesman Peter Smith said while it noted "with interest" Slabbert's suggestion, Inkatha believed the fundamental impasse facing the country was whether SA should be a unitary or a federal state.

Government spokesman Dave Steward said government had no intention of calling a national referendum. The emphasis was on multiparty talks and reaching agreement on key issues leading to the appointment of a transitional executive council.

Schooling collapsed in Soweto in '92 — report

VANDALISM, arson, fighting, rape and murder on school premises were among the reasons for 1992 being a year of lost opportunities for many black pupils, the Department of Education and Training (DET) said in its annual report.

The report, released yesterday, said black schooling in Johannesburg had collapsed. More than 16 000 instances of disruptions took place throughout the country, and 11-million pupil days were lost.

It was disturbing that 217 instances of violence occurred on school grounds. Battles between political groups and the use of violence were important causes of these violent incidences, the report claimed.

The suspension of classes following these incidences caused 26 schools to close down for almost 17 weeks.

An analysis of the disruptions showed that 23% of cases occurred in the Johannesburg region, and almost 17% in townships on the East Rand. These were also the two regions where the lowest pass rates in matric exams were recorded.

The report said that by September it had become apparent that normal education in the region had become an impossibility.

"It would appear that the spirit of resis-

KATHRYN STRACHAN

tance, rebellion, disruption and eventually, anarchy, which has been nurtured in Soweto since 1976, has led to the collapse of education in Soweto. The generation of pupils of 1976, 1981 and 1985/86, many of whom have become teachers themselves, have never known a role model of order and normality," the report claimed.

"One could contend that the fruits of unrest in schools in 1976 have fully ripened and are now delivering their awful results. The lawlessness, preached also by teachers in Soweto over the past four years, has finally overtaken its instigators.

"Pupils can hardly be disciplined, and violence and disruption have become so frequent that the culture of learning is lying in tatters."

The report said education was one of the fastest growing state services, but it was known that the sources of state revenue were insufficient to meet all expectations.

Reconstructing education in Soweto was a priority for the department this year, but this would not succeed if education continued to be used as a chess piece in political moves, the report claimed.

Mass action to go ahead if govt fails to meet demands

THE ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance said yesterday it would press ahead with plans for mass action unless government met its demands by the end of May.

The alliance said it believed finality had to be reached on an election date, a transitional executive council and joint control of the security forces.

It said if government acted "irresponsibly" and continued to drag its feet beyond May, "a complete review of the negotiations will have to take place".

The organisations added that unless government met their May deadline, a programme of action, which would include a boycott of taxes and national strikes, would be embarked upon.

The first phase had begun with regional actions. These included consumer boycotts, marches, demonstrations and occupations. The far right would be made a special target of regional mass action, including consumer boycotts, as

WILSON ZWANE

well as international campaigns against those supporting them abroad.

May Day would launch these regional programmes and alliance speakers would address more than 70 rallies countrywide.

Our Cape Town correspondent reports that ANC regional chief Tony Yengeni said yesterday that the alliance would include a consumer boycott in its mass action campaign in the western Cape.

Speaking at a May Day rally news conference yesterday he said: "We are still in the process of finalising our mass action plans for the western Cape but you can rest assured that consumer boycotts figure high on the agenda."

Yengeni did, however, give his assurance that consumer boycott action would not simply be directed at all white-owned businesses. "We will focus on specific areas of business," he said.

Yengeni said the mass

action campaign would also be focused at the grass roots level of specific areas of power, such as local government, health services and the education crisis.

Our Durban correspondent reports that Natal is bracing for a month-long deluge of marches, rallies and city blockades by the alliance.

No stayaways have been planned yet.

Maritzburg looks set to become the focus of most of the rolling mass action, beginning with a lunchtime memorial service in Market Square in the city at noon today to mark the death of the ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo.

The events of the past three turbulent weeks have given impetus for what the alliance calls "the final push" beginning on Workers' Day.

□ Sapa reports from Cape Town that President F W de Klerk said a rolling mass action programme was in order as long as it was conducted with great responsibility.

ANC 3 probed for 'inflammatory' talk

PARLIAMENT. — Consequent on investigations now being undertaken by the police it was possible that Mrs Winnie Man-

dela, Mr Peter Moka-ba and Mr Tony Yengeni could be prosecuted for their inflammatory utterances, State President De

Klerk said yesterday.

Speaking in State President's Question Time, he said some of the recent statements by the three ANC figures could amount to a crime in terms of existing legislation.

All three were subject of a police investigation being carried out in close co-operation with Attorneys-General.

A similar investigation

was being carried out into statements by AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche, and into whether he broke the law by displaying a weapon in public.

Mr De Klerk said all political spokesmen in SA should refrain from making inflammatory statements. The situation in the country was such that an irresponsible word could lead to violence. — Sapa.

Murder suspect dies in Natal shootout

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Police tracking three killers who shot dead a man in his Winklespruit home on Natal's south coast early yesterday came under "heavy fire" from residents in the nearby Umgababa area who thought they were being attacked.

Hearing the exchange of gunfire between police and the three suspects, residents began shooting, forcing police to take cover. In a subsequent shootout with police one of the suspects was killed.

Earlier, Desmond Badenhorst, 34, was shot dead at his home. The suspects stole a hi-fi set, video recorder and some clothes. Some of the items were recovered.

Durban murder and robbery detectives have begun a major manhunt for the remaining suspects.

A search involving 100 policemen and soldiers is also on for Camperdown farmer Alex Kalafatis, 45, whom police believe was abducted from his farmhouse by gunmen early on Tuesday. A R20 000 reward has been offered for information leading to Kalafatis's whereabouts.

A man suspected of murdering farmer's wife Sandra Swanepoel at Letsitele near Tzaneen in the northern Transvaal yesterday was shot dead by police while resisting arrest, a police spokesman said. Three other suspects were arrested and two AK-47s and a 9mm Tokarev pistol confiscated.

Swanepoel, 37, was shot dead in her bedroom after her husband Johannes was at-

tacked outside their house.

Sapa reports that six men were remanded after appearing briefly in the Durban Magistrate's Court yesterday in connection with a gang shooting in which four people died at the weekend. The six, of Maphumulu near Durban, were arrested soon after residents in the Tongaat area were terrorised on Saturday night.

East Rand police have arrested two more suspects in connection with Monday night's Kattlehong attack on Worldwide Television News cameraman Sam Msibi.

Police spokesman Maj Ida van Zweel said murder and robbery unit members arrested the two men after Msibi's car was found in Thokoza. Six men were arrested earlier in connection with the incident, in which Msibi was shot five times. All eight suspects are to appear in the Alberton Magistrate's Court today.

In the Border region, a suspect in last Thursday's murder of Det-Sgt Ian Richardson of East London was shot dead by police and a second suspect arrested.

Meanwhile, Cape Town town clerk Graham Lawrence said Khayelitsha's municipal services would be suspended as guarantees of safety for council workers appeared to have been ignored.

Khayelitsha traffic chief Graham Bell and a colleague were injured when their vehicle was stoned by crowds yesterday, and a lorry was set alight.

New CP leader to be elected at congress

Political Correspondent
CAPE TOWN. — The special Conservative Party congress to elect a successor to Dr Andries Treurnicht as leader of the party, will be held in Pretoria on May 15.

All indications are that Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg will be elected unopposed to lead the party in future.

Dr Hartzenberg is at present deputy chairman of the party's Head Council. In terms of the

CP constitution, there is no office of "deputy leader", although this title is normally applied by the media to Dr Hartzenberg.

The party's leader is also chairman of the Head Council, and a new deputy chairman must also be elected in place of Dr Hartzenberg.

The two names most frequently mentioned for this post are those of Dr Pieter Mulder, MP

for Schweizer-Reneke and head of the party's media group, and Mr Schalk Pienaar, MP for Potgietersrus and CP spokesman on law and order.

Since the special congress will be attended by a maximum of 10 representatives from each constituency organisation of the CP, the choice of a deputy chairman will be made by a fairly large number of delegates from throughout the country.

May Day rallies to honour workers' struggle: ANC

THE African National Congress alliance is to hold mass May Day rallies throughout the country on Saturday "in honour of the working class' struggle for freedom, peace and economic reconstruction".

Tripartite leaflets were circulated yesterday calling for the establishment of a transitional executive council, a date for elections "now", joint control of the security forces, an end to violence, and jobs, housing, health care and food "for all".

All rallies except a few in the eastern Cape are to start at 9am.

Rally venues in the PWV area and the Transvaal include: Jabulani Stadium, Soweto; Alexandra Stadium, Alexandra; Krugersdorp Stadium, Krugersdorp; Kwa-Thema Stadium, Kwa-Thema, Springs; Vereeniging Civic Centre, Vaal Triangle; Ramosa Stadium, Potchefstroom; Kana Stadium, Klerksdorp; Khutsong Stadium, Carletonville; Belebela,

Warmbaths; Medunsa, Garankuwa; Olimpia Stadium, Rustenburg; Mahwelereng Stadium, Potgietersrus, and University Stadium, Thohoyandou, Venda.

In the Western Cape the alliance is to dedicate its May Day rallies to the late Mr Oliver Tambo and Mr Chris Hani at the Athlone Stadium near Cape Town, with other rallies in Oudtshoorn, Atlantis, Namaqualand and Worcester.

Northern Cape and Free State rallies will include Seiso Ramabodu Stadium, Bloemfontein; Galeshewe Stadium, Kimberley; Wrenchville Stadium, Kuruman; Tshiya Stadium, Harri-smith, and at as yet unnamed venues at Kroonstad and Ficksburg.

In the Eastern Cape the proceedings will start at 10am at venues in Dan Qeqe Stadium, Port Elizabeth; Jabavu Stadium,

Uitenhage; Community Hall, Graaff-Reinet, and the Fort Beaufort and Grahamstown stadiums. The East London rally starts at 9am in the Sisa Dukashe Stadium.

Northern and southern Natal rallies will be held at Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Ladysmith, Vryheid, Port Shepstone and Kokstad. No venues were given.

A rally is also to be held at Pitso Ground in Maseru, Lesotho, and at the Phuthaditjhaba Stadium Qwa Qwa.

Rallies will also be held in Oudtshoorn, Atlantis, Namaqualand and Worcester, and will focus on demands for a date for democratic elections, joint control of the security forces, and a reconstruction pact outlining the economic policies of a

democratic government.

• The African National Congress did not want to promote mass action which created a mob of unruly stone throwers and alienated people from the movement. ANC western Cape region secretary-general Tony Yengeni said yesterday.

He was commenting on the region's May Day programme and said the movement wanted the type of mass action which would win it more supporters.

"We don't want a big mob running around throwing stones. We want a situation where we can take our message to the people so they understand our political objectives." — Supa.

Industrial
action
as well

ROW OVER TAX BOYCOTT THREAT

By Charlotte James

THE ANC/SA Communist Party/Congress of South African Trade Unions alliance yesterday threatened a tax boycott and national industrial action if the government did not accede to its demands by the end of May.

Minister of Constitutional Development and Communication, Mr Roelf Meyer, reacted by saying the government would not be threatened by "demand politics".

The tripartite alliance's threat was also condemned by the National Party, the Conservative Party, the Inkatha Free-

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Row over tax boycott threat

FROM PAGE 1

dom Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

At a summit yesterday, the alliance confirmed that finality had to be reached on a date for election to a constituent assembly, the setting up of the Transitional Executive Council and joint control of the security forces by the end of May.

"It was agreed that if the May deadline was not met, a programme of unprecedented mass action would be embarked on," the alliance said.

"Proposals for this action were discussed, including a possible boycott of taxes and national industrial action. These proposals have been referred to the constitutional structures of the alliance, and will be finalised at an alliance strategising meeting scheduled to take place before the end of May.

"The first phase of our programme of action has already begun to unfold, with regional actions being launched in many parts of the country.

"These actions include regional and local consumer boycotts, marches, demonstrations, occupations, etc. These actions are aimed both at breaking the political deadlock on the central political issues outlined above, as

well as addressing the obstacles to free political activity existing in various parts of the country.

"Mass action is being embarked on wherever repressive means are being used to restrict our people's right to organise and assemble, including in the Bantustans, rural towns and mines."

The alliance said:

"It was agreed that a national crisis had arisen since the assassination of Comrade Chris Hani, and that decisive action was needed to propel the country away from the abyss and towards an urgent political settlement," an alliance statement said.

The negotiations process would have to be completely reviewed if the government continued to drag its feet beyond May.

Mr Meyer said: "The government is progressing with negotiations according to their time scales, according to which an election date and principles for the transitional government should be in place by the end of May," he said.

IFP national chairman and negotiating council member, Dr Frank Mdlalose, said the IFP completely rejected any threats.

"I think it is unfortunate to resort to mass ac-

tion which they know will bring confrontation and violence," he said.

"The barrel of a gun is being pushed against the heads of the government and other parties.

"I cannot accept it. I would rather face the consequences than acquiesce to such pressure," he said.

Head of the Conservative Party's negotiating team, Mr Tom Langley, said the statement was "out of pace with the spirit of the negotiations".

Threatening with mass action is equal to intimidation, and intimidation is a form of violence," he said.

"They want to get a process going where they appear to have legally obtained power. They are blackmailing the government to hand over power.

"Now I am waiting to see what the government will do? Will they succumb or will they break off negotiations?"

NP media director, Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk (Randburg), said it was quite clear the alliance was embarking on a party political campaign to inject new life into their election campaign.

"They have mixed up the election campaign, on the one hand, and the negotiating process on the other," he said.

"No matter what assur-

ances they give, it is difficult to control mass action, as we saw after the death of Mr Chris Hani.

"There are elements in the alliance, like the SACP, whose interests in mass action could develop into something more than peaceful."

Democratic Party MP for Gardens, Mr Ken Andrew, who is the party's spokesman on finance, said "parties that want negotiations to reach a speedy and successful conclusion should devote their time and attention to finding common ground and encouraging the spirit of co-operation and compromise".

"Belligerent threats from any quarter may comfort militant supporters but jeopardise negotiation prospects in the process."

Afrikaner Volksunie MP for Heilbron, Mr Cecil Pienaar, said people who made such statements did not understand how the country's economy worked.

"It will do so much harm to the economy, it will probably be irreparable, and the people who will suffer will be the ordinary people going about their daily chores," he said.

"It is irresponsible and tantamount to declaring war on the country and the economy."

Cosag perturbed by ANC, govt 'threats'

MMABATHO. — The Concerned South African Group (Cosag) said yesterday it was perturbed by threats to exclude "those allegedly retarding the negotiating process" from multiparty talks.

Bophuthatswana State Affairs Minister, Mr Rowan Cronje, said Cosag was perturbed by South African Government and African Nat-

ional Congress statements on Monday that those "allegedly retarding the process will not be tolerated".

"We ask, who will decide who will go and who will stay?" Mr Cronje said in a statement.

"Cosag is made up of 19 parties. We may not be the biggest players in the opinion of some, but collectively we represent

"millions of people."

Inkatha Freedom Party chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose, also said in the statement that the ANC and the government had "insulted the IFP by labelling them spoilers" because of their insistence that some issues, such as violence, be resolved before elections.

"We can have elections by the middle of next year. But first we must decide on the type of state, the constitution, and the issue of violence. Then we present our discussions to the people and if they approve we vote in a new government," said Dr Mdlalose.

"In this way we can avoid all the interim measures and five-year transitional rule proposed by the government and the ANC."

The Conservative Party's Mr Tom Langley said in the statement his party could not be accused of spoiling tactics.

"We are not there just to rubber-stamp decisions. A lot of energy went into getting all the players to the negotiating process and we want to participate," said Mr Langley. — Sapa.

Toti blast caused by Russian explosives

Crime Reporter

POLICE forensic experts have determined that the explosives used in the car-bomb blast which rocked Amanzimtoti on the Natal South Coast last Wednesday were of Russian origin.

A spokesman said the charge that exploded in the parking lot beneath the Sanlam Park block of flats was estimated at between 50 and 60 kg.

Nobody had been arrested in connection with the bomb blast, the spokesman said.

The car containing the explosives, a blue Toyota Conquest, belonged to Mrs Dolly Fuller of East London and was reported stolen on April 16, five days prior to the explosion.

Nobody was killed in the blast which occurred just before 11 am.

Nine people were hurt.

One of the injured was Mrs Janine Lubbe, who is pregnant and was busy at an auto-teller across the road from the block of flats.

Windows were shattered up to the 18th floor of the building and surrounding buildings also had windows blown out by the impact of the blast.

Mandela to call for investment

ANC President Nelson Mandela will urge more British investment in post-apartheid South Africa when he visits London next week, the ANC said yesterday.

"His message will be that as soon as the transitional executive council is in place and a date for an election is set, there should be additional British investment," said Mr Carl Niehaus, spokesman for the ANC.

The South African Government's chief democracy negotiator Roelf Meyer said on Sunday agreements on an election date and the framework for a transfer of White power to a non-racial government of national unity could be reached by the end of May.

Mr Mandela will ad-

dress a joint session of the British Parliament on Tuesday. His visit comes at a time of spiralling violence, soaring unemployment and plunging business confidence in South Africa.

"He will tell Parliament that South Africa should move towards democratic rule as fast as possible and that we (South Africans) have to deal with, and face, the problem of violence," Mr Niehaus said.

He said he expected the transitional council, which will effectively rule until the election, to be in place by June.

Britain, which for years resisted imposing draconian sanctions against the republic is the largest foreign investor in South Africa.

The most up-to-date figures available for trade between the two coun-

tries puts British imports to South Africa at \$1.8 billion (R5,8 million) compared to \$1,5 billion (R4,8 billion) in exports to the United Kingdom during 1991.

Mr David Graham, international division general manager at the South African Foreign Trade Organisation said Mr Mandela's appeal for investment would be a tremendous boost for international confidence in South Africa.

"It can only be a positive factor when a man of Mr Mandela's stature makes a call for investment," said Mr Graham.

Foreign and domestic investors have been alarmed by the ANC's call for a month-long civil disobedience campaign from May 1 to press its demands for the setting of an early election date.

— Sapa-Reuter.

Threat to invade White schools

THE Southern Transvaal branches of three Black education organisations say they will bring White education to a halt next month if the government does not agree to a National Education Forum.

National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC) regional general secretary, Mr Amon Msane, told a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday the NECC was planning a total disruption of education in all institutions "that support the status quo".

NECC members, together with members of the SA Students' Congress (SASCO) and the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) would invade classrooms and offices.

"We will sit on the floors . . . wherever there is place. We will fill the room . . . White education will be brought to a halt," he said.

Mr Msane, flanked by spokesmen for SASCO and COSAS, evaded several pointed questions about violent confrontation with White students and staff. The occupation would be peaceful, he said.

"There will be some violation of the rights of others, but we have no alternative."

The strategy was, by disrupting White schools, to draw attention to the chaotic situation in Black schools.

Mr Msane said the action would start on May 3 with consultation with White communities and would culminate on May

26 with the occupation of White schools, universities and education offices.

In reaction the National Peace Committee expressed concern that the planned occupation of White schools, or the threat of occupation, could lead to unnecessary tension and even violence.

NPC chairman Mr John Hall said: "It is common cause that the future of education in South Africa must be debated by all interested parties and it is my understanding that broad and inclusive consultation is very much part of the plan of the government."

"The method of achieving consultation lends itself to the formation of a national education forum," Mr Hall said. — Sapa.

Poll must be legitimate: Goldstone

CAPE TOWN. — All South Africans who wanted peace should ensure that the first non-racial election was legitimate, the Chairman of the Goldstone Commission, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, said yesterday.

"If the first election is not legitimate, we're in big trouble. Even if there

is violence and intimidation, the level should be such that it does not destroy the election's legitimacy," he said in an address to the Cape Town Press Club.

The commission was going to set up an inquiry into the potential for public violence and intimidation in a national election and would be following the same procedure as its investigation in mar-

ches and public gatherings.

It would be an important exercise in democracy and discipline, as submissions would be called for in which members of the public could express opinions on subjects including how meetings should be held and who should do the policing.

It was hoped submissions would also be made by political parties, the SAP, the departments of Justice and Home Affairs and international bodies in South Africa.

"We have asked them to say what they see as their role in the election and what the rules and regulations should be. The proposed Electoral Commission can then accept or reject these suggestions.

"It seems we have an important advantage in that we are able to cause the majority of players to debate the matter in public."

The input would then be examined by a panel of experts.

"We can perform an important service to the Electoral Commission if we can make recommendations which are the result of public debate and consultation."

He said people tended to honour agreements more readily when the agreements were reached after democratic consultation as had happened in the many peaceful marches and demonstrations that were held after the death of Mr Chris Hani.

— Sapa

TEC may go ahead despite agreement

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — The government may go ahead with plans for a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) in June even if full agreement has not been reached in the negotiation process by then, State President De Klerk told Parliament yesterday.

Mr De Klerk also made it clear to the ANC that he would not unilaterally reincorporate the TBVC states. This had to be achieved by agreement, he said.

During the fortnightly question and answer session in Parliament, Mr De Klerk said one of the major stumbling blocks to reincorporation was the ANC's refusal to accede to strong regional government.

He accused the ANC of attempts to force Ciskei and Bophuthatswana while it ignored the irresponsible actions of the Transkei.

Asked by Mr Hennie Bester, DP, Green Point, whether he would take alternative steps to create the TEC if no agreement was reached within six weeks, Mr De Klerk said he did not see six weeks as an absolute deadline.

"If after the six weeks, we are on the point of breakthrough, we would promote the breakthrough."

"But if it appears at the end of May or early in June that we are close to a deadlock, then the government will very seriously consider whether initiatives can be undertaken to allow the process to continue."

The government believed the TEC could be de-linked from other aspects of the negotiations. If the rest of the process had not been completed, the government was prepared to institute the TEC in terms of legislation.

Questioned about the hard-line attitude of Inkatha, Mr De Klerk said Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Inkatha were not his exclusive responsibility. All parties should help ensure they

were fully involved.

The government would continue in bilateral talks with the IFP to seek an end to differences or perceived obstacles.

Senior ANC spokesman in Parliament, Mr Dave Dalling, asked whether the government would use financially coercive measures against Bophuthatswana and Ciskei which, he said, were delaying the negotiation process.

"We have never threatened any of the four TBVC states with coercive steps with regard to giving up their independence. We are against unilateral action in that regard and we have made it clear all along."

Mr Dalling, as a representative of the ANC, clearly showed his prejudice against Bophuthatswana and the Ciskei, and by implication defended the irresponsible statements, actions and stance of the Transkei.

"If we want to coerce people into co-operation, then we are on the wrong road. We are committed to negotiation," Mr De Klerk said.

Haste could be made if the ANC committed itself to what the overwhelming majority of South Africans and the TBVC states wanted, namely, meaningful and entrenched powers for the regions.

"It is the mistrust as to what the role of regions will be which is causing a lot of the refusals, a lot of the suspicion, which is at the moment blocking progress in negotiation."

Describing Mr De Klerk's reply as "a petty attack on me", Mr Dalling asked whether the taxpayer should continue to foot the bill for "illegitimate governments

which are blocking progress".

Mr De Klerk said the TBVC states were legitimate in terms of South African constitutional law. Secondly, if they were reincorporated and became part of South Africa, the taxpayer would still have to foot the bill for all the services there, such as health and education.

"In that sense we are not going to save a penny or a cent by reincorporation. The expenses will increase and not decrease."

Responding to questions by Mr Douglas Gib-

son, DP Yeoville, Mr De Klerk said it was fundamentally important that new constitutional arrangements should be achieved by real negotiation and not by "storm tactics".

"Only then can we ensure that a new constitution will, right from the beginning, have the support of the overwhelming majority of the total population."

"We need to make sure that any new constitutional arrangements will not be a source of conflict, but a source of reconciliation."

THE CITIZEN, THURSDAY 29 APRIL 1993

Press freedom, safety on conference agenda

Citizen Reporter

PRESS freedom and the safety of members of the media were two issues that would be raised as topics for urgent attention and discussion at the multi-party conference which convenes tomorrow, co-chairman of the conference's negotiating council and negotiating forum, Mr Johannes Mahlangu, said yesterday.

During a visit yesterday to the home of SABC cameraman, Mr Dudley Saunders, who was injured during a mob attack in Sharpeville last week, Mr Mahlangu said attackers on journalists were very worrying, "especially when they are so needed to cover items of concern to the country".

Mr Saunders' colleague, CCV journalist, Mr Calvin Thusago, was killed during the attack on Friday. More recently, World Television News cameraman, Mr Sam Msihi, was shot five times when robbers stole his car in Tokoza on the East Rand.

Mr Mahlangu, Lebo-wa's Minister of Education and secretary-general of the United People's Front, said as a negotiator he was concerned about the situation and would call on the government and all parties involved in constitutional negotiations to support the need to protect journalists.

"They should have the freedom and right to cov-

er any incident as the public has a right to know what has happened," he said.

If journalists were continually attacked, many would become afraid to cover certain incidents, he said.

Mr Mahlangu said the recent attacks on journalists had to be condemned in the strongest possible terms.

"In a democracy the people have the basic right to be informed of the political events which influence their lives.

"Any attempt to interfere with the media's legitimate function of informing the citizens of the country of the events that

are busy shaping their future is a direct infringement of the rights for which so many committed democrats have been fighting for so long."

Mr Mahlangu said all parties involved in constitutional negotiations had to commit themselves to creating a culture of peaceful co-existence and tolerance.

"Such a culture can only exist if there is Press freedom and if journalists are able to fulfil their duties.

"Respect for the rights and safety of members of the media is a vital part of this move towards an ethic of respect for human rights in a free and democratic South Africa."

Meet demand or face action — alliance

Citizen Reporter

A TAX boycott and national industrial action were possible if the government did not meet the Tripartite Alliance's May deadline for an election date, joint control of the security forces and the setting up of a Transitional Executive Council, the alliance said yesterday.

A summit of the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance yesterday confirmed it would embark on "a programme of unprecedented mass action" if the May deadline was not met.

These proposals were referred to the constitutional structures of the alliance and would be finalised at a strategy meeting before the end of May.

"It was agreed that a national crisis had arisen since the assassination of

Comrade Chris Hani, and that decisive action was needed to propel the country away from the abyss and towards an urgent political settlement," an alliance statement said yesterday.

The negotiations process would have to be completely reviewed if the government continued to drag its feet beyond May.

"The government will not be allowed to hide behind the spoiling tactics of

the Cosag forces," it said.

Mass action, including regional and consumer boycotts, marches, demonstrations and occupations, aimed at breaking "the deadlock" on central political issues had begun to unfold in regions of the country.

"It is being embarked on wherever repressive means are being used to restrict our people's right to organise and assemble," the statement said.

Norwegian offer to tackle SA violence

CAPE TOWN — The Norwegian government has offered financial and technical assistance to set up an institute for the study of public violence under the umbrella of the Goldstone commission.

In addition to a financial grant, two highly skilled, internationally experienced consultants would be seconded to the violence-monitoring institute for the initial eight months.

Norwegian Foreign Minister Johan Jorgen Holst said in a statement yesterday that a mission was sent to SA last year to investigate the type of assistance which could be offered to address violence.

After consultations the mission had identified the need for a comprehensive computer-based information service to compile data on the incidents of public violence and intimidation. The institute would also increase the capacity of the Goldstone commission to carry out its mandate.

Judge Richard Goldstone expressed his appreciation for the assistance and emphasised the need for such a service. Holst believed efficient control of violence was necessary for holding free and fair elections for a constituent assembly.

Meanwhile, speaking at a Cape Town Press Club function yesterday, Goldstone said his commission of inquiry into ways of curbing violence and intimidation in the run-up to a general election would solicit the views of international experts.

LINDA ENSOR

A panel of SA and foreign experts would be appointed as Goldstone felt it would be foolish not to benefit from the experience of elections in Asia, Africa and even Europe.

This panel would evaluate representations made by local players and then make recommendations which could be negotiated between the players with the view to reaching an interim agreement.

The methods adopted in the inquiry into the rules and regulations governing marches and demonstrations would be applied. Goldstone said an advantage of this method of operation was that the major players were forced to debate the issues in public, which was an important lesson in discipline and democracy.

Submissions from the UN, EC, Commonwealth and the OAU on the possible role these organisations could play in the SA election had been requested. Goldstone said he also hoped for submissions from community organisations with grassroots support on the fears people had of the elections.

The inquiry's recommendations would be submitted to the independent electoral commission.

Goldstone said there had been no formal suggestion that the Goldstone commission become a permanent fixture of society after elections.

Parties set deadline for talks proposals

BILLY PADDOCK

POLITICAL organisations involved in multiparty negotiations have until this evening to submit proposals to speed up tomorrow's negotiations.

They also have to table their proposals on the planning committee's recommendations to form six technical committees to formulate draft legislation.

The planning committee is expected to meet well into the night to prepare all the documentation and collate the proposals for the negotiating council meeting tomorrow.

Negotiators were adamant that proper preparation should be done, and vowed that the meeting tomorrow would see progress.

Part of the agreement at Monday's talks, which failed to move beyond procedural matters, was that all parties fully acquaint themselves with the Codesa reports and hand in their proposals by 5pm today to the planning committee.

It was also agreed on Monday that because tomorrow's meeting was set to discuss constitutional issues, parties should prepare proposals well in advance to ensure time would not be wasted.

The recommendations from the planning committee was that six technical committees be set up to consider issues such as a transitional executive council, an independent media commission, armed formations, an independent telecommunications authority and an independent elections commission.

Tomorrow's meeting will also have to consider the planning committee's recommendation on violence, ways of strengthening the peace accord and the possibility of setting up a peace corps.

Parties will debate whether elections are necessary for interim structures.

They will also be dealing with the type of state a future SA will have, constitutional principles and the way forward for the transitional process.

Standoff over education forum demand

KATHRYN STRACHAN

GOVERNMENT says a national education forum will be launched soon, but the news has failed to avert the threatened occupation of white schools.

A range of education organisations said yesterday they would target white schools for mass occupation on May 26 unless government agreed to the immediate establishment of a negotiating forum.

The organisations are insisting the forum should have decision-making powers rather than the advisory role proposed yesterday by government.

National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC) southern Transvaal region, the SA Students Congress and the Congress of SA Students told a media briefing that white schools, training colleges and universities would be invaded and all classes disrupted. NECC spokesman Amon Msane said the plan to bring white education to a halt would be peaceful. He said there was no alternative to the plan; only when the education crisis spread to white schools would government take it seriously.

While Msane said schools and universities that sided with the organisations would not be targeted, Sasco spokesman Bigboy Tselane said Wits University could be targeted because it often contradicted its expressed nonracial principles.

National peace committee chairman John Hall said yesterday government was urgently trying to get consultations with all interested parties under way.

"It is common cause that the future of education in SA must be debated by all interested parties and it is my understanding that broad and inclusive consultation is very much part of the plan of government. The method of achieving consultation lends itself to the formation of a national education forum."

Last week the ANC distanced itself from the plan to disrupt white schools.

● See Page 2

Province faces weeks of marches

THE NATAL MERCURY

29 - 04 - 93

Mercury Reporters

NATAL could face a month-long series of marches, rallies and city blockades by the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance over the deaths of Chris Hani and Oliver Tambo, and Workers' Day on Saturday.

No stayaways have yet been planned but the alliance has threatened "drastic measures" if certain conditions are not met.

A lunchtime memorial service in Pietermaritzburg's Market Square is set for noon today to mark the death of the ANC national chairman.

The events of the past three turbulent weeks have given impetus to what the alliance calls "the final push" beginning on Workers' Day with two key demands — an election date and the immediate establishment of a transitional executive council.

Joint control over the security forces and peace efforts are also on the agenda.

The alliance announced in Johannesburg yesterday that if these demands were not met by the end of May, "a programme of unprecedented mass action would be embarked upon".

A Worker's Day rally will be addressed by Numsa president Moses Mayekiso at Edendale's Wadley Stadium on Saturday and next week a march to NPA headquarters at Natalia is planned. On Tuesday alliance supporters intend blockading the city.

Pickets at Alexandra police station and the military headquarters in Longmarket Street are planned for Wednesday, and on Thursday marchers to the Home Affairs office will demand efficient processing of ID documents.

Also on Thursday, the alliance is to march on the New Pietermaritzburg Prison to demand the release of Popcru members.

Four main rallies are scheduled for Sunday in Kwa Mashu, Umlazi, Inanda and Mpumalanga for Mr Tambo while Workers' Day rallies are planned for Saturday, at Currie's Fountain in Durban, Ladysmith, Newcastle, Port Shepstone, Kokstad and Matatiele.

Reaction to the memorial plans has been sympathetic, but the Pietermaritzburg chamber of commerce and industries and the Durban Regional Chamber of Business are seeking meetings to express concern over possible disruption.

Pietermaritzburg employers are to treat today as a normal working day.

ZIBA JIYANE comments

V NATAH. MERCURY Freedom must

29/04/93 be secured for one and all

IT IS one of the ironies of our time that some leaders dedicated to the cause of freedom for black people should deny those same black people freedom to choose, who to associate with, what to listen to, and what to believe.

For example, Mr Dan Mofokeng, regional head of the SA National Civic Association warned recently that "the people will use every tactic to prevent political activity by the (white) parties."

He argued that they were "not going to allow those parties to come to the townships and start discrediting the sons of our land who fought so hard for liberation".

I don't doubt that Mr Mofokeng, and many others who think like him, are committed to the cause of black liberation.

Indeed, many who think like him have spent years in jail, others have even lost their lives in the struggle.

What I question is their understanding and commitment to the type of democracy we all strive for in South Africa: multi-party democracy.

That knowledgeable persons may make various alternative choices available to ordinary people, is both expected and historically approved. Nothing entitles them, however, to usurp another person's right to make final judgements showing personal preferences from the available menu of political choices.

To exclude any political party from black townships violates the principle of political equality in two ways.

First, the excluded party is treated unequally; it is deprived the right to deserve political equality and freedom to choose. He implies that they are not fit for democracy.

But words promoting the exclusion of different political views are merely symptomatic examples of a serious malady afflicting South Africa's body politic: political intolerance and misunderstanding of what multi-party democracy entails.

I choose to discuss the latter problem because, in most cases, political intolerance results from misconceptions of what multi-party democracy means.

Only children, lunatics, and

other abnormal personalities, lack the capacity to judge authoritatively what is good for themselves. That is why these exceptions are not accorded the right to an equal opportunity to win adherents to its political perspective, in a free market of ideas.

If a political party could justifiably be excluded because it is a "white" party likely to "mislead our people", nothing, in principle would prevent the exclusion of other parties, black or white, for a similar reason.

Secondly, and more relevant to our argument, such arbitrary exclusions rob the township residents of the opportunity to hear all political perspectives, after which they can exercise their sovereign right to decide which one would best serve their interests.

Township residents deserve to be treated as political equals even before our country becomes fully democratic. On what prevalent principle of democracy can black Africans be held back in check until after a particular date.

What justification can one put forward in 1993 to stem the tide of democracy and liberation?

We must be totally consistent in our fight for political equality.

We cannot condemn the racist principle of apartheid that certain persons should be a "master race" over some other normal adult citizens only to allow part of the black community to appoint itself to a "master caste" which arbitrarily dictates what black people ought to believe, who to listen to, and who to associate with.

I would sincerely like to believe that those worthy countrymen who dedicated their lives to freedom and equality of the oppressed cannot now be seen as treating blacks as if they do not deserve political equality.

All of us who aspire to a truly democratic South Africa should speak out now, before it is too late.

Dr Ziba Jiyane is a senior lecturer in the Department of Political Science and Public Administration at the University of Zululand, and also a regular lecturer at the Institute of Multi Party Democracy workshops.

Tutu urges reparation for evils of apartheid

By Brendan Templetton

Reparations for apartheid would be necessary if South Africa were truly to move to a democratic society, a panel which included Archbishop Desmond Tutu said last night.

The conclusions were made at the inauguration of the Students for Human Rights society at the University of the Witwatersrand. The panel included Lawyers for Human Rights director Brian Curran and ANC negotiator Frene Ginwala.

"To ignore the past is to allow it to return to haunt you, and to deal with it inadequately is a sure recipe for it to re-emerge somewhere else," Tutu said.

While all South Africans had to congratulate President de Klerk on the brave steps he took in February 1990, it was necessary that more

steps were taken.

"We all want reconciliation, but some people seem to think reconciliation comes cheaply. Reconciliation depends on forgiveness. Forgiveness depends on confession and confession depends on contrition," Tutu said.

To show that the desire for reconciliation was genuine, it would be necessary for those who gained from apartheid to make reparations.

Ginwala said it was necessary for everyone to construct a new society after free elections.

Curran said taking away apartheid laws was merely like removing the scaffolding from a building. The scaffolding of apartheid may be removed, but the squat monument would remain. It was necessary to remove the monument of apartheid and all the evil it contained.

Clashes claim 60 lives

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — More than 60 people have died in ongoing violence in the Bambaysi settlement, north of Durban, where two ANC factions clash almost daily.

At the weekend three people were killed — one of the victims was castrated — and police suspect the testicles were used for 'muti'.

At the centre of the violence are two factions

— the Reds and the Greens. Both groups have been at each others' throats since last year.

In January this year six people were killed, in February, 23; March, 24; and April, 8.

It is believed that 150 homes have been burned during clashes.

The two factions, who are mainly Pondo from the Transkei, have each appointed their own witchdoctor. This has added to the feud.

Winnie and Mokaba may be prosecuted

CAPE TOWN — Consequent on investigations now being undertaken by the police, it was possible that Winnie Mandela, Peter Mokaba and Tony Yengeni could be prosecuted for their inflammatory utterances, President de Klerk said yesterday.

Speaking in State President's Question Time, he said some of the recent statements made by the three ANC personalities could amount to a crime in terms of existing legislation.

All three were the sub-

ject of a police investigation being carried out in close co-operation with attorneys general. De Klerk said.

Also being investigated were statements by AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche and whether he broke the law by displaying a weapon in public.

De Klerk said political spokesmen should refrain from making inflammatory statements such that an irresponsible word could lead to violence, he said.

Sapa

We'll quit if deadlock persists, warns alliance

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political
Correspondent

The ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance has decided to review its continued participation in negotiations if no binding agreements are reached in multi-party talks by the end of May.

In a statement yesterday, the alliance said the decision to engage in "a complete review of the negotiations process" was taken at a meeting on Tuesday at which its programme of rolling mass action was discussed.

The alliance said if no "finality" was reached

on an election date and the setting up of a transitional executive council "with far-reaching control of the security forces" by the end of next month, a programme of "unprecedented mass action" would be embarked upon. This could include a tax boycott and national industrial action.

The alliance said proposals for the nationwide mass action had been referred to its constitutional structures, and would be finalised at a meeting to take place before the end of May.

"We are of the view that these objectives are realistic, achievable and long overdue, and that if the Government acted irresponsibly and contin-

ued (to drag its feet) beyond May, a complete review of the negotiations process will have to take place.

"The Government will not be allowed to hide behind spoiling tactics of the Cosag (Concerned Southern Africans Group) forces."

The alliance said the first phase of its programme of action had already begun with regional actions in many parts of the country, including regional and local consumer boycotts, marches, demonstrations and occupations of certain buildings.

Although the alliance's rolling mass action was supposed to have started last Tuesday — a day after slain SACP leader

Chris Hanf's funeral — no such action appears to have taken place.

The alliance said the far Right would be made "a special target" for regional mass action, including consumer boycotts and international campaigns against supporters of local right-wing organisations abroad.

Also targeted was the SABC — particularly TV1 — for its alleged biased reporting.

The alliance said May Day rallies on Saturday would launch regional programmes of action throughout the country.

The alliance also revealed it had discussed the formation of a peace corps at its meeting on Tuesday.

Cosag warns of trouble ahead

By Kaizer Nyetumba
Political Correspondent

The Concerned Southern Africans Group (Cosag) yesterday gave notice that negotiators at tomorrow's negotiating council meeting at the World Trade Centre were heading for another round of confrontation.

Speaking after their meeting in Mmabatho yesterday, Cosag members said they were con-

cerned about threats to exclude from negotiations those "retarding the process".

Bophuthatswana Minister of State Rowan Cronje said although Cosag might not be "the biggest players in the opinion of some", collectively it represented millions of people.

"Nobody should underestimate our anger just because we do not throw stones. We have

the chance to get it right," Cronje said.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, whose party circulated a statement at Monday's talks alleging a conspiracy by the Government and the ANC with regard to violence against IFP members, said Pretoria and the ANC were labelling them spoilers because they wanted some issues resolved before elections.

Elections must be legitimate — judge

CAPE TOWN — All South Africans who want peace should ensure that the first nonracial election is legitimate. Chairman of the Goldstone Commission, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, said yesterday.

"If the first election is not legitimate, we are in big trouble. Even if there is violence and intimidation, the level should be such that it does not destroy the election's legitimacy," he said in an address to the Cape Town Press Club.

The Commission was going to set up an inquiry

into the potential for public violence and intimidation in a national election and would be following the same procedure as its investigation in marches and public gatherings.

It would be an important exercise in democracy and discipline, as submissions would be called for in which members of the public could express opinions on subjects including how meetings should be held and who should do the policing.

It was hoped submissions would also be made

by political parties, the SAP, the departments of Justice and Home Affairs and international bodies in South Africa.

"We have asked them to say what they see as their role in the election and what the rules and regulations should be. The proposed Electoral Commission can then accept or reject these suggestions."

The input would then be examined by a panel of experts.

"We can perform an important service to the Electoral Commission if we can make recommen-

dations which are the result of public debate and consultation."

He said people tended to honour agreements more readily when the agreements were reached after democratic consultation — as had happened in the many peaceful marches and demonstrations that were held after the death of Chris Hani.

He had not received any requests for the Commission to become permanent, even after the installation of a new government. — Sapa.