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Boycott wave grips Transvaal

Star 5 May 1990

CONSUMER boycotts are still in force in many areas of the Transvaal — with Conservative Party-controlled Louis Trichardt being the latest town to feel the pinch.

Other communities in small towns in the western and northern Transvaal have launched boycotts, some more than a month ago, in an effort to force CP town councils to abandon petty apartheid.

Grievances

Blacks living near Klerksdorp, Stilfontein, Orkney, Dendron and Louis Trichardt have followed the lead of residents of Reiger Park, Vosloorus and East London by using consumer action to voice their grievances.

In Welkom, the United Democratic Front and the Congress of SA Trade Unions have organised another boycott to start on Monday in protest against attacks by white rightwingers on blacks in the town.

The boycott in Klerksdorp was temporarily suspended this week after the leader of the local Jouberton Civic Association, Mr Henry Moleme, was released from detention.

Mr Moleme warned, however, that the boycott could resume if more detainees were not freed.

In November 1988, Reiger Park and Vos-

loorus residents withdrew their buying power from Boksburg in an attempt to force the CP-controlled town council to allow all races to use council amenities.

The Boksburg action was called off a year later after the Government announced that the Separate Amenities Act was to be repealed.

At that stage, the Boksburg Town Council had still not bowed to consumer pressure, despite some shops having to be closed after sales dropped by more than 90 percent.

Last year Carletonville businessmen lost up to R12 million in turnover after blacks in the town embarked on a 20-week consumer boycott.

The action was called off after the Supreme Court overruled the Carletonville Town Council's petty apartheid policies.

The Klerksdorp boycott was launched by the local township civic organisation to force the town council to desegregate municipal facilities and bring about the release of detained residents.

Local businessmen interviewed by Saturday Star said the boycott had had no effect. Supermarket managers and shop owners said they had recorded normal turnovers over the Easter weekend.

A community spokesman maintained that the boycott had been effective but conceded that major supermarkets had not been affected because they were located outside black areas.

Sales in some Louis Trichardt shops have

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dropped by as much as 90 percent since the start of a consumer boycott at the beginning of last month.

The local chamber of commerce said the situation was critical. If nothing was done, some businesses would have to close or move elsewhere.

A spokesman for the local sakekamer said turnover at smaller businesses had fallen by up to 70 percent.

At the end of the month, he said, some black consumers came back to do their shopping.

He hoped that the new government in Venda, which he said was against confrontation and sanctions, would help to normalise the situation.

He said black-run taxis were making "a killing" by busing consumers to Pietersburg and elsewhere.

A UDF spokesman for the area said that until the Louis Trichardt municipality and the local chamber of commerce came to terms with the UDF and municipal employees, the boycott would continue and could be extended. It is scheduled to end on June 7.

Strike

The boycott was called in protest against the policies of the CP-controlled town council and low wages. Black municipal workers have also gone on strike.

Businesses in Dendron, near Pietersburg, are beginning to feel the pinch of a boycott, now in its third week.

Residents of Bochum and surrounding villages began boycotting businesses in the town after claiming they had been barred from using the town's public amenities.

Boksburg Chamber of Commerce spokesman Mr Johan Viljoen said that five months after Reiger Park and Vosloorus residents called off the consumer boycott, business in the town had picked up but had not returned to normal.

Mr Viljoen said that, compared with December 1988, the first month of the boycott, business in the town had picked up

dramatically by December last year. The boycott action was called off last November.

"Consumer boycotts can kill a business," Mr Viljoen conceded. "Some of the spaces which were vacated after businesses began feeling the pinch have been reoccupied — not necessarily by the previous owner."

Climate

Mr Viljoen said he hoped the CP-controlled town council would normalise the climate and relationship with different communities in Boksburg.

10/10/11
16/1/11

Unxusa i-ANC ukuba yehlukane nodlame

VUSI SOSIBO
OLUNDI. - Inhlanga-
no yezombusazwe
kulelizwe i-African
National Congress
(ANC) ngesonto ele-
dlule inxuswe yilu-
ngu lomKhandlu
Oshaya umThetho
waKwaZulu elimele

indawo yaKwaMa-
phumulo uMnuz
E.V. Mhlongo ukuba
yehlukane nodlame
futhi iyeke ukuhlu-
kumeza abantu no-
kucekela phansi
impahla yabo.

Ekhuluma eMkha-
ndlweni Oshaya umThe-

tho oLundi, uMnuz
Mhlongo unxuse lenhla-
ngano ukuba ihloniphe
lokho okungamagugu
esizwe ukuze kube nobu-
lungiswa. Uthe konke
abakwenzayo njengama-
nje kukhombisa ngoku-
sobala ukuthi abanakho
abazoya nakho etafuleni
lezingxoxo ngoba uma
ben'kho ngabe sebeluqe-
dile udlame manje balu-
ngele izingxoxo.

Ephawula maqonda-
na nenduzula ekhunge-
the lelizwe, uMnuz
Mhlongo uthe kukhona
abathile abandisa imfu-
ndisoze vokuthi yiNkatha

ehlasela nebulala abantu
abangecala kepha beku-
sho lokhu beqamba ama-
nga aluhlaza. Uthe kuya-
ye kuthi uma lababantu
abandisa lenkulumo be-
hlasela bebulala amalun-
gu eNkatha kuthi izi-
phindeselela bese beme-
meza bethi iNkatha isu-
kela abantu.

Uthe lemfundisoze
egxishwa kubantu seye-
nze ukuba abantu banga-
zi ukuthi bamiphi. Uthe
abantu abaMnyama ba-
senkingeni kulezizinsuku
yokuthatha noma yini
abayinikwayo nabayitshe-
lwayo ngoba befuna uku-

phephisa izimpilo zabo.
Uthe labo abasakaza
imfundisoze benza se-
ngathi lelizwe seliphe-
thwe yi-ANC.

Uthe iNkatha kufane-
le isebenze kanzima eku-
khipheni lemfundisoze
kubantu ikakhulukazi
ngoba i-ANC seyikho-
mbisile ukuthi iphupha
enye iSouth Africa ent-
sha abayiphuphi lena
enezinhlango ezahluken-
e okufanele zihlanganyele
embusweni owodwa oku-
fanele kube yileso naleso
sizwe sivikele amagugu
aso.

16/1/11

I-ANC iphika ukuphoqelela ubulunga bayo

Stanger 5/5/90

ETHEKWINI. - I-African National Congress, ithi ayikaze iziphoqe ezinye izinhlangano zabaMnyama ukuba zibengaphansi kwayo. Lokhu kushiwo nguMnuz. Patrick Lekota, unobhala osakaza izindaba eqenjini le-UDF, futhi ongomunye wamalunga agqunguzela i-ANC eNatal.

Ubekusho lokhu ephenidula inkulamo ka-Dr M.G. Buthelezi, uNdunankulu waKwaZu-

lu, ebithi i-ANC isicele bonke abaNyama ukuba babengaphansi kwayo ngaphambi kwezingxoxo noHulumeni, wathi futhi balwa neNkatha.

"Lokhu ngokubona kwami akuhambisani nenqubo yombuso wamaqembuqembu, kodwa kuqonde nje ekwakhekeni kombuso weqembu elilodwa," kusho uDr Buthelezi.

UMnuz. Lekota, uthe ayikaze nakanye nje i-ANC iphoqe amanye amaqembu ukuba abengaphansi kwayo.

"Okuyikhona kusekelwa yi-ANC, wukuba abaNyama kufanele baxoxisane nohulumeni bemunye nangezwi elilodwa, kanti i-ANC nje ngoba iyiqembu elikhulu nje, kuyacaca ukuthi yiyona engaba ngummeleli lapho sekukhona lolubumbano," kusho uMnuz. Lekota.

Great interview



Chin up . . . Mr Nelson Mandela grimaces as an assistant attaches a microphone to his lapel before an interview with CBS anchorman Dan Rather in Soweto yesterday.

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PAC waits quietly in the wings

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LANGA — We turned to leave after talking to some youngsters outside a cafe, having failed to break through their defensive reserve and to coax them into saying whether their loyalties lay with the African National Congress or the rival Pan Africanist Congress.

But then, perhaps convinced at the last moment that we were bona fide journalists, they declared themselves. "Izwe Lethu," they said, giving the open-palm salute of the PAC. Assuming our ignorance, they themselves gave the appropriate response: "i-Afrika".

Stronghold

We had come to Langa to test talk that it had become a stronghold of the PAC, talk which had thickened during the course of the discussions at Groote Schuur between Government and ANC delegations led by President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela.

To label Langa a PAC stronghold would, on the evidence of our trip, be premature. There were, however, definite signs of a PAC presence. It served as a reminder that it was there, in 1960, that PAC leader Mr Philip Kgosana, then a young boy of 18, led 30 000 blacks in a march on Caledon Square in the heart of Cape Town.

From the cafe we went in search of Mr Batembu Lugulwana, a Langa-based member of the PAC national executive. He was not there. Our search, however, led us to a headmaster who must remain anonymous. We started to talk to him about the PAC.

Slowly he, too, identified himself as a PAC man, dropping first one hint and then another. "Japhta Masemola (the PAC leader who was killed in a car smash recently) didn't compromise with anyone, not even Mandela," he said. "They (the ANC) won't win over the youngsters," he added.

Later, as we walked to his office, we asked him why the PAC did not organise large rallies like the ANC, thus allowing observers to deduce that the

PATRICK LAURENCE

ANC was the dominant force in the black community. He replied: "The PAC keeps quiet. We know we are the multitudes."

On the walls outside the school, PAC graffiti dominated. "Poqo," one writer had scribbled, reminding township residents of the underground movement which had briefly challenged white power in the early 1960s after the banning of the PAC.

"Kill the oppressor, not the oppressed" exhorted another, signing off with "PAC of Azania".

From the school we headed towards

the outer periphery of Langa, encountering extreme poverty among people living in shacks and shanties. It was a ghetto within a ghetto. Our impression — I was accompanied by colleagues from Ireland and Sweden — was that these people were uncommitted politically. They would be won over by the best organised of the rival congresses.

Our car meandered back, passing through a better-off section of Langa. To use the label "suburb" would be to euphemise and distort what we saw. One slogan had been overtaken by events. "Free Mandela, Viva ANC" it said. Another proclaimed: "PAC for victory. No compromise. One settler, one bullet."

Later we talked to Mr Kwedie Mkalipi, a senior member of the PAC and a prison graduate.

Mr Mkalipi spoke warmly of Mr Mandela, asking us to pass on his regards, while disagreeing with him politically. He thought the time was not yet ripe for talks.

He did, however, agree with one point which is rapidly emerging as a central ANC demand: representatives at the negotiating table should be chosen in a one man, one vote election.

There should be no compromise on that, Mr Mkalipi said, warning that Mr de Klerk and his ruling National Party planned to create space at the table for people "set up by the system".

He was in favour of the idea mooted by Mr Thabo Mbeki, of the ANC: the election of a constituent assembly on the Namibian model to draw up a new constitution for South Africa.

Mr Mkalipi, like the Langa headmaster, was confident that the PAC would emerge as the dominant force after one man, one vote elections. He blamed the press for the failure of the PAC to capture the foreground.

Mr Mkalipi was concerned about another matter: the sudden spate of road accidents involving PAC men.

Murder

He mentioned the death of Mr Masemola, a stalwart of the PAC; the death of two delegates on their way home from the PAC's Bloemfontein conference a few weeks ago; the death of Mr Ishmael Chand while driving to the funeral of his PAC brother, Mr Sam Chand, in Botswana; and an accident in which PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander luckily escaped serious injury.

These accidents should be seen in the context of the murder of Mr Sam Chand and his family by unknown assassins in Botswana last month.

Mr Mkalipi said: "My fear is that a hidden war is taking place."

Govt, ANC take first step to peace

Star 5 May 1990

Armed struggle halted in return for concessions

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The African National Congress and the Government have reached an historic peace accord in a dramatic breakthrough at talks in Cape Town which ended yesterday.

The ANC has committed itself to peaceful solutions — in effect suspending the armed struggle.

It has agreed to help stop violence to enable the state of emergency to be lifted.

In exchange, the Government has made important concessions on the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles, the amendment of security legislation and the lifting of the state of emergency.

The accord is contained in a watershed document called the Groote Schuur Minute which was announced by President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela at a first-ever joint press conference after three days of talks.

It has substantially cleared away the obstacles

blocking the path to formal negotiations.

The critical passage of the Groote Schuur Minute reads:

"The Government and the ANC agree on a common commitment towards the resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation from whatever quarter as well as a commitment to stability and to a peaceful process of negotiations."

Mr Mandela would not say outright that this amounted to a suspension or abandonment of the armed struggle. But significantly he said that the ANC would review the armed struggle in the light of the accord.

He said the ANC's national executive committee would meet soon to review the armed struggle.

Mr Mandela said the agreement was the "realisation of a dream for which we have worked patiently and consistently over the last three years".

Mr de Klerk said: "I regard what is contained in this document as an important breakthrough in the peaceful process."

"The joint commitment to peaceful solutions which can lead to real negotiations is of extreme importance to all South Africans."

Sources close to the talks made it clear that the ANC had in fact agreed to suspend the armed struggle — but that it was difficult for it to say so outright.

In exchange, the Government has made these concessions:

- A working group is to be established to recommend which political prisoners should be released and which exiles be allowed to return.

This technical group is to be appointed by Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk and is to report back to both the ANC and the Government by May 21.

In the meantime the Government has agreed to look immediately into the possibility of in-

demnifying and releasing those who left the country illegally and those guilty of belonging to organisations which were banned.

- Temporary immunity from prosecution is to be urgently considered for members of the ANC national executive committee and other selected ANC members, to allow them to return to South Africa to help end the violence and to take part in normal political activity.

- The Government has undertaken to review security laws in order to ensure normal and free political activity.

- The Government reiterates its commitment to work towards the lifting of the state of emergency and the ANC has agreed to "exert itself" to try to help end violence and intimidation.

- Efficient channels of communication are to be set up between the ANC and the Government to curb violence and intimidation.

Mr Mandela also announced that "we hope that as a result of the agreement and future developments, it will not be necessary for us to call on the international community to intensify or maintain sanctions".

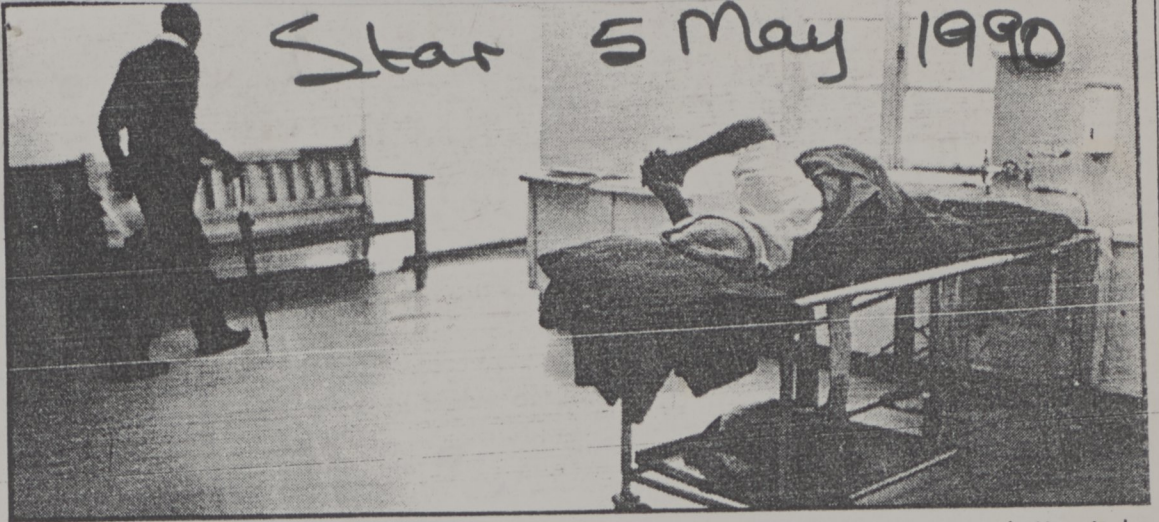
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TALKING ABOUT THEIR TALKS: President de Klerk and Mr Mandela brief the press after three days of negotiation.

Health services in state of chaos for past 10 years, say research workers



EMPTY WARD: A lone patient lies waiting in the casualty section of Baragwanath Hospital. ● Photograph: Ken Oosterbroek.

Hospital crisis 'tip of iceberg'

STRIKING hospital workers this week brought the deterioration of South Africa's health services at provincial hospitals — notably that of the Baragwanath, Hillbrow and Johannesburg hospitals — into the spotlight.

The health workers' strike by more than 8 000 hospital staff, which has spread to at least 14 hospitals countrywide, is only the tip of the iceberg when it is taken into consideration that the country's health services have been floundering for the past decade, health policy researchers warned this week.

Battle

"What is needed today is a complete overhaul of the health care system in South Africa," argued the Centre for the Study of Health Policy, based at Wits University. The research group blames "apartheid medicine" for the appalling conditions at SA hospitals.

The strikers have had a year-long battle with the authorities to voice their grievances and to get their union — the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union (Nehawu) — recognised, according to union spokesman Mr Monde Mditshwa.

He pointed out that six weeks ago, workers resorted to lunch-hour demonstrations to voice their grievances. They then went on a four-hour go-slow a fortnight ago. But the authorities continued to ignore the issue.

"The strike could have been avoided if the authorities had responded positively to the workers' demands at the

PAT DEVEREAUX

start," Mr Mditshwa said, adding that workers had resorted to striking only after all other avenues had failed.

The crisis facing Baragwanath Hospital began on March 6 when Nehawu members presented the chief superintendent, Dr Chris van den Heever, with a memorandum containing a list of demands.

He was asked to forward the memorandum to the authorities.

Nehawu demands included:

- A living wage of at least R1 100 with an additional R400 across-the-board increase for all.

- Recognition of Nehawu.

- The immediate opening of all health facilities to all races.

- The cessation of own and general affairs.

- The abandonment of privatisation, especially with regard to health care.

Dr van den Heever said he had passed the memorandum on to his superiors and was later visited at regular intervals by union leaders, who were waiting for a reply.

Meeting

The response from the authorities was that — in terms of the Public Service Act of 1984 — only staff associations, and not trade unions, could be recognised by the Commission of Administration and Co-ordination.

On March 28 Nehawu requested a meeting with Health Minister Dr Rina Venter to discuss demands. The union said there had been no "official" response to date.

HOSPITAL CRISIS

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EMERGENCY: This young girl was carried into Natalspruit Hospital by family members but she could become one of the hundreds of casualties being turned away because of the hospital strike.

● Photograph: Herbert Mabuza.

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Demands highlight main issues

A BROAD look at the striking Nehawu workers' basic demands provides a perspective on some of crucial aspects affecting the country's health care system:

- **Concerning wage demands and worker status:** The Transvaal Provincial Administration claims it has a cash crisis and is under severe financial strain because of Government measures to cut spending on health. Hospital workers, some of whom are paid only R224 a month and have served as hospital staff for decades, are recognised only as temporary workers and can be dismissed within 24 hours.

- **On recognition of Nehawu:** The authorities claim that in terms of the Public Service Act, they may only recognise and negotiate with associations.

- **The immediate opening of all health care facilities to all races:** No wards in State-administered hospitals are as yet integrated and there have so far been no moves by the Government to desegregate any wards in these hospitals. But the Government has conceded that while some wards in State hospitals (mainly white) are under-utilised, others (mainly black) are overcrowded.

Although wards in State hospitals are formally segregated, black patients are admitted to white hospitals if they require specialised treatment not available at black hospitals. They must then be accommodated in separate wards. However, sources at Cape Town's Groote Schuur, which is State administered, have indicated that wards at the hospital are mixed.

- **On the cessation of own and general affairs:** At present the health care system is being administered through the tricameral parliamentary system. As a result there is tremendous duplication of health care facilities, at great cost to the State and to local authorities.

- **The abandonment of privatisation, especially with regard to health care:** The Government's intention to privatise hospitals will have two dire consequences, argues the Centre for the Study of Health Policy.

Firstly, it will lead to a rapid escalation in the cost of hospital care, which may soon be beyond the reach of all but the very wealthy.

Secondly, it will lead to a rapid decline in the quantity and quality of care in the public sector, on which about 80 percent of South Africans depend for treatment.

The most common argument for

privatisation of hospitals is that privatising hospitals is more cost effective than a bureaucratic Government health service because there is a free market. A second angle is that the Government cannot afford health care for all, so those who can afford to should pay for their own health care. This would allow the Government to use its tax money to pay for health care for the poor.

But, it is argued, there is no free market in health care.

At present there are three major interest groups in the private health care market: the suppliers, the patients and those who pay on behalf of the patient — the medical aid societies. Not one of these has the will, the ability or the incentive to keep control of costs.

And contrary to the myth carefully cultivated by those in favour of privatisation, the private sector is not more efficient. About 45 percent of money spent on health care in SA already goes to the private sector. Yet that money provides care to less than 25 percent of the population.

The Centre for the Study of Health Policy suggests that: "Any proposed solution to the crisis in paying for health care must incorporate at least the following elements:

- It must aim at equality of access to health care.

- It must, therefore, ensure that the care of the sick, the poor and the elderly is subsidised.

- It must not exclude anyone on the grounds of their health risks, health status or ability to pay.

- It must have the power to negotiate with the providers of the health care — doctors, other health workers and hospitals — in order to modify those aspects of their behaviour that contribute to escalating costs. In other words, those who pay for health care must be in a position to ensure that they are paying for cost-effective care and that they are not subsidising extravagance.

The centre adds: "To our knowledge, these principles can only be achieved where health care is paid for:

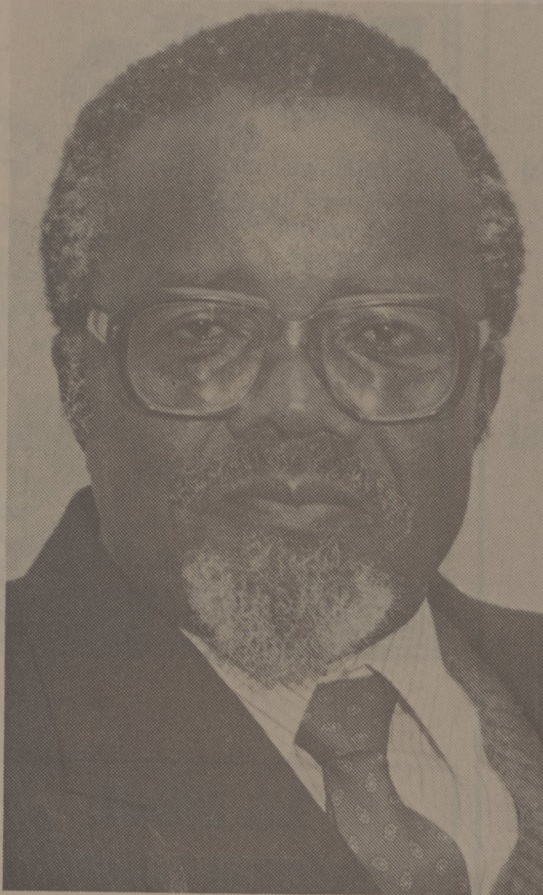
- By the State out of tax revenues.

- By a compulsory health insurance system that pays for a comprehensive range of benefits, and in which all who are eligible by virtue of their income or employment will participate and that excludes no one on the grounds of their health status or age.

- Some combination of both the above."

A veteran of Natal politics

As the ANC prepares to open its office in Pietermaritzburg, STEPHEN COAN interviewed the Natal midlands leader of the organisation, Harry Gwala.



HARRY GWALA, ANC regional convenor, Natal midlands.

SITTING in the bare new ANC offices (the furniture is due to arrive on Monday) I asked Harry Gwala how he became involved in politics.

GWALA: In 1942 when I was still a school-teacher in a school close to Pietermaritzburg in Slangspruit. I had some friends who were attending political discussions and they invited me along. The discussions were so interesting that I began to understand our society. I joined the SACP in 1942 — then it was called the Communist Party of South Africa — and I became a member of the ANC two years later. In 1942 the African National Congress was moribund in Natal. This was the time that Natal had seceded from the national organisation and formed the Natal ANC under the leadership of Dr Dube. In the course of time that Natal ANC almost went out of existence.

COAN: Why did such a situation arise?

GWALA: I'm not sure. But there is a tendency for Natal to be exclusive ... I notice now this breakaway tendency is expressing itself through Inkatha. Inkatha originally said it was following the path of the forefathers of the ANC and all along recognised the leadership of people like Chief Luthuli — then suddenly it became something independent, a Natal affair as it were.

COAN: Could this be seen as a contributory factor to the current violence?

GWALA: In a way, yes. There is no one factor to the violence but so many contributory factors. When I was still in prison and there was this violence I took particular interest in it. I noticed a trend: conservative elements in the Cape and the Transvaal were involved with this violence and those conservative elements were rather tribalistic. And after that was when Inkatha became involved in the violence. At first the Chief Minister of KwaZulu said these people were protecting his name but we don't have to fight to protect our names. If you feel really aggrieved you can go to court to have your name cleared.

It began at the University of Zululand with the students. Now there is a new generation throughout the country that is radical and very much opposed to the bantustans. If you serve within these Government-created institutions they feel you are a sell-out. So when they prevented the chief minister from addressing the students there they were doing so because they said he was a creation of the bantustans. And the fighting started there when

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the students were assaulted and some of them killed.

COAN: Is there a way to resolve the conflict?

GWALA: I was quoted in The Natal Witness (May 2, 1990) as saying we shall wipe out Inkatha but my speech was in Zulu and not quoted in full. What I consider to be the major points in that speech were not embodied in what appeared in The Natal Witness. I don't think it was deliberate ... I pointed out you have a Minister of Police, Adriaan Vlok, who even before weighing up the facts of what was happening had already made up his mind that the ANC, United Democratic Front and Congress of South African Trade Unions were responsible for the violence in this area. I said once a minister says that you cannot expect those under him to hold a different point of view. About a week ago Magnus Malan, the Minister of Defence, also made a similar statement, that it was the ANC's policy of making the country ungovernable that was responsible for the violence. Once a minister says that, his army cannot be impartial.

I said it is the responsibility of the State President to call his ministers to order because people are losing confidence in what the police can do, particularly when the police go out of their way to assist Inkatha ... We have the reports that the police are not neutral parties, they only side with Inkatha and that Inkatha can only attack after the police have carried out their raids, arrested the youth and taken whatever weapons the people defend themselves with ...

In the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly the chief minister had said 'we must wipe off the map that muck in Edendale'. I said we were prepared and waiting for him and if he did so we should sweep out his forces that were attacking Edendale.

The people in the Edendale valley have never gone out of the boundaries of Edendale to attack Inkatha, they have always defended themselves and I said we shall defend ourselves successfully. We'll give them a hot reception.

COAN: You were also reported as making statements with regard to the taking over of farms.

GWALA: It was taken out of context. I said that according to the Freedom Charter the land belongs to those who work it. We are not talking about small pieces of land but these vast stretches of land which are owned by monopolies. Some of these people are in the United States, Britain, and

West Germany — that is the land which we'll take over. Obviously when you say the land belongs to those who work it, the farmers are working that land — it would be a contradiction to take that land but there are vast stretches of land where people only invest for profit.

COAN: You also called for the police and the army to pull out of the townships.

GWALA: The ANC policy is clear that the army and the police should be pulled out of the townships. We say Inkatha will not be in a position to attack us because Inkatha is not strong enough to attack us ... But the police harass and intimidate us. What is significant is that people on the receiving end are those who belong to the "mass democratic movement". But people like warlords who run around with their guns will be arrested today and out again tomorrow ... because the police are taking sides they must clear out of the townships.

The army itself is not in a very strong position because it is under that station commander in a particular area. When the kitskonstabels and the ZPs [KwaZulu Police] went out on a massacre at Maqongqo the army was there. People asked the army to defend them and the army said "our hands are tied. We are told not to interfere" ...

When we are talking about the army we don't concede that these mercenaries are part of the South African army — they are recruited from Angola and we demand the Government send these mercenaries back home. They can never be impartial, these are the people who committed dastardly acts in Angola and Namibia. Who were they fighting there? — the MPLA. And the ANC and Swapo were on the side of MPLA. Now the ANC is here. When the Minister of Police and the Minister of Defence say the ANC is responsible for the violence, we can only draw one conclusion — they have come to fight they ANC in South Africa.

COAN: You have spoken of the armed struggle continuing. But at present it seems to be in abeyance.

GWALA: Yes, it is in abeyance but it is one of the forms of struggle in this country and it won't be in abeyance all the time ... no sane person will go to war for the sake of war — if we can solve our problems peacefully, so much the better. But as Comrade Nelson Mandela has so frequently stated we were forced into the position we are in today. It

was a very different South Africa until the end of the United Party regime. We could hold meetings, we could be communists, demonstrate, do all sorts of things. They had one particular law, the Riotous Assemblies Act, and there was no bloodshed then. Then the Nats came in and they suppressed everything ... In the past you could be detained for 48 hours — you had legal rights. You would give your name and address and then say you would only speak in the presence of a lawyer. You weren't assaulted in detention. But things changed. Bones have been broken, lives have been lost since the Nats took over. They have created a state of war in this country ... we have been forced into this war situation by the way we have been treated under the Nationalist Government.

COAN: The ANC's statements with regard to nationalisation have been cause for concern.

GWALA: I grew up in South Africa and there was nationalisation in this country then. Up to the present day there has been nationalisation. Up to now no one has found anything wrong with that. It's only now when they are denationalising. We are faced with a great imbalance in this country, we have millions of people without houses, without land, poor pay, poor education. How do you propose to put this right? In clause 3 of the Freedom Charter it says the people shall inherit the country's wealth ... that meant nationalising all the major industries. But the talks are on now as to how this can be done, if it is done at all, done in such a way that it doesn't harm the country ... that is why ANC talks about a mixed economy ... The ANC has made it clear there will be a lot of private enterprise. But at the same time the government must play a major role in the economy of the country.

COAN: Haven't events in Eastern Europe shown that socialism doesn't work?

GWALA: I was in Eastern Europe when it all started. Socialism was not in dispute — they were fighting bureaucracy. Some writers have said that if we had socialism in countries like Great Britain, France, West Germany, or the United States it would be very democratic. Remember socialism started in an autocratic country under the Tsar and democratic norms were not there in the first place. An apple doesn't fall far away from the tree. So bureaucracy was part of the Tsarist regime and there was a tendency to inherit that.

Rg 2

Mrs Mandela was first to beat us, witness tells court

Star 5 May 1990

CATHY STAGG

MRS Winnie Mandela was present when Mr Kenneth Kgase and three other young men were assaulted, Mr Kgase reiterated under cross examination in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Kgase was in the witness box for the third day testifying during the trial of Mr Jerry Richardson.

Mr Richardson, a member of the Mandela football team, has pleaded not guilty to four counts of kidnapping, five counts of assault with intent to commit greivous bodily harm, one count of attempted murder and one of murder. The murder charge arises from the death of James "Stompie" Moketsi Seipei (14).

It was put to Mr Kgase by Mr Richardson's counsel that Mrs Mandela left her Diepkloof Extension home on the morning of December 29 1988 — so could not have been present when Mr Kgase (31), Stompie, Mr Thabiso Mono (20) and Mr Pelo Mekgwe (21) were assaulted there that evening. Mr Kgase said he definitely saw Mrs Mandela.

Earlier, during his evidence-in-chief, Mr Kgase described how he and the other three young men were kidnapped from the Methodist manse in Orlando West. He said they were assaulted at Mrs Mandela's house and that Mrs Mandela herself was the first person to strike each one of them.

Then Stompie was taken away, never to be seen alive again. Stompie had been accused of being an mpimpi (police informer) but Mr Kgase said he had no proof that this was so.

After Stompie's disappearance the three remaining young men were told the past would be forgotten. They had been accused of sexual misconduct. They were referred to as comrades. They were included in duties at Mrs Mandela's house, such as guarding the house. Mr Kgase had a shift between 4 am and 6 am on January 7 last year — the first time he had been left alone with only one other person, the court heard. He jumped over the wall and eventually got transport to the Central Methodist Church in Pritchard Street.

The trial adjourned early yesterday for consultations.

Mr Justice B O'Donovan is on the bench with two assessors. Mr Chris van Vuuren appears for the State. Mr H H Joubert, instructed by Kathleen Satchwell, appears for Mr Richardson.

Anglo seeks positive role in the new SA

SINCE February this year, readers of Britain's up-market and influential newspapers have found it difficult to ignore the Anglo American Corporation's advertising campaign.

It is dramatic, different and nothing less than full-page stuff that pulls no punches in its attempt to woo back foreign investors, boost Anglo stock and clearly position the huge company within the confusing maelstrom of the South African economy and political arena.

Under a huge photograph of a group of black mineworkers enjoying a tea-break in a mine canteen, the headline of one advertisement reads: "Anglo American shareholders meeting. South Africa, Nov 1989." The advertisement goes on to explain the Group Employee Shareholders Scheme, in which 73 per cent of Anglo's eligible workforce own R235 million worth of stock.

Suspicion

It also details efforts by the corporation to educate its employees with regard to share ownership by the publication of literature in 12 different languages.

The advertisement admits to initial suspicion of the scheme by workers — that shares were in lieu of wage increases, or bribes for industrial peace.

Another full-page advertisement boldly features a group of fist-waving, striking black miners. The headline reads: "Do we wish we hadn't fought to have black trade unions recognised?"

"Yes," reads the copy, "we do quite often."

The advertisement describes steps taken by Anglo to have trade unions recognised for "moral and economic reasons" and concludes: "Whether you're running

a company or a country, if the majority have no say in their future they will naturally feel no responsibility for what happens around them."

Another advertisement in the seven-part series reads in bold headlines: "The issue is no longer apartheid, but what kind of society will replace it" — a quote from former chairman Gavin Relly.

Another ad features quotes from the ANC Freedom Charter — "There shall be work and security ... higher education and technical training ... houses, security and comfort ... food plentiful and no one shall go hungry ..."

The headline reads: "If the South Africa economy doesn't deliver, how can any politician hope to?"

The campaign is forceful, direct and powerful.

But why, after decades of adopting a low profile, is Anglo suddenly advertising in a big way?

The corporation's personal adviser to the chairman and public affairs consultant, Michael Spicer, explains: "The advertising campaign is simply a conclusion to what Anglo has been looking at for the past three or four years."

"However, the question of advertising and what to say in any advertisements has been difficult because of the political climate in South Africa."

"Now we believe that when Mr FW de Klerk

came into power, the debate changed internationally, as did the climate, allowing South African business to reposition itself — and this became the motive for our campaign."

Mr Spicer said the objectives of the campaign were to persuade investors to buy stock as well as to improve the value of stock. Foreign shareholding, he said, had been declining and it was for this reason that the UK had been selected as a springboard for what could become an international advertising campaign, as Britain represented a prime and traditional marketplace.

"We also wanted to put the case for a changing country — to put it optimistically — arguing about the economic climate and also constitutional matters."

He said there had been an unusually high interest in the campaign both at home and abroad.

"Everybody engages in corporate advertising, but what has been unnatural was our inability to do it because of the international climate of past years when SA business had to go into a highly defensive mode."

The advertisements, he said, were not apologetic. "We did not want them to be apologetic — we feel that business does not need to apologise."

Mr Spicer said the

campaign had achieved a good response in the UK. It offered more information to interested parties in the form of a booklet, and so far more than 1 000 letters had been received with positive comment and with requests for the booklet.

Only three negative letters had been sent to Anglo's London office.

However, it is understood that the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain was one of the complainants to the UK's Advertising Standards Authority with regard to an Anglo claim: "We have always stood for a democratic South Africa."

AAM executive secretary Mike Terry said in an interview with the Sunday Observer newspaper (not one of those chosen by Anglo for its campaign) that the ads projected an image of the company "that does not square with reality".

Mr Terry added: "The fact is that it's a company which has benefited and profited from apartheid."

5 May 1990

Punished

Mr Spicer reacted to the AAM charges by suggesting that the movement was one of the proponents of the "capitalism equals apartheid" school of thought. "We have no dishonourable record and we shouldn't be punished."

He added that the AAM's "entire *raison d'être* is isolation and sanctions" and that he believed the movement was "having a problem with the way the tide was turning".

There had also, he said, been some reaction from SA trade unions who believed, for example, that the money spent on the advertising campaign should have been spent on increasing wages.

"However, this amount on the wage bill would have meant about a 50c per head increase. Unfortunately, some of the unions still have a misunderstanding of corporate life."

Multimillion ad drive fires opening shots

During the past few months the Anglo American Corporation has been running a massive R6,5 million advertising campaign in British newspapers. Saturday Star media editor Chris Moerdyk looks at the reasons why the formerly publicity-shy South African conglomerate has embarked on the campaign — and the reaction it has generated at home and abroad.

'BREAKTHROUGH' AT CT TALKS

The State President, Mr F W de KLERK, and Deputy President of the African National Congress, Mr NELSON MANDELA, shake hands at a Press conference marking the end of three days of talks between the ANC and the government.

THE CITIZEN SATURDAY 5 MAY 1990



CAPE TOWN. — The agreement reached between the government and the ANC in this week's talks was "an important breakthrough" towards a peaceful new South Africa, the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, said last night.

The ANC Deputy President, Mr Nelson Mandela, said: "At the end of the discussions not only are we closer to one another — the ANC and the government — but we are all victors. South Africa is the victor."

Further talks will take place on an ongoing basis within a working group, while formal discussions

By Brian Stuart
will be held when necessary.

The major points arising from the agreement are:

- A commitment by the ANC to "look very hard into the whole question of the armed struggle in the light of this agreement".

- A working group will report back by May 21 on a definition of "political offences", the release of prisoners and the granting of immunity.

- The government has reiterated its intention to review security laws, lift the state of emergency and enable exiles to re-

turn to the country.

More than 400 journalists and diplomatic personnel attended the historic international news conference — the largest yet held in Cape Town — which was addressed by both Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela. Members of their negotiation teams were present.

Announcing the terms of the formal agreement between the government and the ANC, both leaders saw it in terms of a "breakthrough" for South Africa, and both committed themselves to attaining a new constitution by peaceful means.

TO PAGE 2

Breakthrough at talks

From Page 1

"We will honour every word in this agreement. We are going to look very hard at the whole question of armed struggle in the light of this agreement," said Mr Mandela.

He and his team would report to the ANC's National Executive Committee, but he had no right to pre-empt its decisions.

Mr De Klerk said: "I regard what is contained in this document as an important breakthrough in the peaceful process we want to take place in South Africa. It is a great step forward in the process."

"I look to the future with confidence, and I appreciate the good spirit, the earnestness and the honesty which was a hallmark of the negotiations."

Mr Mandela added: "The striking feature of the discussions was a spirit of conciliation. We look at these discussions with satisfaction because it is the realisation of a dream for which we have worked patiently over the past three years."

The ANC had taken the initiative in getting the government and the ANC to sit down together and hammer out a practical solution to the obstacles on the road to negotiation.

The agreement reached this week should be reviewed "at the earliest opportunity" by both sides, and he hoped that in this process there would be full support from all South Africans.

"We are closer to one another now than we were at the beginning of these discussions. That is what is important."

Regarding the decision to set up a working group

to come up with a definition of a political prisoner in terms of which prisoners could be released and indemnities given, Mr De Klerk said there were others affected by this work and who must be consulted by the government in the process.

In terms of the agreement, the government at its own discretion "may consult other political parties and movements and other relevant bodies".

Mr De Klerk emphasised that this was separate from "negotiations about a new constitution", in which all who had an interest in the future of South Africa should take part. It would be a multi-party event.

Mr Mandela commented: "The ANC and the government are the main players in this country in the search for peace."

"There can be no peace in this country unless these two parties come to an agreement on a solution."

"But the ANC has never claimed to be the sole representative of the Black people of this country."

"There are other interested parties. And it would only be proper at some stage to seek their views on the important matters we have discussed."

Answering a journalist's question about the "armed struggle", Mr Mandela said: "Everything in this document the ANC intends to fulfil. The ANC will look into the question of the armed struggle and take the appropriate decision."

The ANC had repeatedly emphasised the importance of tolerance and a recognition of the rights of other parties to canvass and to express their views without interference.

"If there has been any intimidation by any members of the ANC, it has been done against the policy of the ANC."

It had to be remembered that the ANC had been banned for 30 years, its experienced leaders, had lived in exile and internal leaders had been imprisoned.

The younger members grew up with no leadership to explain ANC policy or to instill discipline.

"If, therefore, any of our members were guilty of intimidation, you must judge their action against this background."

"Now that we have been legalised, it is our duty to stress the question of discipline and the question of tolerance. I think we are getting the support of our membership."

Mr De Klerk said the government was against violence or intimidation from whatever source. This agreement created a departure point from

which to take a strong stand against violence and intimidation.

There were also differences between the two leaders on sanctions. Mr Mandela said the ANC was not issuing any new calls nor appealing to the international community to change its present strategies in regard to sanctions.

In response, Mr De Klerk said he disagreed with this view.

"We in the government do not believe that sanctions are justified. We sincerely believe it is to the detriment of the people of South Africa. The time has come for that to fall away," said Mr De Klerk.

Summing up the past three days of talks, Mr Mandela said: "We entered into the discussions on the basis of let bygones be bygones and no bitterness."

"This enabled us to find the common ground that exists. That is one of the reasons for the success of the negotiations."

Mr De Klerk concluded: "The overwhelming majority of all the people will welcome this, because this is a step towards a peaceful new South Africa."

A meeting of the Nat-

ional Party caucus will be held in Cape Town today, to be addressed by Mr De Klerk. This is expected to deal with the progress made at the talks, as well as with Mr De Klerk's forthcoming tour of Europe.

The NP caucus had already expressed its thanks to the State President and his team for the positive initiatives taken and the progress made so far.

"The caucus noted with enthusiasm and grateful appreciation the progress that has been made this week with constructive talks, aimed at achieving peaceful negotiation towards the creation of a new South Africa," said caucus chairman, Mr J J "Keppies" Niemann, in a statement on behalf of the NP caucus.

CITIZEN
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R 2

Hospital strikes wrong, say most callers

STAR 5 MAY 1990

MOST Speakout callers believed hospital workers should not strike if patients suffer as a result, but there were strong arguments in support of the strikers.

Ebrahim Amla, Vereeniging: There is no doubt that legitimate reasons underpin these strikes. But strikes should have their limitations, because now we are faced with human suffering on an inconceivable scale.

S J Makhanye, Orlando West: They are right to strike but the result deeply affects patients and they should have considered that before they started. They should have applied another method like striking in shifts.

Russell Sadowsky, Hillbrow: The ANC/SACP-aligned Nehawu, who are so damned long on rhetoric but so damned short on compassion, would serve both parties' interests best by not encouraging the status quo. A more amicable arrangement should have been arrived at.

M Sibiya, Soweto: The workers started with a go-slow and if their problems had been addressed we would not have the situation we have now.

Stanley Mabusa, Naledi: Doctors and nurses have the right to strike on condition that their previous attempts, let's say a go-slow, are not listened to.

Mrs Wall, Rodepoort: It is absolutely iniquitous for hospital staff to go on strike and it shows a lack of humanity. If they are inadequately rewarded for their work they should appoint representatives to negotiate on their behalf. If they don't get satisfaction, they should resign.

N Edgerton, Robertsham: I'm fed up with all these blacks striking. They think they have come into power. They don't consider the white man — they have taken over our Johannesburg Hospital. They should fire the lot.

Amy Steven, Parkhurst: I think all hospital staff are entitled to strike if our thick-skinned, over-indulged, overpaid Cabinet Ministers are too insensitive and self-satisfied to play fair with taxpayers' money.

Doddy Miller, Orange Grove: Nurses and doctors should not go on strike as they have sworn an oath to pro-

long life. If you are not satisfied with your salary you should do what every other person does and give your employer notice and look for another job.

Geva Patz, Parkview: The right of people to medical treatment when they are unwell far supersedes these people's grievances. But I think it's important that other structures be set up to enable medical personnel to air their grievances.

M van Eyck, Berea: The medical staff should never have entered the medical profession for the money — salary should not be an issue. They knew what the salaries were going to be. They should not strike.

Saxton Mokholo, Daveyton: After trying all avenues for so long, I think they are justified in striking.

Rhona de Villiers, Newlands: Doctors and nurses work under an ethical code and they knew what their salaries would be when they accepted government employment. This is just another radical-Left action and as usual the unions are behind this. Who's to blame? Mr FW and company for legalising these unions.

Sidney Whitney, Bellevue East: If the teachers aren't allowed to strike, why should doctors and nurses? If one of their family was taken seriously ill and they arrived at the hospitals and there was no one to help, how would they react?

Yair Levy, Hillbrow: Mr de Klerk and company are responsible for the present state of affairs concerning all strikes: his Government has irresponsibly recognised black labour unions.

Tim Groom, Windsor: After 12 years of full-time nursing I was unable to pay for medical treatment for my own family. Do I think nurses should have the right to strike? Damned right I think nurses should have the right to strike.

Hennick Mphokale, Pimville: Hospital workers should never go on strike because people's lives are involved. The only action they can take after all avenues are exhausted is to resign as individuals and join industry.

H Alper, Cheltondale: If these hospital staff have got grievances they should direct them to the union, and the union

Speak
Out!

ON
SATURDAY



will then negotiate with the hospital. They should give the hospital administration a certain time, after which they can go on strike.

Moses da Gama, Toekomsrus: The hospital staff have genuine grievances and their last option was to strike. Unfortunately we, as patients, are caught in the crossfire.

Motlatsi Moeketsi, Diepkloof: If the Government does not open channels for communication between itself, its employees and its employees' unions, then the contradiction between them will widen. The inclusion of doctors and nurses is important to the working class in order to counter the employer.

M Chiba, Pretoria: We should follow the Japanese system, namely that while the workers continue with their duties, their union leaders negotiate with management for the best deal possible for both the workers and management. The only telltale sign of the ongoing strike are black armbands worn by each worker to indicate that "we are on strike".

Shana Cohen, Sandton: Mr de Klerk and his Government have irresponsibly and gutlessly created this monster which is in the process of devouring the white civilisation and social fabric of South Africa. Not content with this, Mr de Klerk still insults our intelligence by stating that his "is the only way".

Robyn Francois, Highlands North: They have the right to get better wages but they can negotiate through petitions or making people aware of conditions.

Motsepe Matlala, Springs: To me it is unacceptable for nurses and doctors to strike but one must understand their frustration. Black people in this country have found that the only way to produce results is to strike.

Barney Segal, Berea: The grievances should be sorted out immediately

and all avenues explored to avoid sick people being the sufferers due to strikes.

E Geary, Springs: If architects, civil engineers and estate agents went on strike, the public would be inconvenienced. But nurses are a day and night necessity and it's hard to imagine society coping without them. They should be considered.

M H Ismail, Brits: Whether or not the black staff is justified in going on strike to express their grievances is a moot point. The fact remains that they should receive the same pay packets as their white counterparts.

J Osborn, Orange Grove: This strike is a ghoulsh act. Sick people suffer. Florence Nightingale would grieve. This is ANC intimidation as a weapon in talks with FW.

Alfred Morris, Raedene: I say to strikers: Go and make way for those who need a job. If you don't like your conditions of service, leave.

Sipho Makhasi, Meloding: The workers should go on strike if their grievances are not addressed. But when it comes to nurses and doctors, one needs to be careful and reasonable, because if they decide to strike, they will be putting patients' lives at stake. But if they air their grievances in a professional way, and authorities fail to listen to them, then they will be bound to embark on a strike.

Billy Jackson, Edenpark: It is not good for health workers to strike. There are better ways to air grievances. They can threaten a strike — this will make the authorities take note of grievances because they know what it implies.

Lianda Smith, Germiston: The nursing staff should be more dedicated to their work and not allow themselves to be intimidated. They take a vow, and they should have more compassion than to go on strike when there are sick people and babies. As far as helpers go, if they don't want to work, the hospital should appeal to pensioners to do it.

T S Rasebonang, Soweto: The problem is that we do sympathise with the strikers, but at the same time with the patients who are suffering. We are happy that political organisations seem prepared to negotiate with the strikers.

Silvester Choenyane, Hillbrow:

How can they live on such low salaries? The only way to air their grievances is to strike, because white people don't look at their grievances. We are used to getting things only when we use force.

Sam Levin, Cheltondale: It is time the authorities looked at essential services in a different light. I feel the MPs are necessary and they deserve periodic increases, but when it comes to essential services, I think it must take precedence above all.

J Albert, Melville: There is no feeling for the patient. The next group will strike when these are finished, until they are satisfied, and the next, and a chain reaction forever. There should be a law stopping these people from striking.

C Branders, Germiston: I am a supervisor of white men with families who earn a low salary in comparison with today's cost of living. These men pay higher taxes and rent than the black person on the street in the same category and don't just decide to go on strike.

Mandla Ndumo, Soweto: I know the strikers' grievances, but they should think about the sick people. They need their attention. They can make a small protest, but not what they are doing now.

E Hassejee, Lenasia: I work at Baragwanath Hospital, and there are many injustices meted out to the workers and medical personnel. But a strike of this sort which jeopardises the lives of patients is definitely not the correct method.

Joanne Blogg, Orange Grove: Striking is the only way people air their grievances. The attitude of the nursing council who wish to dismiss striking nurses stinks. It belongs in the Dark Ages.

Zelda Schwartz, Johannesburg: This is a free country. You can ask for a raise if you want one, or better facilities or whatever you want, but all these strikes are undermining the country. FW de Klerk should deploy troops to work in the hospitals and fire the strikers.

Peter Madibu, Kroonstad: The hospital staff should go on strike, because of their low wages and because the authorities are not prepared to listen to them. What can you do with R400?

STAR 5 May 1990

Coetzee quizzed on 1982 bombing of ANC offices

LONDON — Scotland Yard's long-running investigation into the 1982 bombing of the ANC's London offices was taken a step further yesterday when detectives interviewed former security police captain Dirk Coetzee.

Mr Coetzee said he had given the officers the names of South Africans he alleged were involved in the bombing. One of these was an SAP sergeant who assembled the bomb in London, he said.

He repeated the allegation that the explosives had been smuggled into Britain in the South African Embassy's diplomatic bag.

Scotland Yard confirmed that Mr Coetzee had spoken to officers but declined to comment on his evidence.

Mr Coetzee, speaking at a press conference after leaving Scotland Yard, said he still feared for his life. He had been told shortly before he left Lusaka

CHRIS WHITFIELD

recently for London that "a hit squad was on the way".

Mr Coetzee has been in London to give evidence before the Harms Commission's special sitting at the South African Embassy.

His experience in the hands of the ANC had been "very pleasant .. a real eye-opener".

"I found out that these so-called terrorists were actually decent, honest people."

He has joined the organisation and hopes to work in intelligence.

In London this week he met Mr Tilly Moema, brother of Mr Isaac Moema, the former police Askari allegedly killed by a hit squad member because his "attitude" was not right.

Mr Coetzee is writing a book on his life story.

WINDING

MERCURY

5 May 1990

NEGLECT OF THE HOME FRONT

THE PROGRESS of 'Operation Watch-dog', the SAP's huge crime prevention drive launched this week, will be watched with interest against a background of continuing dissatisfaction in the force, even after the latest pay rises, an alarming increase in violent crime and a growing feeling of insecurity among many people in their homes, on the streets and in their cars.

Police chiefs deny that there has been a serious upsurge in crime and say that the SAP, in spite being 11 000 members short, is quite capable of handling the situation:

Yet it has been necessary to call in troops as the unrest in some black areas has verged on anarchy. In many white areas, where anxieties about sons and husbands serving on 'the border' are thankfully only a memory, there is a new anxiety — a feeling that 'the war' has moved from Namibia and Angola to the Home Front. For many, the new border begins at their garden fence, while their cars have become domestic tanks in which they travel with locked doors.

Some may think these perceptions exaggerated. Yet there is no denying that if the SAP had over the years received a proportionate share of the money, equipment, manpower and long-range planning that has gone into nurturing (some might say pampering) the SA Defence Force and the vast military-industrial complex that includes Armscor, it would not be in the mess it is in today.

We are not suggesting that the functions and needs of the SAP and the SADF can be equated. Modern defence is enormously expensive. But today the SAP is suffering the effects of years of neglect.

In an atmosphere of war psychosis and 'total onslaught' the SADF, under the forceful ministry and patronage of men like Mr P W Botha, got more or less what it asked for.

SAP generals, on the other hand, apparently sought to impress their political masters by staying within budget, with the result that their allocations for the following year showed little real increase.

Shockingly inadequate allowance was made for the expansion and upgrading of the police force. Today it numbers 81 500, giving a ratio of 1,9 per 1 000 of population. In many countries less turbulent than South Africa the police establishment is maintained at a ratio of 3 or more per 1 000.

Small wonder that average overtime worked each month exceeds 1 633 000 hours and that even the latest pay and service benefits have seemingly failed to stem a resignation rate that rose from six a day last September to more than 20 a day last month.

What we are seeing is the informal privatisation of the police force as firms snap up experienced men to provide the protection they do not get from an undermanned SAP. Some employers offer young policemen twice what the SAP pays, with more time off and less danger. One MP estimates that the private sector now employs 300 000 security personnel. Adequate protection is fast becoming the privilege of the wealthy.

In the current Budget R10071 million goes to defence. The halving of the call-up period will immediately save R1 500 million.

The Police Vote is R2 927 million, which barely keeps pace with inflation. The cost of the latest pay package has yet to be announced. But if reports that it caused acute dissension in the Cabinet are correct, it seems to us that nothing short of a paradigm shift in government thinking about the allocation of resources to the defence of the Home Front will restore peace and order to the land.

Church leader shot dead

Natal Witness 5 May 1990



Clergymen and friends assist in moving Mr Victor Africander's body from his car to the police mortuary van.

Picture by SCOTCH MACASKILL

Prominent city church leader shot dead

Natal Witness 5 May 1990

by ISABEL KOCH

THE chairman of the Pietermaritzburg Council of Churches and executive member of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), the Reverend Victor Vivian Sipho Africander (60), was assassinated in Imbali yesterday morning.

Police arrested a 40-year-old man in connection with the killing. He was later released.

According to city police spokesman, Lieutenant Henry Budhram, a gun was found in the man's possession. He said although witnesses had also pointed the suspect out to the police, there was insufficient evidence to connect him to the killing.

Mr Africander's brutal death has shocked Pietermaritzburg and grief-stricken church and community leaders gathered at his home yesterday.

Mr Africander was driving the daughter of a relative, Thandekile Khumalo (6), to school when he was shot at point blank range at about 7.30 am. He was hit in the

head and chest.

Thandekile, a pupil at St Nicholas, was also grazed by a bullet above her right ear. She was discharged from Edendale hospital later in the day.

The shooting happened in Imbali's Sutherland Road, not far from Mr Africander's home and the St Mark's Anglican church where he was a priest.

According to one witness Mr Africander stopped at an intersection near St Mark's church.

The witness had earlier noticed two young men, one with a brown balaclava pulled over his face, standing in a nearby bus shelter.

"The man wearing the balaclava ran towards the car as it stopped. I heard three loud noises and had first thought it was a car backfiring.

"The two men ran off immediately and got into a silver-grey car, which was parked some distance away. A driver was waiting for them," said the eye witness.

When The Natal Witness arrived at the

scene of the killing about two hours later, the car was still parked next to the road and Mr Africander's body had not been removed.

His wife, Constance Africander, a nursing tutor, and other women had arrived by the time police removed the body from the blood-drenched car at about 10 am.

The Anglican Bishop of Natal, Bishop Michael Nuttall, broke down when he arrived at the Africander home.

"As a bishop and friend, I find myself without words. We are all obviously deeply shocked about what happened. This has brought very close to me the suffering which so many people have been experiencing through this violence."

He said he hoped that Mr Africander's "terrible and unnecessary death may be used somehow to bring healing and peace with justice into this wounded and broken community".

The man arrested after the incident could not be positively connected to the killing, police later confirmed. A police

spokesman said the man's firearm, which he carried with him, was confiscated after the arrest. It was established that no shots had been fired with it recently. He said that the firearm was cocked and that the magazine was full. "It will be sent to Pretoria for forensic tests," the spokesman said.

"Independent witnesses have confirmed to the police that they saw the man dropping his wife off at the time of the killing."

He said the man was arrested at the scene when he drove past and police responded when the people who had gathered shouted: "That's him, that's him".

Mr Africander, who started his career as a teacher in Estcourt, trained as a priest at the St Peter's Theological College in Rose-tenville.

His first priesthood was at the diocese of Zululand. He afterwards moved to the diocese of Swaziland and came to Pietermaritzburg in 1976 to serve the parish of St Martin's. He moved to St Mark's in 1977.



Reverend VICTOR AFRICANDER

ANC, Govt conclude successful talks

Natal Witness

5 May 1990

Joint undertaking to tackle violence

by WYNDHAM HARTLEY
in Cape Town

THE armed struggle could be suspended and the Internal Security Act scrapped, following the highly successful Groote Schuur talks between the Government and the ANC which ended yesterday.

Both the Government and the ANC have agreed to "a common commitment toward the resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation from whatever quarter, as well as a commitment to stability and to a peaceful process of negotiations".

A joint working group between the two parties is also to be established to deal with the issue of political prisoners, immunity for them, the definition of political offences and the norms and mechanisms dealing with release. The working group is scheduled to complete its task by May 21.

The Government also undertook to review "existing security legislation to bring it into line with the new dynamic situation developing in South Africa in order to ensure normal and free political activities."

President F.W. de Klerk and ANC vice-president, Mr Nelson Mandela, addressed a press conference, jam-packed with local and foreign media yesterday evening at the conclusion of the third round of talks.

Chikane in attempt to revive peace talks

THE Reverend Frank Chikane, General Secretary of the SA Council of Churches (SACC), visited Pietermaritzburg and Durban yesterday, and held talks with a UDF delegation in an attempt to revive the peace process in Natal.

An SACC statement said the visit was a continuation of efforts by church leaders to restart the peace negotiations. Church leaders have already held discussions with Inkatha, the ANC and President F.W. de Klerk.

The Reverend Chikane met Mr Harry Gwala of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in Pietermaritzburg, as well as other UDF officials in the area.

Opening the conference Mr de Klerk said that there was "straight talk" which was an important breakthrough in terms of the normalisation of South Africa which the Government wanted.

"This is a great step forward," Mr de Klerk said, adding that it was also an important step in replacing mistrust with understanding and is a joint commitment "of extreme importance to all the people of South Africa. I look to the future with confidence," Mr de Klerk concluded.

Mr Mandela said that the striking feature of the talks had been their cordiality.

When asked whether the agreement on eliminating violence related to the armed struggle, Mr Mandela said that the ANC would honour every word of the agreement... and will look "hard and earnestly at the whole question of the armed struggle".

When they were asked if apartheid was dead or merely dying, Mr Mandela said that when he went to prison 27 years ago he had no vote, now upon his release he still had no vote. He said that the ANC delegation did not doubt the integrity of the State President, but "I still have no vote".

Democratic Party co-leader and spokesman on constitutional development, Mr Wynand Malan, said yesterday the outcome of the discussions between the Government and the ANC gave reason not only for satisfaction but also for optimism.

The Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Dr J.N. Reddy, said the time was now appropriate for all South Africans, whatever their political persuasions, to give unreserved backing and encouragement to the coming negotiations for a new constitution.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said it was heartening to know that there was at least agreement between the Government and the ANC delegation.

The leader of the Labour Party and chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, welcomed the establishment of a working committee as a positive step.

Daily News - 5/5/90

TBVC countries now owe SA R240-million

THE Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (TBVC) "countries" have experienced severe financial difficulties since independence and at present owe the South African Government over R200 million.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs, Mrs Elsa Dry, said amounts owing to South Africa by the TBVC territories in terms of the loan fund for the promotion of economic co-operation amounted to R239 899 310.

Transkei owes R101 959 080, Bophuthatswana R40 576 764, Venda R55 020 417 and Ciskei R42 343 049.

Mr M R Madula, head of Venda's Finance Department, said: "Seven years after independence, the Venda government experienced financial problems and we negotiated overdraft facilities, of up to R 117 000 000, with the First National Bank."

Senbank advising

He said 46 percent of Venda's budget was financed from South African budgetary aid and 32 percent from its own sources. Mr Madula added that his government had appointed a financial institution, Senbank, as consultant to investigate and prescribe ways to manage the State debt.

Bophuthatswana Minister of Finance Mr Lesley Young said that for the past three years his government had not had to rely on borrowing to finance its expenditures. However, Mr Young admitted they had had some financial difficulties.

Financial problems experienced since independence included the assumption of responsibility for social pensions, excessive overcrowding in schools and an inadequate supply of experienced teachers.

"Hospitals and clinics were inadequate in quantity and quality to deal with illness arising from poor nourishment as well as from inadequate sanitation," he said.

Mr Young believed that Bophutha-

JOVIAL RANTAO

tswana would achieve total financial independence within the next half-decade. Bophuthatswana might borrow from the Development Bank of Southern Africa for projects but "we never borrow from anyone for day-to-day expenditure".

Transkei's Major-General Bantu Holomisa confirmed his government had inherited a situation that has been an on-going process for over a decade as the homeland had been run on an overdraft facility since 1976.

"We have inherited a government at a time when the already untenable financial situation of the country was aggravated by the startling revelations of the Commissions of Inquiry.

He added that his government was still haunted by the ghost of financial maladministration of the previous civilian government led by Mr Kaiser Matanzima.

Ciskean authorities were unavailable for comment.

Mrs Dry would not say that the homelands had overspent because "overspending refers to unauthorised expenditure".

Mrs Dry said that due to a combination of factors the TBVC states started building up budgetary deficits over the past few years.

"It must, however, be kept in mind that SA's contribution to the development of these states had, in real terms, dropped off after independence.

"It became evident that multi-year adjustments were required to restore the balance between revenue and expenditure," Mrs Dry said.

In March, Pretoria announced it was contemplating steps to ensure that the homeland governments exercise financial restraint.

Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis said the overspending occurred despite expert advice available over a long period.

THE CITIZEN Witness says Stompie was kidnapped

By Stephane Bothma

THE alleged murderer of 14-year old activist Stompie Moeketsi, whose decomposed body was found in an open veld in Soweto early last year, denied that Mrs Winnie Mandela had been at her home when the deceased and three other young activists had allegedly been assaulted there in December 1988, the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Mr Kenneth Kgase, allegedly abducted with Stompie and two other youths from the Soweto Methodist Church by members of the Winnie Mandela Football Team in December 1988, testified in the trial of Mr Jerry Vusi Musi Richardson, of Orlando West, Soweto, who had pleaded not guilty to murdering Stompie Moeketsi Seipei on January 1 or 2 last year.

The 41-year-old Mr Richardson also pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice B O'Donovan and two assessors to a charge of attempted murder, four charges of kidnapping and several charges of assault with the intent to do grievous bodily harm. Mr Richardson had allegedly been a member of the Winnie Mandela Football Team.

Mr Kgase earlier testified how Mrs Mandela had started the assaults on them while they had been held captive for several days at her home in Diepkloof Extension after their abduction. Mrs Mandela had used a sjambok and her fists to assault the four of them, he told the court.

In cross-examination yesterday, it was put to

Mr Kgase that Mrs Mandela had left her house on the morning of December 29, 1988 — the night on which the four had allegedly been kidnapped, and had only returned a few days later.

Mr Kgase yesterday denied this and repeated that Mrs Mandela was present and had assaulted and interrogated them.

He also told the court that after being held captive at Mrs Mandela's home for more than a week, he had escaped on January 7 last year by jumping over the back fence of her yard.

After great difficulty — with his knees giving him problems as a result of the assault on him — Mr Kgase had eventually reached the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg after his escape, from where he had telephoned the Reverend Paul Verryn, who had been in charge of the Soweto Methodist Church from where they had been kidnapped.

Mr Kgase earlier told the court that on the evening of January 1 last year, the accused had taken Stompie from the room where they had been held captive after Stompie had been severely assaulted.

He had also heard the accused telling another member of the Winnie Mandela Soccer Team — of which the accused had been the manager — that 'one cannot live with people who sell out their own people to the system'.

Testimony in the trial stated that Stompie had been severely assaulted and was in a very serious state when he had been removed from the room where they had been held.

Stompie had been accused of being a police informer, while Mr Kgase and the two others, Mr Barend Thabiso Mono and Mr Gabriel Pelo Mekgwe, had been accused of having a sexual relationship with Reverend Paul Verryn.

Mr Kgase also told the court how he had seen Mr Richardson stabbing Mr Lerotodi Andrew Ikaneng with the blade of a pair of garden shears and that he had been ordered by the accused and other members of the football team not to tell anybody about the incident.

The State alleged that Mr Richardson had, after stabbing Mr Ikaneng, left him in an open veld, thinking he had died. Mr Ikaneng, badly wounded, had managed to get to the Baragwanath Hospital.

Clash over minority rights

CITIZEN Sat. 5 May 1990

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — ANC Deputy President, Mr Nelson Mandela, told the media last night he had "not the slightest doubt" that Mr F.W. de Klerk meant what he said, but he questioned the State President's adherence to the concept of minority rights.

The clash of views over

voting rights and the protection of minorities between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela took place at the first-ever joint media conference by the government and the ANC.

"I must tell you what I told the State President.

When I went to jail 27 years ago I had no vote, and 27 years later when I came out I had no vote," said Mr Mandela. "That is due to the colour of my skin.

"The State President and the government have made several statements in which they commit themselves to votes for all.

"I have not the slightest doubt that the State President means what he says. I have now had the opportunity of exchanging views with the government, and I have no doubt whatever about their integrity. This is not only my view but the view of my delegation.

"But the reality is that I still have no vote."

On apartheid, Mr De Klerk said: "While apartheid is going in South

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Clash on rights

CITIZEN 5 May '90

FROM PAGE 1

Africa, the anti-apartheid movements are keeping it alive."

Before a new constitutional dispensation could be created and implemented, there was a need for real fundamental negotiations.

"That part (votes) will have to wait until we get the negotiations going. From that will flow the final solution."

The State President added that it was the government's intention to seek a constitution which would ensure that minorities would be protected against domination or suppression in any form.

"We are not ideologically obsessed with group. We are looking into how the reality of the exist-

ence of groups in South Africa can be accommodated in a way that is not discriminatory in any way whatsoever."

Mr Mandela, in reply, said that the ANC had always propagated a non-racial South Africa, while the government had been forced by realities to abandon a policy of racialism.

This policy was still the cornerstone of the National Party's five-year plan, but had, in fact, been attacked even by some Nationalist mouthpieces.

"The concept of group rights gives the impression of apartheid in disguise," said Mr Mandela.

Quipped Mr De Klerk: "You can see that long debates lie ahead when we come to real negotiation."

Working group will probe release of political prisoners

CITIZEN Sq. 5 May 1990

By Bert van Hees

CAPE TOWN. — The government and the ANC have agreed to establish a working group to investigate the release of political prisoners, and the government has undertaken to review security legislation to bring it into line with the "new dynamic situation" in South Africa.

The government has also repeated its commitment to work towards the lifting of the state of emergency, according to a joint communique issued yesterday.

The communique said: "The government and the ANC agree on a common commitment towards the resolution of the existing

climate of violence and intimidation from whatever quarter, as well as a commitment to stability and to a peaceful process of negotiations.

"Flowing from this commitment, the following was agreed upon:

"The establishment of a working group to make recommendations on a definition of political offences in the South African situation.

"To discuss, in this regard, time scales and to advise on norms and mechanisms for dealing with the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity in respect of political offences to those inside and outside South Africa. All persons who may be affected will be considered.

"The working group will bear in mind experiences in Namibia and elsewhere, and will aim to complete its work before May 21.

"It is understood that the South African Government, in its discretion, may consult other political parties and movements, and other relevant bodies.

"The proceedings of the working group will be confidential.

"In the meantime, the following offences will receive attention immediately: (a) The leaving of the country without a valid travel document, and (b) any offences related merely to organisations which were previously prohibited.

"In addition, tempor-

ary immunity from prosecution for political offences committed before

TO PAGE 2

Probe by working group

FROM PAGE 1

today will be considered on an urgent basis for members of the National Executive Committee and selected other members of the ANC from outside the country, to enable them to return and help with the establishment and management of political activities, to assist in bringing violence to an end and to take part in peaceful political negotiations.

"The government undertakes to review existing security legislation to bring it into line with the new dynamic situation developing in South Africa, in order to ensure normal and free political activities.

"The government reiterates its commitment to work towards the lifting of the state of emergency. In this context, the ANC will exert itself to fulfil the objectives contained in this preamble.

"Efficient channels of communication between the government and the ANC will be established in order to curb violence and intimidation from whatever quarter, effectively.

"The government and the ANC agree that the

objectives contained in achieved as early as possible. This minute should be

Wynand: cause for optimism

CAPE TOWN.

The outcome of the discussions between the government and the ANC gave reason not only for satisfaction but also for optimism, Democratic

Party co-leader and spokesman on constitutional development, Mr Wynand Malan said yesterday.

What was of particular significance was the central commitment to

move at all possible speed, especially against the background of the working group having to report by May 21.

It was also encouraging that at this early

TO PAGE 2

Wynand optimistic

FROM PAGE 1

stage it was realised that other parties had to be drawn in to the negotiating process, and that even the creation of a climate for negotiations would not be finalised without the involvement of other actors.

The fact that a joint Press conference had been held, rather than separate conferences, was meaningful.

It was clear that viol-

ence was still a problem for both parties and that they had, therefore, restricted themselves to the rhetoric of a commitment to peaceful solutions.

The whole process had begun to develop and was becoming, in a sense, unstoppable.

It would continue to grow, and necessary actors such as the PAC, Azapo and the CP would also now have to

reconsider their strategies in order to ensure they had a say in it.

Inkatha President, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said it was heartening to know that there was at least agreement between the government and the ANC delegation on the urgent need for violence to be addressed.

"There can be no negotiations while the flames of this violence are raging as is the case at present.

"But it is also not enough to undertake to do something about the violence while members of the ANC delegation such as Mr Thabo Mbeki went out of his way to state: 'I would assume that people who claim to be the leaders of seven million Zulus would sit next to President De Klerk.'"

Whenever he had talked with the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, about negotiations he had made clear his stance was that of Inkatha president. "I have never said anything else than this, but the Zulu people as such also must have a say about their destiny as South Africans.

"This kind of rhetoric from the Thabo Mbekis of this world fans the flames of the very violence they claim to be concerned about."

CITIZEN 5 May '90

King: ANC intent on destroying Zulus, SA

Citizen Sat. 5 May '90

ULUNDI — Zulu King
Goodwill Zwelithini war-
ning of Kwa-
in Ulundi yes-
was in-
their

unity as a means of de-
stroying Zulu power.

King Goodwill said this
was part of the ANC plan
to break down everything
in the country and "put

the pieces back together
in such a way that South
Africa becomes the
ANC's property".

He told of people going
into townships and rural
areas intent on setting fa-
milies against each other,
of burnings and killings
and attacks on KwaZulu
offices, personnel and
personal property.

These were not really
attacks against Inkatha or
the KwaZulu govern-
ment, he said, but attacks
against the people of
KwaZulu because they
were Zulus with a proud
record.

He said he saw the
people of KwaZulu form-
ing "one huge block for
democracy".

"Join with President F
W de Klerk. Join with
whoever are now disman-
tling apartheid and put-
ting their shoulders to-
gether to establish a new
South Africa." — Sapa.

ANC will Daily News 5 MAY 1990 end Press monopoly

'WE SEEK CRITICAL PAPERS,
BUT FAITHFUL TO OPPRESSED'

THE ANC was proposing to end monopolistic control of the commercial press but would not nationalise it, according to Mr Sibusiso Ndebele, a member of the executive committee of the ANC's Southern Natal region.

Speaking at a meeting of the Association for Democratic Journalists on Thursday night he said the ANC would not nationalise the press as the experience of socialist movements in Eastern Europe and Nicaragua had shown that concentrating power destroyed democracy.

"And without effective criticism people begin to get distrustful. This is the lesson of perestroika.

"So we would like a critical press faithful to the oppressed but not subservient to the party... a press that is critical but not hostile.

PAUL HOTZ

"But there is no question of allowing monopoly control to remain," he said citing the fact that four companies at present controlled nearly all the daily newspapers in the country.

"Even if the commercial press remains capitalist-controlled, the monopoly will not be allowed to remain.

"The press must be taken from their exclusive control," he said. He said the ANC did not have a blueprint for democratising the press. The details of the new dispensation would be worked out in conjunction with progressive media workers.

He added that one possibility to restore balance in the press was to require a subsidisation of the alternative press by the commercial press.

He strongly attacked the commercial press, saying that they "pandered to the most con-

servative section of the white electorate".

"They continually divert people from the major issues. During the recent marches, for example, they did not focus on the issues which caused 30 000 people to march, but on two bishops complaining about a SACP flag.

"They are always distorting things. If there is a good turnout at an event they say it is the result of intimidation.

"When the media restrictions were lifted, you could see no difference in the commercial press, but you could see it in the alternative press."

■ Asked about the future control of the SABC he said the monopoly of the dissemination of information was one of the subjects being negotiated as part of the ANC proposals put to President F.W. de Klerk and his team at the recent talks in the Cape.

"Black compared to white per capita income (R16 531) rises from 8,5% to 12,7% when provision is made for unrecorded activity." The informal activity raises black incomes from R706 a year to R2 105. Although Van der Berg believed unrecorded economic activity provided some relief from poverty, he agreed with conference delegates it did not alter the fact of a heavily skewed wealth distribution to any significant extent.

Van der Berg added his voice to the Reserve Bank in criticising overly optimistic estimates of informal sector activity.

"If the (extreme) free-marketeer view is correct, there is reason for much optimism about SA economic growth; and then poverty reduction and improved income distribution is a mere matter of waiting for further growth along free market lines. In such circumstances, policy attention to matters

GRETA STEYN

such as employment and poverty... becomes superfluous."

Van der Berg's paper noted the Small Business Development Corporation's Wolfgang Thomas had admitted the danger of overstating informal sector job creation potential "as much of the informal sector is merely a fall-back position ('survival entrepreneurship)". Van der Berg notes that estimates of labour force participation in the informal sector varies from 6% to 31%, with a median estimate of 19%. The CSS survey, which excludes whites, found that 21% of the labour force (2,7-million people) were involved in informal sector activity.

UCT's Professor Brian Kantor came in for criticism for his well-known claim that unrecorded activity could amount to as much as 40% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Kantor responded during discussion time by pointing out the figure was an upper limit. He stuck to his view that the discrepancy between GDP calculated from the expenditure side and GDP from the income side indicated substantial levels of unrecorded economic activity.

However, Van der Berg was also critical of the Marxist view that "the informal sector was of little consequence and was only a means to hide poverty or not to address its consequences".

Black income: a BUSINESS DAY 7 MAY 1990 new perspective

INFORMAL sector activity could add as much as 50% to blacks' per capita incomes — reducing the racial income chasm somewhat, according to Stellenbosch University academic Servaas van der Berg.

In a paper delivered to a symposium on the production and use of socio-economic statistics in Durban at the weekend, Van der Berg used a recent Central Statistical Service (CSS) survey on the informal sector to arrive at new estimates for black per capita incomes.

Tribal leaders only want power

OUR country has far too many unintelligent, myopic racists who are obsessed with apartheid.

J P Proctor's letter to this newspaper on April 23 (IFP sees through alliance's antics) is an indication of someone who can only repeat the usual racist (propaganda) bogey: "ANC/SACP/NP alliance."

The racists usually think that they are better than the Communists.

They fool themselves because they are not.

to give their children the opportunity to understand the meaning of Communism so as to be able to make their own judgment.

I believe that, if their youth were not brainwashed to regard Communism as a bogey, they would not have opted for apartheid instead.

I am not a Communist.

But I believe that people should start to be realistic

Why is the racist so very fond of hypocritically proclaiming that he is a Christian, when, in truth, he practises injustice, hatred, greed, selfishness, etc?

Lastly, it is myopic to believe that power-hungry tribal leaders will bring peace to this country.

They only want power at all costs.

L MOFUBETSOANA

THE CITIZEN 5-5-92

THE CITIZEN 5-05-92

LETTERS

The Citizen PO Box 7712
Johannesburg 2000

Allowing OAU here verges on insanity

IN your editorial of April 30, you hit the nail on the head about the motives of the ANC and the OAU in encouraging the visit of an OAU "monitoring team" to assess the violence in the townships when you say, in effect, that such a visit would be the thin end of the wedge in legitimising external involvement in South Africa's domestic affairs.

It is nothing short of staggering that the Foreign Minister should react so blandly to the proposal.

Clearly, for the present government, the admittance of South Africa to the OAU is worth paying any price for. This, surely, is taking the quest for international popularity too far.

It has been evident for some time that the De Klerk government is prepared to sell its soul, as well as its voters, down the river for international acceptability.

But to allow an organisation which has stood four-square behind the ANC and the PAC (and

not any other political party or group, Black or non-Black) for almost 30 years into the country to arbitrate the political future of all South Africans at this sensitive time, is to verge on insanity.

Whom the gods would destroy, it is said, they first make mad.

Fine, but there is no reason for the rest of us to continue to accept the leadership of those whom the gods would destroy.

What price the 'Yes' vote now?

JASON FOXCROFT

Sandton

Keeping the panga up your sleeve

flame 5/5/90

The ANC yesterday began talks-about-talks with the South African Government. The event is something all those committed to peace will welcome.

But, there should be no illusions about the very difficult task that lies ahead. The African National Congress remains committed to "armed struggle". It is unwilling to negotiate without a panga up its sleeve, as it were.

Politics by panga is what is happening on the ground in the black areas of our country. Let us not delude ourselves into believing that things will be any different at Groote Schuur - except that it will not be quite so easy to intimidate in Cape Town. But the threat is there.

UMKHONTO

The head of Umkhonto WeSizwe, Mr Joe Modise, said in Cape Town on the eve of the talks that his organization was continuing to recruit within the country. Readers of Ilanga will know that that is indeed happening. Children are being spirited out the country with promises of education.

But let us look at events in Cape Town from a broader perspective.

For more than eight months last year Inkatha was engaged in talks with the South African Government in an effort to get the peace process moving. It tabled a document dealing with the obstacles impeding negotiations in South Africa. We believe that South Africans need to be reminded about the role Inkatha has played in making this week's talks in Cape Town possible. The document is published elsewhere on this page.

SLOVO

The Communist Party's Joe Slovo was moved to observe that it was a great experience entering South Africa through the front door, after having left the country through the back door. He too would do well to read the document, particularly item 2.

The amnesty which enabled him to enter through the front door of the house was called for by Inkatha. The movement, however, is unlikely to receive his thanks. Instead it will probably be rewarded by being subjected to more revolutionary violence by the ANC/SACP "shock troops."

TALKS

We should like to observe, parenthetically, that Inkatha has been engaged in talks with the Nationalist Party for many years. It has been a major force in South African politics since 1975 and can,

ironically, also claim credit for the purging of the ruling party of conservatives.

A little of the background might be interesting to readers. After months and months of talks an incident happened in Pretoria that culminated in the formation of the Conservative Party.

The Nats had been cornered in debate with Inkatha. Suddenly Tom Langley lost his cool and accused Inkatha of acting like King Dingane. It intended, he said, to lure them into a trap and then cry "Bulalani amathakati." Better, he said, that the talking stopped and that the parties got on with the fight.

OUTBURST

His outburst led to an uproar - not least in the ranks of the Nat party members present. But, significantly, Langley and his soul bothers at that fateful meeting were soon to be expelled and went on to form the Conservative Party.

But what of the ANC? As recently as last year it was preaching revolution and denouncing all those involved in negotiations as "puppets." Now the very same ANC is debating the removal of obstacles impeding negotiations with the South African Government.

Yet, while it debates, the killing continues. And the violence and killing is exactly in line with what the ANC and its surrogates have preached for years.

Policemen are being killed almost daily - as the ANC said they should. Councillors are either being killed or hounded from office - as the ANC said they should. Weapons are being stolen daily from the police - once murdered - and from others who own them - as the ANC said they should.

MAYHEM

Townships are being made ungovernable and general mayhem created everywhere. Who was it that said the country should be made ungovernable? It was the ANC, yet others, notably Inkatha is accused of violence.

Only weeks ago the UDF and ANC's enfant terrible, the appropriately-named Terror Lekota, said in America that the ANC would "kill" Inkatha President, Dr M a n g o s u t h u Buthelezi. Not physically, you understand, but politically.

To fully understand the implications of what Mr Lokota is

saying, it needs to be seen against direct calls by the ANC's Chris Hani for the murder of Dr Buthelezi and members of Inkatha's Central Committee. He did so less than a year ago at a Press conference in London.

SNAKE

And he repeated the call on the ANC's Radio Freedom, when he said Dr Buthelezi was a "snake that must be hit on the head."

The same Terror Lekota said on an SABC news bulletin on April 26 that the "leaders of the ANC/UDF camp made a clarion call to their members not to resort to violence, but one hears no comparable statement from Inkatha's side".

To assert that Inkatha has not called for peace is a demonstrable lie. But let us examine the background of the current talks to see where the truth lies.

NO THREAT

When Inkatha engaged the Government in talks, it did so in line with its public commitment to peace and negotiation. It never threatened that if the obstacles were not removed, it would resort to violence.

In fact it has gone to great lengths for more than a decade to stop violence in any form.

What of the ANC. It and its internal allies have called for and worked towards making the country ungovernable. And it



Inkatha youth leaders at last year's annual general conference.

has repeatedly said that it will not forsake the "armed struggle." In Natal KwaZulu Government offices are under attack almost everywhere and numerous KwaZulu policemen have been murdered. Even the Provincial Administration is unable to erect a water tower, because "the people" won't allow it. Many lives were lost in the process.

While Inkatha's General conference declared 1989 a "peace action year", the ANC called for armed revo-

lution. Now, even before it enters talks, it has called for more "armed struggle."

Inkatha's President said in an address last year that the ANC had failed in the armed struggle - and that he did not wish them to fail in peace.

Given the ANC's continued war talk and commitment to "armed struggle" even as they enter the conference room, the prospects of his wish coming true do not look good.

Divide and rule?

History gives many examples where the political left conspires with the right against the force occupying the middle ground.

Let us look at the ANC's decision to start its recruitment drive in Southern Natal against this background.

When Dr M G Buthelezi and his colleagues agreed in the early 1970's to serve in structures created by the Government, they did so with the express purpose of blocking Government attempts to de-nationalize black South Africans by leading KwaZulu to "independence."

The Nationalist Government and its allies in BOSS and the Security Police tried every trick in the book to oust Dr Buthelezi from his position. Space does not permit a detailed analysis of these efforts, but two are of particular interest.

The first was the launching of the Umkonto ka Shaka party. This initiative was to be led

from the south of Natal.

But, more importantly, it culminated in a plan to divide KwaZulu into two blocks, the one in the south and the other in the north, based on geographical divisions drawn up by British colonists in the last century.

There was, in addition, strong play on a so-called "affinity with Xhosas" with regard to the southern block. With a pliable Matanzima-led Xhosa state in the south, that must have been an exciting proposition to Verwoerd's apartheid apostles in Pretoria.

Interesting, thus, that the ANC should start in the same area. Are they too, perhaps, engaged in a divide and rule strategy? The ANC is Xhosa dominated and it seems to have the young military dictator in Umtata firmly under control, as did Pretoria with the Matanzimas.

The second Pretoria trick carried out by BOSS and its agent,

the Department of Information, was the creation of the Inala Party. It was similar in concept to Umkhonto and sought to divide by getting pliable chiefs to form a political party, which Pretoria planned to help get its hands on the levers of power. The destination was "independence", something Dr Buthelezi had effectively blocked.

Now, a man who played a key role in that little outfit was one Chief Hlabunzima Maphumulo. He is the president of the ANC-created Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (CONTRALESA). He of the "independent" commission of enquiry that has laid all the blame for violence in Natal at the door of Inkatha.

CONTRALESA has the same aim as Pretoria had - to get the "traditional" leaders in its grasp so that they can be moulded into a tool against - yes you guessed it - the same Dr Buthelezi and Inkatha that had been targeted by Pretoria.