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# Codesa committee Business Day 11-12-91 makes progress

TIM COHEN

ENCOURAGING progress was made at a Codesa steering committee meeting yesterday, with a consensus being developed that the group should meet on a monthly basis until a new constitution was in place, sources said.

The steering committee, which was given the task of preparing next week's first Codesa meeting, ended yesterday without issuing a formal statement.

But sources said the committee intended to propose that Codesa should meet monthly or at least bi-monthly, even if agreement was reached that a Constituent Assembly should draw up a new constitution.

There was growing consensus that even if there was acceptance of proposals by the ANC and other groups for a constitutional assembly and interim government, there would still be work for Codesa to do, the sources said.

Between Codesa meetings, it is proposed that task groups should be formed to discuss and achieve consensus on specific issues.

Three task groups have already been established by the steering committee. The first has been charged with drawing up a statement of intent, which will be Codesa's founding charter.

This task-group has been further charged with discussing, among other things, a statement of commitment which will indicate Codesa's guiding principles.

The second task group has been discuss-

ing the organisation and planning of Codesa while the third, called the "process task group" has been discussing possible future mechanisms such as the Constituent Assembly and how the country should be governed during the transitional period.

This task group will continue meeting during the week, and will report back to the steering committee, which is due to meet again on Wednesday next week.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday encouraging progress had been made, emphasising that a personal understanding was developing among negotiators.

Chairman of yesterday's meeting, DP leader Zach de Beer, agreed, saying many of the participants did not know each other before the meetings began and so the development of mutual trust was of the utmost importance.

De Beer said the issue of Inkatha's demand that it, the KwaZulu government and the Zulu king all be represented independently of one another was not debated at yesterday's steering committee meeting, apart from the meeting deciding this issue should be discussed at a later date.

Delegates said the steering committee was making substantial progress and there was, at this stage, no intention to delay Codesa, which is due to take place on December 20 and 21.

## THE NATAL MERCURY

### Better to stay home

IT IS as well that President de Klerk's proposed meeting with President Mikhail Gorbachev has been cancelled. While the arrangements must have been made months ago, the way matters have turned out it would have been awkward for both.

For two leaders at opposite ends of the globe caught in vastly different circumstances, their dilemmas are peculiarly similar. The realms they have presided over are both in the throes of dramatic change, the eventual outcome of which is as unclear for them as for their societies.

Mr Gorbachev's troubles perhaps are more pressing. Having recently survived a dramatic rightist coup, he is now faced with the embarrassing prospect of simply being left stranded, to preside over an increasingly defunct Soviet Union while a new commonwealth of Slav republics is taking shape outside it.

It would seem the events Mr Gorbachev so courageously set in motion with perestroika and glasnost are rapidly overtaking him. As shown by the drastic decision of Russia, Ukraine and Byelorussia to disengage from the Soviet Union and reform into an association of independent states, it is the tendency of people and countries to follow their own heads once given freedom.

Mr Gorbachev's travails apart, there seem to be serious dangers in what's happening — fears of another coup, even of a full-scale conflagration.

With the start of this country's negotiations towards a new order and a new government only a few days away, the two leaders might have had many thoughts to share on the traumas of change. But it was wise to postpone the meeting to a more appropriate time when, hopefully, their own status will be clearer. In fact, for both it now seems better rather to devote their full attention to problems at home.

### Stop thief!

IT'S NO SURPRISE that the SAP's car theft unit is taking a close look at hi-tech ways of identifying stolen motor vehicles, right up to a transponder that is capable of relaying information to patrolling police units at speeds as high as 300 km/h and distances as great as half a kilometre.

Such sophistication seems like overkill, but car thieves are so slick that the usual alarms and immobilisers are child's play to them. The more daring thieves now don't bother with trying to get round the immobiliser, they simply hold up the driver, throw him out (alive, if he's lucky) and drive away.

As far as the police are concerned, anything to give them the edge over thieves is welcome. Car thefts are costing the country as much as R5 billion a year, and only a small percentage of the stolen vehicles recovered are claimed by owners.

But the police can be sure of one thing: this latest little gizmo will give them at least a temporary advantage. How soon will the robbers match it?

KIN BENTLEY in London

### Have bags, will travel

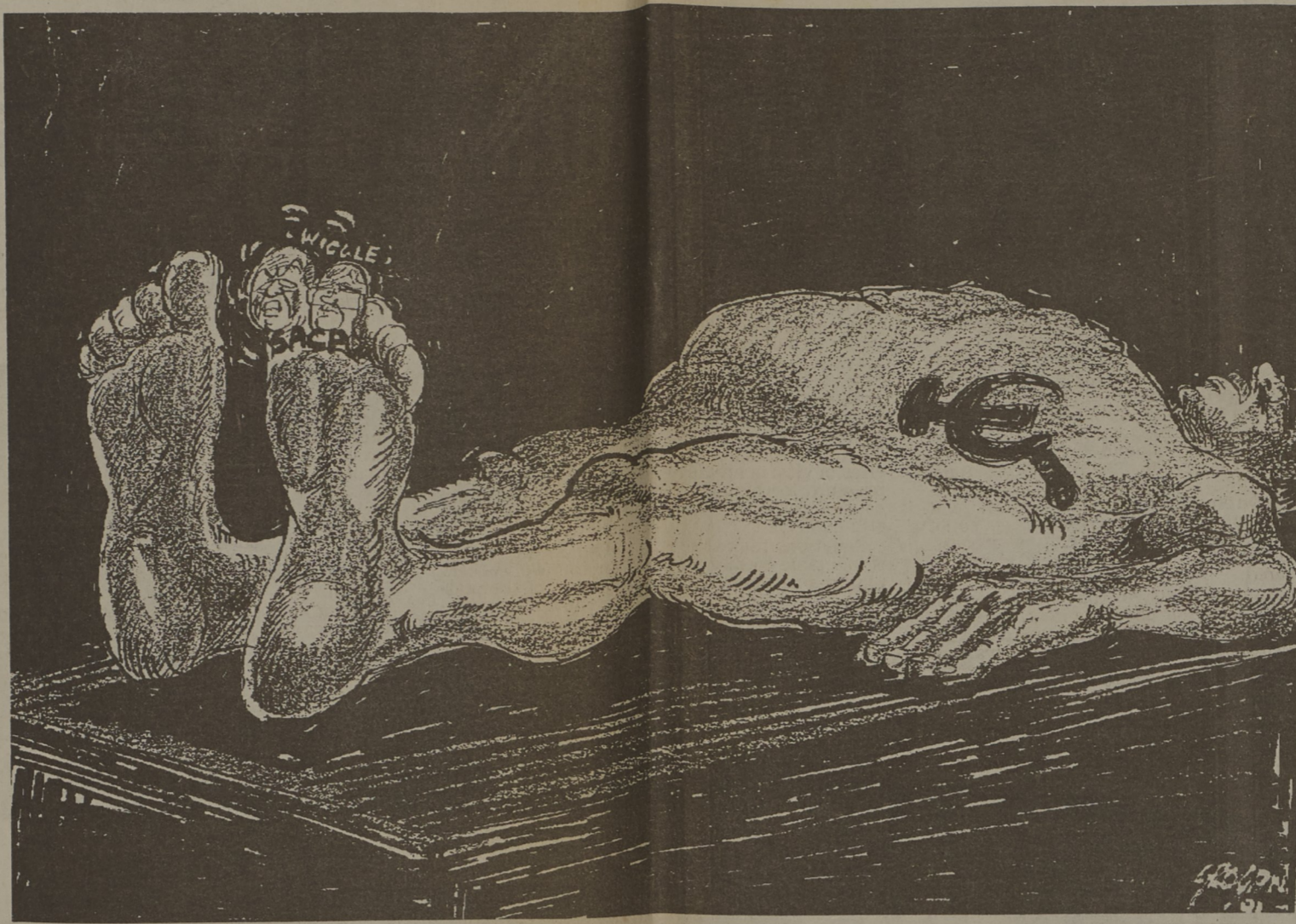
INDIANA JONES, roll over. Today's adventurous traveller is more likely to be equipped with medical rather than archaeological skills, is single-mindedly single and, in the most radical break with the Hollywood vision of derring-do, a woman.

The new generation of travellers following in the footsteps of intrepid Victorians such as Mary Kingsley are equally determined to put adventure above romance on their itineraries, according to a new survey by Top Deck, which specialises in off-the-track extended holidays.

Medicine was the most common profession among 500 travellers questioned in Asia last winter, with 13.6% of the sample doctors, nurses and therapists often taking months out of their jobs to join what used to be called the "hippy trail."

Engineers and refugees from the retail trade accounted for 10%, while, perhaps at odds with their conventional image, accountants with a taste for the unknown made up 8% and secretaries seeking pillars of wisdom rather than columns of figures, 7.5%.

The research also shows that almost 70% of travellers are single and woman make up 55% of the total, now estimated to be around 150 000 Britons on the "trail" between Bombay and Australia ever year. — The Daily Telegraph



Mercury deputy editor LEON MARSHALL reports

## Those campus disturbances . . .

MANY people would have recoiled with horror from what they saw happening on some campuses this year, especially those of the universities of Durban-Westville, Natal and Cape Town.

The events were real and forbidding. So let's forget what happened at Stellenbosch in the '30s and '40s when white students beat up coloured people who dared queue with whites, or the non-political and senseless fighting between students and police at Pretoria in the mid-sixties when the Police Commissioner even had to intervene once, or the many wild scenes involving students at political meetings in every university city and town in the country.

It is said of universities that they are the sounding boards of society's innermost strains and stresses of the time. Even so, it is difficult to fit into this theory the recent sexcapades, if that is not putting too kind or frivolous a face on what happened.

But difficult as it might be for establishment South Africa to swallow, this episode, as with similar ones and others which involved knifings at UCT, do bear the mark of the transitional times we live in.

Of the perpetrators it might be said that, being black, they are racially frustrated and angry. By the same token, it might be said of Natal Univer-

sity's adjudicators in the sexual harassment case (if that is what group sex with others watching can be called) that they were weighed down by the burden of the white conscience. Hence the lightness of the sentences which permitted all the students to be back on campus next year on condition they henceforth behave properly.

It may be asked why poverty and political frustrations should be advanced as an excuse for sexual transgressions. If that were freely permitted in courts, lawyers for the defence in sexual harassment cases would have a field day.

Indeed, why should sexual misdemeanours be lumped with political incidents like those at UCT earlier this year when students threw burning barricades in the road, resulting in a lecturer's trousers catching fire when he tried to kick these aside, as if these are all part of the spasms of transition?

The answer, probably, is that the students involved were mostly black, and to a racially conscious public that is enough to activate prejudices which have been the hallmark of South African society for the best part of this century.

It is no easy situation for the universities to handle. Image-conscious and cash-strapped institutions that they are, it is indeed a bitter pill to swallow.

They are faced on the one hand by (mainly white) public perceptions that they have

lost control, and that means loss of sponsors and patronage. On the other hand, they are keenly aware of the vastly different worlds from which their students are drawn.

Their answer seems almost to treat the situation academically, in the way explosions would be controlled in a chemistry laboratory. In terms of publicising the results, Natal might use the example of UCT by, say, holding a public workshop to explain the intricacies of the situation they have to contend with.

The UCT workshop was for journalists. Its purpose, all the same, was to address popular myths and perceptions of what happens on campus where society's upper-crust of tomorrow is supposed to be in training.

These were some of the explanations:

Yes, the black student number has increased dramatically, and because of the economic background of many of the students and accommodation difficulties, it is the residences that have carried the brunt of the change.

Yes, apartheid's worst sins, those of alienating people and robbing society of the advantages of gradualism, have had a powerful impact on campuses.

White and black students come from vastly different backgrounds, and the frustrations and anger of black students in trying to negotiate a new environment need to be

understood. Because they feel alienated, they resort to old support systems and to groups, which in turn have created problems such as violence, sexual misbehaviour and alcohol abuse. The latter, especially, is a big problem.

The university's social problems have mirrored what happens in wider society. "But unlike wider society we're not throwing up our hands in horror. We are doing something about it."

No, it is not all black students but only some who are experiencing problems of adaptation. Not all come from disrupted schools or poor homes. Many are from private schools, and they have no problem fitting in.

Black students are not marked more leniently, except for English usage in subjects other than English language courses.

Black students are not simply strugglers. They are becoming aggressive learners, unlike many white students who do not show the same application and who think things will keep on falling out of the tree for them.

Yes, in years to come the black student number is going to increase even more dramatically. On UCT's part, the aim is to make the campus a place where all students can feel at home. Already there is more participation by black students in student bodies and less polarisation on the campus and in lecture rooms.

JOHN KAMPFNER in Moscow charts the Soviet President's mistakes

## Soviet downfall: How Gorbachev lost control

WITH the disintegration of the Soviet Union, President Mikhail Gorbachev's role as president seems to be superfluous.

One sentence shows how much he had lost touch. "I will fight to the end for the renewal of the Communist Party."

It was the evening of August 22 and Mr Gorbachev was addressing the world's media after the failure of the coup and his return from house arrest in the Crimea.

Yet he had failed to grasp the new realities. Communism was dead and buried and Mr Boris Yeltsin had saved Russia from tyranny.

It marked, the opening of the final chapter in a personal tragedy. Everything he did and said after that fatal moment was a reaction to events that had slipped out of his control.

The following day, Mr Yeltsin rubbed in his advantage, humiliating Mr Gorbachev in the Russian Parliament.

But the battering had the required effect. Mr Gorbachev resigned as Communist Party chief on August 24 and suspended its operations. But it was another example of too little, too late.

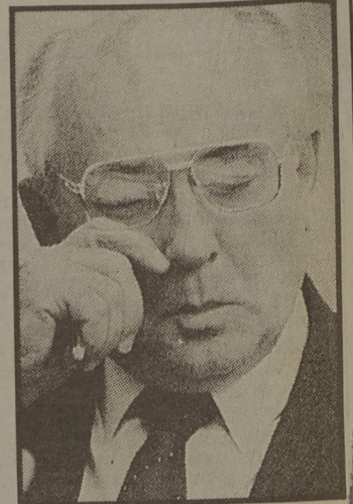
After the coup, the push towards independence became a stampede, dashing Mr Gorbachev's hopes of recreating his Union Treaty that would preserve some form of central state.

Mr Yeltsin was busy consolidating his position. He made a series of appointments in the armed forces, the media and ministries that Mr Gorbachev was forced to rubber stamp.

Whatever the setbacks, Mr Gorbachev remained convinced that nothing could be achieved without his guidance and that his vision of a new union — one that changed from week to week as he yielded more concessions — was the only viable possibility.

On November 14, Mr Gorbachev must have believed he had pulled off the miracle. Seven republican leaders — Mr Yeltsin, the Byelorussians, the Azeris and four of the Central Asian states — agreed in principle to form the Union of Sovereign States, with Mr Gorbachev as its head.

On November 25, the leaders assembled again at the Government guest house of Novo-Ogaryovo, just outside Moscow, that had been the venue for talks on the first Union Treaty in the early summer. This time Mr Gorbachev was to be disavowed of his hopes. The presidents refused to initial the draft, choosing to refer it back to their republican parliaments for consideration.



President Gorbachev

Mr Yeltsin was playing a clever game. Once the dust settled after the coup, he refrained from attacking Mr Gorbachev headlong. All the while, however, Mr Yeltsin was undermining Mr Gorbachev's powers.

After announcing his "shock therapy" economic programme at the end of October, including much-feared price liberalisation, Mr Yeltsin took over the banking sector, natural resources including gold and oil, responsibility for foreign debt, trade agreements, even the funding of the restless Soviet armed forces. Mr Gorbachev formally remained commander-in-chief and president but had to defer to Mr Yeltsin as a matter of course.

As the Ukraine voted overwhelmingly for independence on December 1, Mr Gorbachev's warnings of civil war and a possible military coup became more belittled. With the shops empty, queues horrendously long, and prices staggeringly high, the mood in Russia and elsewhere was turning angry.

Instead of trying to calm the situation, Mr Gorbachev took to the airwaves to predict political, economic, social and perhaps even nuclear Armageddon.

Mr Yeltsin realised he needed to act quickly to restore stability. Unlike Mr Gorbachev, Mr Yeltsin did not seek to impede Ukrainian independence. Instead he offered them co-operation. That was the death knell for the old Soviet Union, and Mr Gorbachev as its president.

Last week Mr Gorbachev said in an interview "even Jesus Christ" could not untie the bonds linking the peoples of the Soviet Union. In a way he was right. The three Slav republics have begun a rebuilding process of sorts.

Mr Gorbachev failed to see, however, that they might, in might, want to do it without him. — (The Daily Telegraph)

CONRAD BLACK, chairman of The Daily Telegraph, looks at the country's future

## Why I'm confident for SA

I am optimistic about South Africa, and my optimism is based on three things.

First is the quality of leadership. It is a mistake to impute questionable motives to President FW de Klerk as the reason that he is dismantling apartheid. No one should underestimate the great courage that is required of him to do this.

It is not only the repulsive system of apartheid that he is tearing down. It is the entire history of race relations in the country. In the 350 years of white presence, there has not been any institutionalised system of racial fairness. And we should not lay all of this on the Boers. Even otherwise distinguished English governors like Milner and Rhodes were, in this respect, not distinguished at all.

Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress's deputy president, is equally clearly a very widely and justly respected leader. He has borne up with a great stoicism under his unjust imprisonment of 27 years. But, like anyone who has been out of the play for so long, he sometimes seems like a gramophone record stuck at the point where he was removed.

Some of those dreary platitudes of his about nationalisation of business and his protestations of friendship for Castro and Gaddafi really sound like the utterances of the Flat Earth Society. He is a sincere moderate, and De Klerk wants to help him prevail on behalf of the forces of moderation within the African National Congress, who are being sorely challenged.

Chief Buthelezi of Inkatha has been reviled by the international Left for opposing

sanctions and the so-called arms struggle. He is a distinguished leader of a very strong group.

The second reason for optimism is the decline of the international Left.

There surely is a good deal of suffering and misery in the black townships and squatter camps. But there are still large numbers of people pressing against the borders of South Africa, seeking entry. They are fugitives from the shambles of some of the frontline states, most until recently, self-proclaimed Marxists.

The third and most important reason for optimism about South Africa is that the principal political and sociological fact about the country is that it cannot be governed without the two strongest groups in its demographic patchwork: the Afrikaners and the Zulus. And the Afrikaners finally have renounced their attempt to impose a system based on racial arrogance.

Neither the Afrikaners nor the Zulus will accept a system of the extreme Left. In those circumstances, the pathway towards a regime of reconciliation and moderation is not clear and certainly will not be easy. But the extremes, for those reasons, will be avoided.

The Inkatha party of Buthelezi, and Buthelezi himself, had to be recognised. It was all very well for the ANC to invite him to a patriotic front meeting and give ultimatums about the disarming of Zulus, because they happened not to be in their homeland of KwaZulu.

But Buthelezi had been systematically denied his rightful status as the third player on the political stage — not by Mandela, who appears to be well disposed towards him, but by the more extreme ele-

ments in this fissiparous monolith of the ANC.

A good deal of the violence in the townships ceased when the ANC ceased its pretence that all tribal and political movements had been subsumed into it.

The ANC conference in the summer seemed to indicate that it is not moving to the Left but staying somewhat in the centre. De Klerk would certainly like to help Mandela and the moderates within the ANC, but it is absurd for the ANC leaders to advocate retention of sanctions, while advocating increased investment and job creation; and particularly absurd while they can be seen every night on television being conveyed around in elongated late model Mercedes-Benzes.

Sanctions do not punish the racially offensive people. They punish those of every political and ethnic group, who have courageously torn down apartheid. And that surely is not the purpose of sanctions.

De Klerk has said that he plans a huge devolution of power to the states. So it will be, to the maximum degree possible, not the ethnic groups being governed by other ethnic groups, but self-government at a local level. The central legislature will probably have two houses: one man/one vote, and the other supposedly modelled on the US Senate, having equal weighting for each so-called culture.

Now that will have to be very delicately defined not to replicate some of the evils of the previous system. But it is not just for the protection of whites. The Indians are frightened of the Zulus, the Xhosas are frightened of the Zulus,



Conrad Black

the whites are frightened of the Xhosas. The Zulus appear not to be frightened of anybody, but do not much want to be told what to do.

The system is not one man, one vote. It is, in De Klerk's phrase, a vote of equal value for everyone. And on such a system as that, it would be one of the most exemplary democracies in the world.

For Mandela to be there at all after what he has been through and for Buthelezi to be so close to holding the balance of power, considering how he has been reviled by the foreign and domestic Left, and for De Klerk to be even with Mandela as the most respected politician in the country is certainly more progress than one would have dared to hope for prior to De Klerk's elevation in 1989. — The Sunday Telegraph

## PUBLIC AUCTION SALE OF UNCLAIMED ABANDONED GOODS AT DURBAN DOCKS

AT GRINDROD CARGO SERVICES DURBAN DOCKS — WITHOUT RESERVE ABANDONED PERSIAN ORIENTAL CARPETS, RUGS AND KELIMS, ORDERED BY AND INTENDED FOR LEADING RETAILER WHO FAILED TO CLEAR GOOD THROUGH CUSTOMS AND EXCISE. PLACED BY CUSTOMS INTO STATE WAREHOUSE. NOW RELEASED BY SPECIAL APPLICATION No. 134 OF 24/06/91 AFTER THIRD PARTY INTERVENTION AND PAYMENT IN FULL OF ALL PENALTIES AND DUTIES TO CUSTOMS.

Duly instructed by Afghan Teppich GmbH, Frankfurt/Main, Germany, we will dispose of the contents and others et alienus described as follows:

EXAMPLES: Afghan, Balouch, Hamadan, Karachi, Silk Qum, Isphahan, Mahabad, Kazak, Khailims, Chinese, Saddle Bags, Mori Bokhara, runner, large carpets — all of high investment standard.

**DUE TO VAST STOCKS TO BE CLEARED AUCTION WILL TAKE PLACE DAILY AS FOLLOWS:**

**WEDNESDAY 11 DECEMBER AT 1.00 P.M.  
THURSDAY 12 DECEMBER AT 1.00 P.M.  
FRIDAY 13 DECEMBER AT 1.00 P.M.**

**VENUE: THE WAREHOUSE, GRINDROD CARGO SERVICES, 34 SHADWELL RD., CNR JOHNSON MAYDON WHARF, DURBAN DOCKS.**

**NOTE: EVERY ITEM WILL BE SOLD INDIVIDUALLY**

**VIEW:** 1 hour prior to each auction to minimise disruption of work  
**FORM OF PAYMENT:** ID with all personal cheques unless payments made with auctioneer at sale.  
Visa and MasterCard cards accepted subject to approval.  
**AUCTIONEER'S NOTE:** Every item sold with certificate of authenticity and insurance valuation.

**Auctioneer M. Swanepoel**

# Threats won't help rent crisis says ANC

*lowefan 11/12/91*

**THE rent crisis in black townships will not be solved by threats of power and water cuts, the ANC warned yesterday.**

"The current rent crisis is largely due to the economic non-viability of the township infrastructures. The inhuman system of black local authorities, and not the rent boycott, resulted in the current fiscal crises in black townships throughout the country," said ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa.

He was reacting to threats by authorities that electricity and water supplies would be cut in four Vaal townships on Tuesday unless residents settled their rent accounts.

The Pretoria City Council has also given Atteridgeville residents until tomorrow to submit economically viable rent proposals

**By MONK NKOMO**

or face the same fate. The council has recommended that residents pay the same tariffs as whites in the city.

"It is unjust to expect Atteridgeville residents to pay similar tariffs with whites before the creation of a single tax base for all the people of Pretoria," Mamoepa said.

Residents, Mamoepa said, did not even receive adequate municipal services for what they paid.

He added: "The TPA and respective city councils must enter into negotiations with the civic organisations not only to discuss how much residents can afford to pay but the fundamental issues which make townships economically non-viable and tariffs unaffordable".

*16/1/11*



RELATIVES mourn the deaths of 18 Bruntville residents killed in a violent attack last week. Bruntville is near Mooi River in Natal.

## Fiery funeral speech from the ANC's Gwala at Bruntville

BRUNTVILLE residents have been urged to be on the alert for attacks against the community and to be prepared to meet "spears with spears", in a fiery speech by Natal Midlands African National Congress chief Harry Gwala.

He was speaking at a funeral for 15 of 18 people killed in violent attacks on the community by hostel-dwellers.

Mourning relatives wept openly at the funeral service, attended by Demo-

cratic Party contingent and local civic and religious leaders.

The dead were all victims of a rampage by a group of armed hostel-dwellers who swept through the township in three major attacks over seven hours last week.

Tension is high in Bruntville, near Mooi River, and there is a large securi-

ty force contingent patrolling there.

Most of the fighting is between the ANC-dominated township residents and the Inkatha Freedom Party-supporting hostel-dwellers.

Mr Gwala accused Inkatha of "cowardly killing women and children".

He also slammed the Government for not acting to prevent the deaths: people should not be fooled into thinking that it was Mangosuthu Buthelezi

alone who was controlling Inkatha.

Mr Gwala called the IFP a "surrogate of the ruling class".

Those killed were: Mr Johnathan Mnikathi, Ms Elsie Madlala, Ms Violet Ziqubu, Mr Moses Ntombela, Ms Janet Madlala, Ms Evelyn Mazibuko, Ms Alexia Sithole, Ms Jean Hlela, Ms Betty Sokhela, Mr Bongani Langa, Mr Nkosinathi Mthethwa, Ms Juleit Ziqubu, Mr Sibusiso Ndlovu, Ms Catherine Majola and Ms Nomusa Dlomo.

Daily News  
Reporter

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