

SOWETAN Friday May 17 1991

Unity can solve .

carna

"THE Azanian Peo-
pleâ\200\231s Organisation
yesterday â\200\230warned
that the continued
violence in the black:
townships was grad-

By MOKGADI
PELA

ually assuming pro-
- portions similar to the
civil wars in Mozam-

- bique and Angola.

Azapo said this was

characteristic of the kind

of violence initiated by
counter-revolutionary
forces immediately after

|

-ment

- lowing tactics:

" encouraging
talks;

ge - Azapo

the independence of many
African countries, with
the exception of Zim-
babwe where â\200\230â\200\230the able
leadership of Zanu (PF)
and Zapu was able to
crush this phenomenon.â\200\235â\200\231
. In a statement,
Azapoâ\200\231s president, Mr
Pandelani Nefolovhodwe,
said the current violence
was a result of an or-
chestrated campaign by
the South African govern-

and its col-
laborators, using the fol-

- * stabilisation in the
form of killings;

- * division of the
liberation movement by
individual

- * harassment of fol-
lowers of the various
movements by using its
agents; :

- *. encouragement of
mistrust among the vari-
ous liberation forces; and

- * use of its resources
to boost images of other
liberation movements. :

Struggle

â\200\230It is time that those
who are champions of the
struggle come together to
fight this monster.

â\200\234â\200\234We should leave
political point scoring and
concentrate on ending one
single thing: Violence. No
one organisation, party or
individual can do it alone."

â\200\234â\200\234This is a nationak. is--
sue affecting various â\200\230
black communities, which |
should be involved in the
resolution of the conflict.

â\200\234President FW de
Klerkâ\200\231s security forces
cannot stop the- violence,
The people themselves
will have to enhance
black solidarity and unity
at all cost,â\200\235â\200\235 the Azapo of-
ficial said, e

THE INDEPENDENT PAPER FOR
A CHANGING SOUTH AFRICA

WERKIYVAIL

Volume 7, Number 19. May 17 to 23 1991

Winnie: No room
for smugness

INNIE MANDELA seemed this week to
be the only person oblivious to the tragedy
of her own position. Like our own

Margaret Thatcher, she went down as she
had always lived: uncompromising, proud
and strong.

: The irony is that those very characteristics
that made her such a formidable opponent of apartheid
and courageous representative of the African National
Congress led her also to this sad conclusion. She was as
courageous and unflinching in her defence of wrong as
she had been for so many difficult years in defence of
what was right. _

There is no comfort in the outcome of this sordid trial,
even for those who have long been convinced of her
guilt. There is no room for smugness, even among her
critics. It is a tragedy â\200\224 for her, for the organisation
and for a country that desperately needs to focus on
more important issues, such as the causes of violence.

TheANCshoniï¬\202dactswiï¬\202lywensurematiï¬\202leâ\200\234Winnie
issueâ\200\235 does not drag out, especially since it has the
potential to do enormous damage to the organisation and
its leader â\200\224 and by implication to the negotiation
process. . 3

For the sake of the ANC and the cause she has fought
for for so long, Winnie Mandela should step down from
all official positions pending the outcome of her appeal.

_ If she doesnâ\200\231t, the organisation should show that it has
no tolerance for people found guilty of such offences,
even if they are married to the deputy president, and
send her into retirement.

That, however, is also not the end of the matter. The
courts have taken the first step to showing that they will
not give preferential treatment to the powerful; to ;

convince us of their fairness and balance, and to prove
that this was not a vendetta against an anti-apartheid
leader, the legal system should show the same vigour in
apprehending the many others guilty of kidnap and
assault.

Give the same treatment to those who kidnapped
Ebrahim Ebrahim from Swaziland and tortured him, for

And show the same enthusiasm for tracking
down the killers of human rights activist David
Webster. ' ;

'Onlyï¬\2021enwillwelmowi¬\202mtfullandproperjusi¬\201eehas

been seen to be done.

oy

Paying back old frienodi¬\201

IT was no coincidence that Margaret Thatcher and
Augusto Pinochet were due in town the same week.
'lâ\200\230heyn_mybevu-ydii¬\202â\200\230erentleadusofverydii¬\202â\200\230u'ent
countries, but both are old friends of the National Party
goYern_ment, having helped them along when they were
fmm%i¬\201Mvi¬\201i¬\201mi¬\201mWyï¬\201i¬\201hw'w
dlff.erentways,Pinochettlmugharnsandother
military deals, Thatcher by helping stave off sanctions.
'lâ\200\230herearesomewh(.)sayitisinappropriatefoi'i¬\202lemto
be here now, and particularly inappropriate for Thatcher
to receive the Order of Good Hope in the Grand Cross
â\200\230?las .(thehighestaward available to a foreigner). But it
is obvious why they chose this time: if they left it much
longer, a democratic South African government would
not have been so hospitable and certainly would not
%:;%WMMM
inappropriate for a majority government to
hax}doqt\swhanapprobaï¬\201onw'lâ\200\230hatdm-;bmitis
entirely a riate for a white minority government.
Attitudes to Thatcher could be changed, however, if
she was seen to use her visit here, and her considerable
influence with some political leaders, to good effect,
ratl.neri¬\202mnsimplyasdchancetocolledrewankfmm
W!llte South Africa. She could, for example, lean on her
friend Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to stop his
mm'ageous.campaigntoallowpeoplemwrrydeadly
weapons with impunity in volatile situations. And she
could put pressure on President FW de Klerk to show
some seriousness in reigning in his security forces. ||

THE CITIZEN

COMMENT

)R

Wrrred s

WE hold no brief for Mr Joe Slovo, the general secretary of the SA Communist Party, or,

for that matter, for Mr Eugene Terre-

blanche, the leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Mr Slovo is an out and out Communist, even at a time when Communism is collapsing in Eastern Europe.

He is also a former chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, which engaged in terrible acts of terrorism.

We do not have to go into Umkhonto we Sizwe's threat to resume the armed struggle if the ANC does not get its way.

We also do not have to go into the manner in which the SACP, through the ANC, which it dominates, has tried to make the country ungovernable.

The benign-looking Mr Slovo is, in fact, the tactical brain behind the ANC-SACP alliance and nobody should under-estimate his influence.

However, whether one likes Mr Slovo's role or not, he is a dominant figure who cannot be ignored. .

And whether one likes his views or not, he is a man who should be heard, if only to know what his policies are and what he has in mind should the ANC-SACP alliance take over the government of this country. :

For that reason alone the Potchefstroom University Council should not have barred him.

The days when it was wrong for students to

meet the ANC or the SACP, because they

were illegal organisations or were engaged in the armed struggle, including terrorism, are over.

The ANC is unbanned and Mr Slovo is free to speak his mind. He is also like any other party leader, and just as open to criticism if one rejects his views.

But at least students should know what those

â\200\230views are.

To bar him from speaking at a university will
â\200\230not make him disappear, nor will it make the
students, the countryâ\200\231s future leaders better

â\200\230informed. = e
It will simply demonstrate that the university is
incapable of upholding the principle of free-
dom of expression, and at the same time
shutting their minds off. &
Granted, the Potchefstroom

University,
Council has been under pressure from sup-
porters, parents, alumni and others who
donâ\200\231t want a Communist and an atheist to
address a university of Christian Higher Edu-
cation.

It also seems to worry that if Mr Slovo ap-
peared on its campus, there might be trouble
similar to that at Pretoria and Stellenbosch
Universities.

But it is wrong to bow to pressure, or to react

â\200\230to .threatgs of violence, by banning a speaker.

Besides, if security arrangements are ad-
cquate, there should be no serious problems.

Mr Terreâ\200\231Blanche might have been barred be-
cause the university felt it could not reject Mr -
Slovo and allow Mr Terreâ\200\231Blanche to speak.

We do not agree with Mr Terreâ\200\231Blancheâ\200\231s
views, his neo-Nazi posturings and his cre-
ation of paramilitary wenkommandos.

But Mr Terreâ\200\231Blanche has a right to be heard
â\200\224 and if students want to hear what he has to
say, nobody should stop them from doing so.

It would .be a sad day if a university has to
_protect its students from views that are ob.-
_jectionable to some, if not most of them.

We have condemned Wits University students
in the past for making it impossible for
Peoqlle Ifike Mrs Helen Suzman and internat-
lly famous academic, Dr i
Oâ\200\231Brien, to be heard. : e Cru#se

We have condemned Pretoria University stu-
dents who refused to give Mr Nelson Mande-
la, the ANC deputy president, a hearing.

And we condemn the decision at Potch to bar
Mr Slovo and Mr Terreâ\200\231Blanche from speak-
â\200\230ing there.

Dramatic changes are taking place, and the
end of the road has a great question mark

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Ã@um)njos'c Us08-ysE CEBY-ONE (Â\$N1') 8
S URTGI ! :

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CAN Natlonatâ\200\230

dent, Mr Nelson Man-
dela, yesterday warned
the government that if
it failed to stop the cur-
rent violence, it could
spread to White areas.

- Speaking at a com-
' memoration service for 27
&wameville squatter camp

residents massacred on

S morning, ~Mr
Maadela said: â\200\234There

nï-\201k&mm doubt that vi-

Congress deputy presi-

olence is mdmsrble 2
Currently the violence
was taking place among
Blacks but if the govern-
ment failed to end it, it

would take place in White

suburbs, he told . more
than 1500 people

crammed into the Kagiso

Community Hall.
â\200\234When they 1 reahse that

the government is â\200\230work- |

ing %} the Black organi-
sations that are ng our
people, they will arm

themselves and go to the

White areas and kill inno-
cent people there.â\200\235

He said the ANC, the. :

Pan Africanist Congress
(PAC) and the Azanian
Peopleâ\200\231s Organisation
(AZAPO). did not sup-
port the spreading of viol--
ence to White areas as
there were â\200\234innocent

people there who have

â\200\230m{hmgtothhth:sv:â\200\224~

olencÃ@? . -

Tl aay attack both the
_mmnt and the gqĩ-\202ty

â\200\231Zg

areas

must know as long as they
allow violence to con-

. tinue, because it was only

affecting Blacks, there is
a danger that this-can,
spread to the Whlte

areas.â\200\235

Mr Mandela said the
ANC was puttmgñâ\200\234tre
mendous pressureâ\200\235
the government to ban
the public carrying of

~spears and sticks and if
the government failed to
do so â\200\234there is no ques-
tion of negotiations in the

wunmâ\200\235 X

In an mdrrect reference

o the Inkatha Freedbm

Mr Mandela also said
State President De Klerk
was reluctant to ban the
use of assegais because
White people were not'

the orgamsatlon was bus-"

sing â\200\234â\200\234peopleâ\200\231into -~ the:
Transvaal to assist in 'a
forced recruitment cam-
algn in townshrps

â\200\234In order to use force
they say that assegais and
sticks, these weapons of
death, are = culturalâ\200\231
weapons and that they

must; use them . when
. *going to rallies. In;other"

words, they wanted to=

rise; to ' power : on : the
corpses of our people,
e said. :

B2

ones alive. 70

He said the police were !
aware of planned attacks
by hostel residents as they -

_had- informers in every

hostel, but allowed these

attacks as it had become

- part of the government's +
policy in their attack on
the: the hberatron y

in the violence"i HÃ© |
said if = only- 50 - White
- people were killed in the

violence the government

~would - have immediately

banned
weapons

all deadly

-~ He pointed out that the =
commemoration

service
had been a joint effort of -

the. ANC, PAC, Azapo'- |

and religious leaders. Mr
Mandela said it was sig-
nificant as those who had .

- sought to destroy the lib-"~

erations had only 'suc-
ceeded in bringing them
---Lther ;

South African Com- :
.unist Party leader,- Mr.
% Joe Slovo;
aid: it had become clear
that the government_w
either incapable "of pro-*

; in his address,

tectmg Black lives: or ,was

,unable â\200\230foâ\200\231 becausÃ© it Te-
+garded the IFP as part of .
â\200\234~the anti-ANC pact. ..

work - or ~whether they ..
would " find - their loved

move-

He _said Pres De Klerk

r-productlve e

thh clean hands.

â\200\234knew that the police had
blood on their hands. he

v*â\200\234Mr De Klerk had also

not- made a single criti-

cism of the IFP and an in-

quiry into the massacre of
â\200\234| 27 people had not been
â\200\230 announced, he said.

The ANC â\200\230would build
self-defence~~ units

Black
whether the government
liked it or not, Umkhonto
we Sizwe -Chief of Staff,
Mr Chris Hani, said yes-

| terday.
| â\200\234Weare going to build
these defence units

whether the system likes

it or not. We donâ\200\231t
care . . . They can shout
â\200\230 or threaten . It is our

people who are dymg
' Enough is enough,â\200\235 Mr
Hani told the commem-
oration service.

MK commanders

would be deployed in

as long as the violent situation
escalated.
can deploy the whole
SADF and SAP . . . they
won't destroy us.

heid.

He also told a cheering
crowd of 5000: The
Boers are using their

o- . had not made a single
criticism of the police, as ..
he believed it to be count-
and -had -
stated that the police
would continue to act -

But the whole country

in: \$
communities |

- revolutionary' by the
| -+ government, . -intended . to.
-iweaken ' the liberation

every Black community : pressed the PAC opposi-

tion to the current visit of
the former British Prime
<*Minister, Mrs Margaret
Thatcher.

- but Echoed by other speakers.-

They |2

. Mr- Dikgang Medeneke,
- said the violence was the
" single biggest counter-

*movements:
i He said *Mr* De Klerk

* make - peace-and-at" the

small dogs ::to lull -our
people.:

-+ Those: encouraging the 3

killng of .. the . Black |

_people, he said, would ac-
_count for it and explain m

revolutionary Af organsa ' ,

tion= established HEby =

â\200\234Boersâ\200\235 to destablhse the

ments

â\200\234Every revolution has y
its own traitors .

we are -

not the exoeptron 2 A

_IFP. presiden Mang&

suthu Buthelen vas- rep-

resentmg -IFP* only, but

n6tZulus as h

Zulus were llvm â\200\230in squa-

added' o8

. A large Âcrowd marched

several kilometres from

Kagiso to follow Mr Hani

on his way to Swanieville,

where he addressed the

â\200\234residents. = - -

â\200\234 A large contmgent of

â\200\230security, forces on horse--

â\200\234back monitored the pro-

' â\200\230cession on its way to the

squatter camp

PAC deputv pre den

could not invite'Blacks to

same time kill them. -

Mr Moseneke. also ex-

â\200\234A " view:: also

il we will destroy apart- &=

Defining

ANY specialist insti-

itutes and publications
i have devoted much
time to the study of conflict
and violence. But at the ordi-
nary levels of understanding
to be found in the black town-
ships and rural areas where
bloody cycles of violence and
revenge are becoming endem-
ic, some of the blame for what
is happening can fairly be laid
at the door of people who, ei-
ther deliberately or un-

wittingly, sow confusion |

about the meaning and na- |
ture of violence. '+ " Â¥

Revolutionaries; openiy ad- -

vocate violence as part of
gl;ilitâ\200\230a?g(:eggaâ\200\230gfotfpolitical and

hange, 50 we know
where they stqu Pacifists re-
ject violence as a solution,
and their position, Â£00, is

. clear. Most of the rest of us

influence :
ship Whâ\200\234ixi?t%s

ly do not wish to bÃ©Ã©(;mewcgi-
rectly involved, have a res-
ponsibility to think very
carefully about what they are -
saying.
Some Christian churches

and clergy face a painful di- *

lemma in trying to be faithful
to the peaceful teachings of
their religion while at the
same time wishing to be seen
%iso rfggvag_xt' to violent revolu-
â\200\231 stirrings amon ir;
oppressed flock. i
l shall steer clear of this the-
ological minefield, except to
say that I believe .it is the
business of religion to teach
compassion and raise the lev-

el of mankindâ\200\231s eternal con-
~ sciousness rather than to tin-

er with ephemeral social and

" it has been observed, it is easier

political issues. But as some
to change the world

But the
churchmen are often tempted
to embrace popular secular
causes instead of facing up to
the sterner responsibilities of
their unique mission. ;
/Thus We urge that |

branch of some political or
revolutionary movement, and
clergy who seem to pay more
attention to the seductive
teachings of the liberation theo-
logy on violence than to
Christian doctrine or, say, St
Augustine's conditions for a

. just war.
But my concern here is se-

mantic, not religious. The am-

bivalent way in which the |

word 'violence' has been used
by people who sought to justi-
fy, even sanctify, the violence
of the indiscriminate car-
bomb and other weapons of
terror has contributed to the -
growth of a climate of vio-
lence and intimidation in
which ever the horror of the
burning tyre 'necklace', once
passionately denounced by
Archbishop Desmond Tutu,
appear to be tacitly 'done'.
done. 'We

We hear about the 'flaming
violence of the state, the
institutional violence, the
violence of - unfair education
systems or inadequate health.

lence of hunger, pre-emptive.
violence, constructive vio-
lence, and 'heaven help us,

from an English bishop, no

less 'prophylactic violence,

which referred not to the inti-

macies of the bedroom, as one

might think, but to the use of
violence to prevent violence.

On dictionary definitions of |

violence, some of these uses of
the word may just pass muster
in a particular context.

ces, the violence of high 'e
viability fates, the violy |
,/â\200\224_â\200\224_â\200\230_41â\200\2311-1â\200\224â\200\224';â\200\230.,Â«4.â\200\235
.__â\200\230.,., : R

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oral leaders it
an "equiy. ali.sta

. The Natal 7I\A/7|ercury Friday May 17 1991

But it is at best careless and
at worst irresponsible or mis-
chievous to use a word with
different shades of meaning in
ways that suggest they can all
be equated with direct phys-
ical violence, which then be-
comes a justifiable response
to anything else that is,

* labelled violence.

o

That oppressed people.
'should resort to violence is
understandable, but when

- those who claim moral leader:

%)

'ship condone or flirt with vio-

e as, commitment of pol-
itical change while there 'is
â\200\230 that other methods

dressing injustice will
they put themselves,

: they championed are also

contaminated. Others, even
in the liberation movements,
today stand appalled, like the
Sorcererâ\200\231s Apprentice, at the
spectacle of what they helped

to start but are powerless to stop.

That, broadly, is the charge that has bet ;â\200\230I%py the respected southâ\200\231 Affican Institute of Race Relations,

â\200\230among others, at the door of

lence, notably i,
' African Council of Churches.
â\200\230It has been angrily denied,

the Kairos Document,
much, else;

v

â\200\234out of the trendy circle of
I radical writers, mostly lesser
â\200\230talents whose work is unlikely

to survive much beyond the
death of apartheid.

Another aspect of the tragedy is that those who betrayed their high calling have seriously compromised their moral authority at a time when it is sorely needed to help heal the wounds of the past and bring peace and reconciliation.

As we march bravely into the new south Africa, we should take with us the words of Confucius: â\200\230If language is not, correct, then what is said

" is not what is meant. If what

is said is not what is meant, then what ought to be done remains undone. If this remains undone, morals and arts will deteriorate. If morals and arts deteriorate, justice will go astray. If justice goes astray, the people will stumble about in helpless confusion. Hence there must be no contrariness in what is said. This

. | matters above everything.â\200\231

Â¢

e language of

Political Correspondent CHRIS WHITFIELD reports on the reason for an astonishing speech

Dr Buthelezi

THE NRTAL

PUERCURY 7Ry 17 199/

Things aren't quite as friendly as they seem to be

HE ASTONISHING eulogy to Inkatha and Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi by Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Government's chief negotiator, in Parliament this week was the clearest signal yet that recent talks between the organisations have not been quite as friendly as they would have people believe.

After last week's four-hour meeting at Tuynhuys on Tuesday, President de Klerk said they had taken a step forward. Dr Buthelezi added that the discussions had been very useful.

The next day Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok slapped a ban on carrying a wide variety of dangerous weapons from machine-guns to tyres and garden tools in public in unrest areas but excluded sticks and spears.

President de Klerk flew to Pretoria that afternoon and saw ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela. Although good progress was also made at that meeting, it soon emerged that the spears issue was far from being resolved.

The President said they were only being excluded from Mr Vlok's ban at this stage and that the carrying of these weapons at political gatherings would have to be probed.

Mr Mandela subsequently confirmed that the ANC had made it clear that it would not consider taking part in negotiations if carrying spears was not banned.

The talks were, as one headline writer put it, balanced on the tip of an assegai.

The assumption in political circles was that Mr de Klerk would be breaking the bad

. news that the Government intended banning spears to Dr Buthelezi shortly.

Last Friday, however, Zulu tribal chiefs said after a special meeting to discuss the

4)
Dr Viljoen

issue that there would be no compromise whatsoever, and this was apparently the message that Dr Buthelezi took into this week's meeting, on Tuesday at Tuynhuys, with Mr de Klerk.

A terse joint statement issued after the meeting again insisting that the talks had been constructive and friendly, said further discussions will take place, a signal that the impasse had not been resolved.

Government sources said later that the meeting had contained some tough talking from both leaders.

Dr Viljoen's comments on Inkatha and Dr Buthelezi, made during his opening address to the Constitutional Development Budget vote, were apparently designed to reassure Inkatha that the Government does not intend sidelining it and views it as a major player in any future political dispensation.

Mr de Klerk now stands between the proverbial rock and hard place.

Although it is clear that the spears have been used in the bloodshed on the Rand, Afrikaans newspapers have provided graphic evidence of this in recent weeks, there are other factors he has to take into account.

One is that Zulus in the unrest areas would be extremely vulnerable to attacks if they were stripped of these arms.

Another is that Dr Buthelezi would find it difficult to justify to his support base as evidenced by the tough tone that emerged from the meeting of tribal chiefs. A weakened Dr Buthelezi, whose political thinking dovetails neatly with that of the National Party, is clearly not something Government desires.

On the other hand, Mr Mandela has every right to insist that carrying patently dangerous weapons be banned. And with his particularly militant constituency not entirely happy about his meeting Mr de Klerk in the first place will face a credibility problem himself if he backs down on this issue.

One solution could be for the Government to ban the weapons, but combine it with a massive policing programme that would effectively protect threatened Zulus. The

ANC might also be persuaded to make a

- compromise here â\200\224 perhaps on the arming
of its self-defence units, heavily criticised by
Inkatha.

But, for a long-term resolution on this is-
sue â\200\224 which has now become pivotal to the
negotiations and therefore the countryâ\200\231s fu-
ture â\200\224 Dr Buthelezi and Mr Mandela should
seize the initiative themselves and meet to
thrash out a compromise acceptable to
their people.

| 7â\200\2248 -9y

CAPE TOWNâ\200\224_The

overnment gave stern
notice yesterday it
would demand an ae-
counting from the ANC
for what it viewed as
bickering about details
rather than facing up to
its responsibilities to
address the violence
issue.

In what must rank as the
most forthright criticism of
the ANC yet, the Minister of
Constitutional Development,
Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said the

| ANCâ\200\231s ultimatur 2â\200\230an ill-
judged tunate
actionâ\200\231.

He was in near challenging
form on the eve of a crucial
ANC-alliance meeting to for-
mulate its position on the
Governmentâ\200\231s response to the
ANC'â\200\231s open letter ultimatum.

The minister announced to

its agenda in respge to the

and unf

â\200\234Government would not plan

NATAL MERCURY

the media that the planned
national summit on May 24
and 25 would open its plenary
sessions to the Press and
would be held at the CSIR
Conference Centre outside
Pretoria. â\200\230

The summit would not be
accused of being a â\200\230secret con-
claveâ\200\231 but he did not think
anyone could stay away â\200\230with-
out. giving a proper account
for staying awayâ\200\231.

The conference would also
certainly not be a waste of
time if the ANC did not at-
tend, Dr Viljoen said.

While Dr Viljoen said th re
~had been * â\200\231raiï~\2011Ã@'.â\200\230d&-â\200\231.-â\200\230

vergence of understandingâ\200\231
during the most recent, talks

between President de Klerk and Dr Mangosuthu Buthe-lezi on the issue of dangerous weapons, he did not know what the ANC had heard on the subject.

The Government was not interested in their deadlines as these were neither constructive nor a method to ad-

Govt lashes out at ANC

K

ultimatums

dress constructively the challenge of violence together.

The ANC, he said, changed its views and Spokesmen quite frequently with deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela first favouring the summit and then being against it because he was not previously consulted.

Asked whether he expected the ANC to be there, Dr Viljoen emphasised he wanted

the main pl rs: present but due to the tering em-

ph:sis of the ANC, he could not say would be

We cannot be planning our things in response to their ultimatum. If we did so, we would have a new ultimatum every day.

The basic responsibility remained with the Government,

,

. and the urgency of the matter

fully justified accepting Mr de Klerk's bona fides in laying on the conference, said Dr Viljoen.

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B T T S T T staff to the roof.,
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Ha%;i¬\201)le;dge

JOHANNESBURGâ\200\224The
ANC will build self-defence
units in black communities
whether the Government
likes it or not, Umkhonto we
Sizwe Chief of Staff Mr Chris
Hani said yesterday.

â\200\230We are going to build these
defence units whether the Sys-
tem likes it or not. We donâ\200\231t
care ... they can shout or
threaten ... it is our people
who are dying ... enough is
enough,â\200\235 Mr Hani told a com-
memoration service in
Kagiso, near Krugersdorp, for
the 27 victims of Sundayâ\200\231s
massacre in Swanieville
squatter camp.

MK commanders would be
deployed in every black com-
munity as long as the violent
situation escalated. â\200\230They can
deploy the whole SADF and
SAP ... they won't destroy us
... but we will destroy
apartheid.â\200\231

or[defence

He also told a cheering
crowd of 5 000: â\200\230The Boers are
using their small dogs to kill
our peopleâ\200\231.

Those encouraging the kill-
ing of the black people, he
said, would account for it and
explain in future.

Mr Hani attacked the
Inkatha Freedom Party, say-
ing it was a counter-revolu-
tionary organisation estab-

. lished by â\200\230Boersâ\200\231 to destabil-
â\200\230" ise the black liberation,

movements. -

IFP president Mangosuthu
Buthelezi was representing:
IFP only, but not Zulus as he
claimed. Zulus were living in

squalor in Natal, Mr Hani
added.

A large crowd marched several kilometres from Kagiso to follow Mr Hani on his way to Swanieville, where he addressed the residents.

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THE NATAL

MERCURY

This one

wonâ\200\231t wait

F ALL the bitter legacies left by
0 the Group Areas Act, few can

have created more headaches for
the dispossessed communities and
the various authorities now charged
with overseeing redevelopment than
Cato Manor.

We do not wish to harp on the in-
justice done to individual families
and thriving communities who were
forced out of their homes and off
their land, paid a pittance in com-
pensation, and resettled in dormi-
tory suburbs. But now that the
apartheid laws are being undone,
there are rival claims to the land that
stood empty for so long while people
cried out for housing. A compelling
moral obligation rests on the au-
thorities to see that these various
claims and views are fairly consid-
ered, and the land fairly allocated.

This task has now been delegated
to the Provincial Administration, fol-
lowing an inspection of the area this
week by Government ministers and
provincial and local-authority offi-
cials. Among the proposals it will
have to consider is one from the new-
ly formed Cato Manor Development
Forum, representing 12 organisa-
tions, for a cosmopolitan township of
300 000 people comprising all racial
and economic groups. As a possible
model for a post-apartheid society, it
deserves serious consideration and
should not in the meantime be
jeopardised by piecemeal develop-
ment in the area.

The task is urgent. Squatters are
pouring into Cato Manor every day,
and if action is not taken soon
Durban could have a Calcutta-type
situation in which planned develop-
ment is rendered impossible by a

practically immovable mass of humanity living in appalling conditions. How ironic that this almost exactly describes the notorious Cato Manor shack-farms of the 1950s.

Burn out!

: F OR YEARS, even decades, there

have been demands to curtail the

right of smokers to exercise their addiction when and where they please. This campaign has been only partly successful.

In most parts of the country there are regulations that prevent smoking in government places, in aircraft, cinemas and in stores where food is sold. New strictures on the sale of cigarettes to children and tightening up of the code of advertising of cigarettes, but stopping short of banning advertisements, are now being proposed in draft legislation circulated at the request of Health Minister Rina Venter.

Things may be getting tougher on smokers, but we are still a long way short of the limitations on smoking imposed in other Western countries. Canada, for example, does not even allow smoking areas in certain buildings; anyone who wants to smoke must leave the building altogether and smoke on the pavement in the cold.

We do not think such extreme legislation is necessary. We have more than enough laws already. We hold no brief for the tobacco industry, but do believe the individual's rights are supreme. If people want to smoke, let them do so, so long as tobacco products carry compulsory health warnings so people realise they are probably harming themselves. Smokers should also exercise reasonable restraint and do nothing to harm or annoy other reasonably tolerant people around them.

WEEKEND reports that a phoenix is 2L 1 .| has always believed in the necessity to. about 10 rise out of the ashes of the New hgyd W{}I_â\200\230_,t Cha}_ lence AN C develop a civil society that js indepen- United Democratic Front 10 challenge . .] dent to the state.â\200\235 the African National Congress have ! Iis areality tha many of the old UDF been dismissed as â\200\234utter nonsenseâ\200\235 by vaal (Cast) vice-president K gabisi W tu for the civic associations. IUâ\200\231s criti- leaders, who emerged from the civics members of the UDF, the civic associa. Mosunkutu, â\200\234was exploring the possi- | : cal .â\200\235 Critical, explained Mosunkutu, in the 1980s, are dissatisfied wigy ANC tions, Cosatu, and the ANC itself. bility of a national federation of civics. Investigates the rumours Â¢ ause it would provide all the Joca] leadership. And this new civic associa- The rumours started with 5 confer- We â\200\230are in no way challenging the new organisat ion is being civics with a forum where they could tion might weli provide them with a ence, held in Bloemfontein this week- ANC, and we would never alloyw the formed to chalien ge the ANC exchange strategies and developacom- new fOfum.Bu.t Coleman believes lhat end, that was purportedly (o launch a civics lo become a platform for opposi- e mon agenda . We need such an agenda â\200\234things are being confyseq. It is as- can National Civic Associa- tion to the ANC.â\200\235 g , if we are to fight government ini tiatives - sumed that because the Natiopa] Civic tion. Quoting prominent members of Gill Marcus, spokesperson for the strong alliance.â\200\235 like the Iocal Governmen Bj)). This Association is being launched in Au- the UDF like Archie Gumede, who are ANC, confirmed that â\200\234we welcome anâ\200\235 i - bill would allow conservalive towns to - gust and the UDF is disbanding in Au-

known to be dissatisfied wit current independent national cjvic association, _And Cosatuâ\200\231s Niel Coleman said et remain segregated if they chogse, 8ust, the one is going (0 replace the orh-

ANC leadership, weekend newspa- - We have always believed in it â\200\235 comrary lo report s in the Saturday Star, 5 â\200\234er.â\200\235 But while the UDF was 4 broad pers implied that this new association Mosunkutu said: Iy is vital that civics â\200\234Co satu has no vested interest n the - .Cachalia added that â\200\234the need for ana- front o f resistance, this new associa-

was being set up as a radical, Mmass- - remain independent from ail litical - reation of su ch an association. Our tional civic sociazion became all the tion will be very specifically a federa-

based option to the ANC. parties if wei:r:e to do our wor!I(),o which leadership has been i nvolved, howey- mhore pEent once it became clear that tion of civic as;yocirzâ\200\231i(t:i ons, dc);ling with

â\200\234But last weekâ\200\231s Saturday Star lead is to tackle bread-and-butter issues er , because through the years of Tepres- (ljae i I; Was lo disband. Because lo bread-and-butt er local jssucs.

article was mischievous and mislead- - the townships, Bu; he fact that we are Sion they ha d a protected role while the h leti-â\201gFocal civics have worked within The only way civic s coul be con-

ing,â\200\235 said UDF Treasurer Azhar Ca. independent of the ANC seems to have ClVIC lead ers were in detention. L '?! Â» and once jt disbands, they. struedasa threat to the ANC, Mo sun-

chalia. â\200\234It was a deliberate atlemp to- been misconstrued as opposition to the ~ H e added that â\200\234far from detracting Wil have no common CCHg poinLâ\200\235 o e said, is â\200\234if and when the ANC

Set a possible new national civic stryc- ANC. Nothing could be further from from already-e xisting alliances, anin- - Coleman believes that â\200\234civics might comes o power, we wi ll not disbuang,

lure up against the ANC, when that the truth. We have always believed inâ\200\231 dependent National Civic Association eyolve different policies to the ANC, We will become watchdogs to make,

Wwas not the intention at al],â\200\235 forming alliances with political parties would only sirengthen them. UDFand gpg they might have a different style sure leaders remain accounta ble to the

â\200\234All we were doing in Bloemfon;- who share our agenda, and, right now, Cosatu have been calling for such 4 and substance. But this is healthy and is people and deal with loc

al issues such

in,â\200\235 added Civic Association of Trans- the ANCissuch a party. So we are in body for
years. It would be like a Cosa-’ Ã©ncouraged by the ANC itself, which as housing, water, a
nd electricity.â\200\235

e e v v tttmacat s v emmrars e e ..

By WALLY MBHELE

ESPIE attempts to explain their inaction, police still face a number of questions on township near Kr on Sunday, when about 900 Inkatha supporters attacked Swanieville squatter camp, killing 28 people. - ; - Why was a curfew declared in a calm Kagiso on Saturday the day before the massacre? Did the police suspect something the residents did not know about? How was it possible that more than 900 armed men were able to move between five and eight kilometres in an un-

If indeed the attack while they were changing shifts, how long did it take them to change shifts? Could it have taken more than three hours as, according to their own admission, the first sign of violence in the area reached them at about 3am.

TO PAGE 2

of questions on their role in Kagiso rest area without being detected by police? 6.30am? The attack, according to residents - Could it have been possible for the police not to notice the activity at the hostel the day before? THE WEEKLY MAIL, May 17 to May 23 1991

FROM PAGE 1

which is metres from the police station? Why did the police escort the at-

tackers back to safety after the riotous attack on the police station for arrest? ; Kagiso activists this week angrily marched to the house of the local African National Congress chairman,

Uhuru Moiloa, calling on the ANC to

stay out of talks with the government provide them with arms to defend

themselves. - Police and Inkatha are killing us, they said.

* Moiloa says he didn't know how to respond. :

Inkatha has already accepted responsibility for the killings. On Tuesday, Inkatha Freedom Party representative

â\200\230Suzanne Vos said squatters were at-
tacked in response to the earlier kidnap-
ping of two Inkatha hostel dwellers on
Saturday night. Â»

She promised a full report would be
issued later on Monday but at the time
of going to press no Inkatha report had
. been received.

At a press conference in Kagiso on
- Tuesday, residents of Swanieville con-
firmed â\200\234there was no sign of any vio-
lence the curfew was declared.
It completely took us by surprise.â\200\235

o

Kagiso: Where
were the police?

Even the police admitted at a press
_conference on Monday there was no
sign of violence in the area at the time.
Terrified Swanieville residents told
The Weekly Mail how police came
around the squatter camp on Saturday
at about 9pm telling them to remain in-
doors as the place had been declared an
unrestarea. :

They were also warned they would be
arrested if they walked the streets at
night, as unrest regulations were in
force. 2 â\200\230 g

However, they were awoken at about
3am on Sunday morning by the sound
of rifle fire. :

During the next hour, adults and
young children alike were shot at, and
hacked with pangas and spears.
Shacks were blown up with handgre-
nades and property looted.
The impi left a trail of burning shacks
and bodies strewn around the camp.
Swanieville resident Vuyani Radebe

said he heard shots fired and, when he we were attacked,â\200\235 said the young boy.

looked through the window, he saw a
group of people wearing red head-
bands firing at the shacks.

â\200\234I jumped out of the window and hid
in the toilet and saw them hurling hand-
grenades at the shacks,â\200\235 he said.

He said there â\200\234was a lot of confusion

as people were screaming and running

in different directions, hacked with
spwmm dpmgai\201asme yuiedmi\202ee.

â\200\234Police came to tell us not to move
around the streets after 9pm and we
were not aware that they were inviting
Inkatha to kill us.â\200\235 :

A young boy who did not want to be
named said he saw white men standing
by while residents were attacked. He
claims white police who were armed
with shotguns and driving in a Ford
Sierra and Opel Monza arrived when
the attack was already underway.

â\200\234They did nothing to stop Inkatha
from killing. I saw them with my own_
eyes, they only stood and watched as

; â\200\234As they drove away, they laughed at A

the dead and injured e
| a hard-hitting statement responding -

to the massacre, Lawyers for Human
Rights this week called for a â\200\234totally in-
dependentâ\200\235 commission of inquiry
consisting of eminent and credible jur-
ists as investigators. :

â\200\234What we fail to understand is how
this large group of armed men were
able to move totally undetected from the
hostels to the camp, which is approxi-
mately 10km away. Sk

â\200\234The fact that police Casspirs were on -

hand immediately after the attack to es-

cort the attackers to the hostels, lends
credence to the allegation that the police
had been involved in the attack,â\200\235 said
LHR. ;

The organisation said it was astound-
ing that while the police escorted the at-
tackers back to the hostel, not a single
person was arrested immediately.

â\200\234The arrest of only six persons where
several hundred persons had been in-
volved in the attack makes a mockery of
our criminal justice system.â\200\235

The statement called on the govern-
ment to take urgent action and drastic
steps to address the violence. 5 -

@At the time of going to press the
South African Police had still not re-
sponded to the article. :

Indonesna ' isÂ\$

NELSON MANDELA'â\200\231s visit to the south-east Asian nation of Indonesia last October was a shock to many The .Indonesian military regime is among the worst violators of human rights on record and is an aggressor against the national liberation movements of West Papua and East Timor .

After a state banquet in his honour in.

the capital, Jakarta, Mandela was awarded the Republic of Indonesia Star and received a cheque of \$10-million (about R25-million) for the African National Congress.

Added to controversy about the ignoring of racial discrimination in Australia and human-rights abuses in Kenya and India, the Indonesia trip highlighted serious questions about the ANC'â\200\231s international policy.

President Suharto came to power after the slaughter of an estimated one million Indonesians in 1965 and 1966, aimed at destroying the countryâ\200\231s left-wing movement. The Communist Party, then third largest after the Soviet Union and China, was all but wiped

out. Suhartoâ\200\231s rule since has been

characterised by repression. -

Indonesia has been in occupation of

East Timor since 1975, violating the United Nations Charter and numerous resolutions, and despite an intense struggle by the East Timorese resistance movement, led by Fretilin.

This tiny country, occupying half an

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TN Al

Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s trip to Indonesia raises serious

questions about the ANCâ\200\231s

international policy, according to

London-based anti-apartheid activist CELIA MATHER

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island across the deep-water straits

from Australia, is estimated to have lost a third of its people through war, starvation and disease since the Indonesians took over.

Jose Ramos Horta, who has repre-

sented Fretilin at the UN for many .

years, was among those who reacted |

with anger at Mandela's visit to Indonesia. Accusing the ANC of hypocrisy and opportunism, Horta said Fretilin had made three representations to the ANC about the visit which had been met with silence. Not only had Mandela refused a request to speak out on behalf of East Timor and Indonesia's political prisoners while in Jakarta, but the ANC had failed to respond to subsequent requests to issue a statement supporting East Timor, Horta said. East Timor solidarity groups from around the world, meeting in Portugal last month, reacted with consternation at the ANC's handling of the East Timor question. The ANC's representative in Spain assured them that the ANC was well aware of repression in Indonesia and East Timor, but requests for

Nelson as the
Republic of Indonesia Star

a formal statement have remained unanswered.

It is also possible that the ANC's handling of the Non-Aligned issue has weakened an important pressure point on the Suharto regime. While in Indonesia, Mandela visited the provincial capital of Bandung, site of the famous 1955 Conference which heralded the Non-Aligned Movement of the newly independent nations.

While ignoring East Timor, Mandela said Indonesia's own struggle for independence 40 years ago was a continuing inspiration for the ANC: Southern Africa's Frontline States have in the past blocked Indonesia's ambitions

ue tarnishes ANC's image/

DAY 1

in the Non-Aligned Movement precisely because of East Timor. According to Tapol, the London-based campaign for human rights in Indonesia, Suharto has been trying for ages to woo the governments of the African continent. The Mandela visit helped him in this respect and could enhance his chances of chairing the Non-

Aligned Movement, a long-cherished ambition of the Indonesian dictator.â\200\235

The anti-apartheid struggle is seen by many as the core of anti-imperialism worldwide. International support for continued sanctions and pressure on the South African government, however, is undermined by short-term and single-minded pragmatism which is viewed as furthering the ANCâ\200\231s self-interest while trampling on the i mmmnts of others.

What, for example, does the ANCâ\200\231s silence over East Timor say about its support for the sovereignty of other oppressed peoples?

In Australia, Mandela is reported to have said that discrimination against aboriginal people was an internal matter. The irony was not lost on Fretilinâ\200\231s Jose Ramos Horta. â\200\234For years, Mandela has asked the rest of the world to interfere in the internal affairs of South Africaâ\200\235, he said. â\200\234The fight for self-determination and freedom from repression in other countries i\$ no more an â\200\230internal matterâ\200\231 than apartheid is in South Africa.â\200\235

Stayaway planned for Post Offices â\204ç|

By DREW FORREST

tions Workersâ\200\231 Association (Potwa) warned this week. 5 7 g :

The sector seems to be moving inexorably towards full-scale confrontation â\200\224 3 development predicted early this year when the Potwa national congress swept a militant new leader-sl;)lâ\200\230(;> to power. -

the general secretary ungisi Hlongwane said the Stayaway, set for May 29:1Â\$d 30, would be preceded by nationwide â\200\234sleep-insâ\200\235

- next Wednesday. _

The immediate flashpoint is managementâ\200\231s final offer of R\$51 a month in central wage talks. This falls far short of the Potwa demand for a R1 minimum â\200\224 but the union is also that it represents a reduction in aR927 proposal tabled earlier in negotiations, ;

In talks last week with Potwa and its negotiating partners, the coloured Peasa and Indian Saptea, management stressed that the minister - ; would not revise his offer. â\200\234This leaves us no option but to intensify mass action,â\200\235 Hlongwane said. v ;

Potwa is also demanding the reinstatement of

-2 000 workers fired and allegedly not re-engaged after the 1987 postal strike,

- nwpotofiï-\201cehasbeenhitbyaWavcofgo-slows, dcmonâ\200\230strations and sit-ins in recent

. Cables have reportedly been ed, and management has coâ\200\230mplzined of acostly, Party-dominated Presidentâ\200\231s Council would

- ongoing go-slow in the e use its constitutional override to force through Worker dissidence has also centred on the the legislation. :

S

| venue was changed. Myeni did not want to be so close

ease travel expenses and the cost of renting a room &

the escalating township violence

: mantoldTheWeeklyMail

helped by the member of the Conservative Party. S R

] Q.1. Let tent people in Norway, â\200\235 Bos-

men met with the bus company, was held at the South African consulate : '

â\200\234 Apartheid is dead. Today we are suffering under an emerging African National Congress dictatorship,

â\200\230 backed by communists all over the

world, â\200\235 said Myeni at Monday â\200\231 s

_ press conference.

: Myeni said: the ANC for the escalating violence in the townships on

â\200\234 We will stop the violence if the

ANC takes a stand against violence, â\200\235 â\200\230 he said. i

Two weeks ago Myeni personally

_ proclaimed that Inkatha would de-

ploy over 100 000 armed men in the [East Rand townships. He also said Inkatha enjoys no support from the

: Sanh. The government for the

Before he left Norway, Myeni spent the day in Oslo.

- On Wednesday morning he left Oslo for the Finnish capital, Helsinki, where he was invited by the Finnish - msh â\200\224 Smi â\201\201 lca Fennish press -

â\200\234â\200\234â\200\234Apartheid is dead! .
N A i

AR

HE good news is that the legal keystone of apartheid is set to be a thing of the past in the next five weeks.

The bad news is the Act to repeal the Population Registration Act will change absolutely nothing

for at least another year or two. The Repeal Bill is being rushed through - the joint standing committee stage and could be tabled before parliament later this month. The idea is that by speeding up the scrapping of the Act the government will provide a major boost for the anti-sanctions drive, and will secure South Africaâ\200\231s place in the Barcelona Olympics. One provision in the Bill states that â\200\234notwithstanding the repeal of the Population Registration Act of 1950 anything done in terms thereof shall for the purposes of the - _provisions of any Act remain in force as if the repeal had not taken placeâ\200\235.

One of South Africaâ\200\231s top senior coun- -

- sels told The Weekly Mail this was merely a â\200\234saving clauseâ\200\235, which would only apply to past decisions taken in terms of the Act,

-and would not affect future government actions.

But Wynberg MP Robin Carlyle, who is the Democratic Partyâ\200\231s representative on the parliamentary committee, notes that the Act will ensure that race classification, own affairs provisions and everything else relating to the current tri-cameral parliament remains in force until a new constitu-

The Repeal Bill, which is being rushed through parliament, will scrap the legal keystone of

~ apartheid. However, in reality, it

changes absolutely nothing.

GAVIN EVANS reports

â\200\234

tion is negotiated or they are changed administratively.

ministratively.

_ The government attitude is that the clause is necessary to retain the electoral and own affairs provisions of the new constitution in order to govern until a new constitution is signed and sealed.

The Democratic Party accepted the electoral provisions were necessary to enable the government to continue governing, but argued against the retention of any own affairs measures.

Our attitude is that we welcome any diminution of Population Registration, and this Bill does this in the sense that all new registrations of births and immigrants will be free of race classification although this has already been happening over the past few months. We also recognise the symbolic significance of the repeal.

We will therefore support the Bill but note our regret that it does not go further in eliminating apartheid provisions.

The approach of the government seems to

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At 5% o R e

be that while the Repeal Bill will do little to eliminate apartheid, apartheid laws can be eroded through administrative measures in the transition period before a new govern-

ment, elected in terms of a negotiated constitution, begins business.

For example, significant measures eliminating apartheid in the realm of health care were announced by Dr Rina Venter in the health vote this week. '

And in addition to the repeal of the group areas and land Acts, the government is set to table an umbrella Bill to remove the apartheid provisions from eight other minor Acts, dealing, for example, with apartheid in technikons.

This, however, is a long way from doing

Long live apartheid!

away with apartheid. Everyone except new-born babies and immigrants will continue to have key rights and privileges defined by their current racial categorisation.

What this means is that the following will still exist after the repeal of the Population Registration Act:

- The current modified apartheid model of schooling will still exist, with three separate education departments, differentiated

- spending on white and black schoolchildren,

and the present limited, three-model approach to open schooling. This means, for instance, that white schools and colleges

- will continue to close and white teachers

lose their jobs at a time when there is a desperate shortage of schools and teachers for blacks. ;

Ultra-conservative white education Minister Piet Clase 200\224 one of his parliamentary colleagues described him as a man 200\234so narrow-minded he can see through a keyhole with both eyes200\235 200\224 insisted recently that the present system could form the basis of a new education system under a new constitution in a 200\234new200\235 South Africa.

200\224The South African Defence Force may still be able to restrict their call-up to white males, though The Weekly Mail has learnt from defence sources that this is currently under review in the SADF200\231s Van Loggerenberg Committee.

Conscription lawyers say that once the Population Registration Act is repealed this may be open to challenge in terms of administrative law 200\224 depending on the precise wording of the enabling clause.

The current disparity in pensions (R225 per month for Africans, R263 for 200\230coloureds and Indians and R304 for whites) will be untouched by the repeal. Similarly black orphans, foster children ; and old age home residents will get less state money than whites,

200\224One of the bulwarks of Verwoerdian apartheid 200\224 the four 200\234independent200\235 and six 200\234non-independent200\235 ethnic homelands,

- will remain in existence until they are negotiated

back into South Africa.

200\224Parliamentary by-elections will still take place on a racial basis 200\224 and will continue to exclude the majority of South Africans. ;

Other areas of apartheid 200\224 such as the continued segregation of South African prisons and police training 200\224 are expected to be gradually phased out, but nevertheless will continue to exist for some time after the repeal of the Act.

The ANC needs to solve some pressing problems at its July congress. ANTON HARBER examines the issues

THE African National Congress faces its moment of reckoning in July.

When thousands of delegates from around the country gather in Durban for the organisation's

first proper congress since its unbanning 18 months ago, they will face the formidable challenge of transforming the organisation into a coherent, well-structured and tightly run political machine capable of dealing with the mas-

gotiating process.

At the moment, the organisation is weighed down enormously by a great deal of historical baggage. Since its unbanning on February 2 last year, it has postponed dealing with many of these issues. ;

It can delay no longer. The organisation's honeymoon period is over and it is under considerable pressure from its alliance partners, the media, local and international political observers, its international supporters and, most important of all, its membership, to sort out lingering problems.

Most media anticipation of the congress has concentrated on personalities, suggesting that the key issues facing the congress will be who gets what job. This will undoubtedly be

relevant, but of more fundamental im-

portance will be whether these people

inherit a modernised and wo

rkable structural and whether the gap

between them and ANC members is
If the ANC does not deal with th

... these issues in July, it faces little prospect of

stemming the slow deterioration in its

political and organisational position during the critical period of the 1990s. The organisation is still facing the historical problems.

Some of these are: :

1. A leadership that has been inherited from a period of covert struggle

rather than elected to deal with the pressures of a political party. This means that it carries an overload of incompetence â\200\224 people who hold their position due to long and honourable

Wanted â\200\224 strong

WEEKLY M A

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competent leaders

. | service rather th it, It z
sive demands and pressures of the ne- | an merit. It also means

that the leadership is not always accountable to the membership, and this has been a source of frustration to many members.

This was clearly expressed at last Decemberâ\200\231s consultative conference, at which members demanded an end to secret meetings with the government, an injunction that was ignored.

Â® An anachronistic structure in which many key ANC dcpartments and regions are not even represented in the body making most crucial decisions, the National Executive Committee. Thus, for example; the organisationâ\200\231s biggest region, the PWV, can fprm a view on a critical issue, but since it does not have automatic representation at a national level, it cannot be assured of having its view heard.

Similiarly, there is no represcntative of a department as crucial as the â\202~c0-nomics department on the NEC.

This had led to gaps between the

" views of membership and leadership

which become dangerous because there is no structured way of mediat-

' ing such differences. .

@A lack of coherent strategic and tactical direction. ANC policy has often scemed erratic in the last 18 months, motivated as often by the chance proximity of certain individuals to Nelson Mandela and their desire | to hold on to their jobs, rather than careful strategic planning.

@ An inability to draw on the cnourmous resources available lo it The ANC carries â\202~normous good_wn} among a wide range of South Africaâ\200\231s best experts (lawyers, CCONOMISLS, ed-

ucationists...) as well as long-standing activists from ANC-aligned bodies such as the United Democratic Front and Cosatu. So far, the organisation has failed to draw on these re-

sources.

The main reason is that returning exiles have often felt threatened, and have tended to exclude such experts rather than expose their own vulnera-

bility. The result has been that during

negotiations, for example, the team of advisers behind Mandela has not been as strong as it should. Faced with a government team that has all the state resources and expertise at its command, Mandela has failed to bolster his team with the formidable expertise of lawyers and other professionals available to him.

ANC leaders acknowledge many of these problems and express optimism that they will be sorted out at the conference. S

The first signs, however, are troubling. The congress is to consider a new constitution that improves representation on the NEC and the accountability of leadership, but opts for an unwieldy large executive of 120 people rather than a tight and more coherent leadership. -

Coupled with the outgoing NEC being given extraordinary powers (such as being recognised as a region in itself, giving it the power to nominate some of the delegates and electoral

candidates), this has led to a growing

suspicion that there is a covert attempt to protect the positions of leaders under threat from dissatisfied members.

' jobs

ANC leaders deny this, but there is little doubt that some of those holding key positions such as general secretary and treasurer general are fighting a rearguard action to avoid being cast out into the cold.

There is little chance of this working, since dissatisfaction with these individuals is widespread. However, their personal battles to make sure there are for themselves risks making the ANC's structure top-heavy and ponderous.

' More than anything else, the organi-

| sation needs to develop a sophisticated

leadership core that is able to run a tight organisation during a difficult period of political uncertainty. Mandela needs to know that he is surrounded by the best advisers who have the ability and resources to be planning long term strategy, rather than letting the ANC continue to stumble unpredictably from issue to issue. :

To achieve this requires toughness. The ANC will have to show that it will not allow itself to be slowed by an inability to deal with incompetence and weakness. If it is to present itself as an alternative government, its leadership will have to demonstrate an ability to deal resolutely with these issues. If this does not happen at the July conference, it probably never will.

raining Inkatha

THE South - African Defence Force has denied that its members are involved in the training of Inkatha paramilitary fighters or members of "third force" teams. The Weekly Mail last week published allegations that members of the military were training Inkatha members at a base near Barberton: It also noted reports that municipal workers in Klerksdorp were being recruited for training as anti-ANC fighters.

"There are two bases in the Barberton area. One of these houses troops from the Cape Corps who are deployed for border protection tasks. The other is a training base for Citizen Force members (all white) and serves as a transit base," said a statement issued by the SADF,

"As far as the allegations about Defence Force involvement in the training of members of Inkatha are concerned, the Defence Force is already on record that it does not train, arm or equip anyone other than its own mem-

ers."

SADF denies

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on the

movementâ\200\231s National Executive Com-
mittee meets today to consider Presi-
c!ent FW de Klerkâ\200\231s response to its ul-
timatum on violence.

Well-placed sources indicated yes-
terday that De Klerk was prepared to
accede to ANC deputy president Nel-
son Mandelaâ\200\231s demand that spears be
included on the list of dangerous
Wweapons banned in unrest areas,

However, an international press con-
ference held by Constitutional Devel-
opment and Planning Minister Gerrit
Viljoen last night failed to produce an
expected major announcement on the
subject. _

Viljoen merely announced details of
next weekâ\200\231s planned peace conference
which is in danger of seriously bomb-

ing without the participation of the
ANC. :

Negotiations
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ANC sources indicatedq}l!ey would

Ing to plan.a much more extensive
peace conference hosted by a neutral
party or co-hosted by all the major
parties.

It appeared, Judging from Viljoenâ\200\231s
performange yesterday, that the gov-
ernment is determined to press on
with the conference,

In talks that led to the ultimatum,

â\200\234which was originally set to expire on
May 9, being extended by one week,
Mandela last week gave De Klerk sev-
en days to ban â\200\234traditionalâ\200\235 Zuly
Spears or the ANC would break off
negotiations. .

area. This indicates a decrease in the number of deaths by 24 since March.

Twenty-six of the victims died in the north, two in kwaDabeka in the central area and 37 in the south. Fourteen people were killed in kwaMashu, eight of them in the men's hostels.

In the Port Shepstone area, 20 people died 10 fewer than in March, although the Sash says the decline is partly because hundreds of refugees have not

softening of the IFP position.

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returned to their homes, and are staying at churches and halls throughout Port Shepstone and Gamalakhe township. ;

The Sash also reports that at least eight people were killed by people's courts during April in kwaMashu, Inanda, Umlazi and kwaDabeka. While in the past there have been numerous reports of beating and lashings as people's court sentences, most people tried were sentenced to death this month, the organisation said. :

Three youths were necklaced in kwaMashu L section. The kwaZulu police reported that they had been killed for failing to attend African National Congress meetings, but the ANC branch denied running a people's court.

PUBLIC VIOLENCE

A TOTAL of 213 people were convicted of public violence between July 1 1989 and June 30 last year, Justice and Correctional Services Minister Kobie Coetsee told parliament recently.

Fifty-five of these were between seven and old, and 44 between the ages of 18 and 20.

Ninety-four of those convicted came from the Cape, 50 from Natal, 41 from the Transvaal and 28 from the Orange Free State.

LAWSUITS

TWENTY lawsuits 24 three charges of malicious prosecution, 15 of unlawful arrest or detention and two of defamation 24 were brought against Justice Minister K. Coetsee during 1990,

Two of these were successful, eight were settled out of court and two were not proceeded with by the plaintiff. In total, R25 850 was paid in out of court settlements.

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17 years

Slabbert positl

AFTER years of work behind the scenes, Van Zyl Slabbert is where he wanted to be. He's in a public post where he can help to forge the new SA, and that might only be the start of his comeback.

The chairmanship of the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber is a small but important begin-

ning. It is the fledgling negotiating

forum for a new municipal order, where rich white towns and poor black ones start looking at becoming, non-racial ones, with joint needs and common interests.

It wasn't a job Slabbert expected. He was only informed on Wednesday morning that he was in the running; ~ he was in the chair that afternoon.

. His role will be a crucial one, and it may lead to an offer to chair the negotiations between government, the ANC and other parties when the hard bargaining eventually starts. There are rumours that Slabbert is among those who may be asked to referee the constitutional scrap.

Other contenders are said to include former Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo, who was also considered for the Metropolitan Chamber job. The third candidate this week was Soweto community leader Ntatho Motlana.

Slabbert's unanimous election by

Business v N1 S(an

MICHAEL ACOTTL'nd TANIA LEVY

white and black councillors, and representatives of the ANC-aligned civic associations, must favour a move by him from regional to national affairs.

These are the sort of developments for which Slabbert lll_ggied when he quit the PFP leadership in 1986. He left his colleagues dumbfounded, and his party in disarray, when he "an-

nounced he was getting out because Parliament, and white politics, were on a road to nowhere.

Slabbert was the white knight on whom the party's hopes were pinned. He came to Parliament in 1974 and the former professor proved an astute politician.

He baffled Nationalist MPs by urging the abolition of the Race Classification Act, now headed for repeal. After taking over the PFP leadership, he argued forcefully and successfully for influx control to be replaced.

And he identified the heart of his own problem when he accused government of not consulting Parliament; he said the real SA debate was between an extra-parliamentary

government and the extra-parliamentary opposition.

In the end Slabbert tired of it all. He turned his back on the adulation, the political bickering and what he saw as the futility of white parliamentary debate when government's focus was on suppressing black nationalism, not accommodating it.

He left to form the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in SA (Idasa). It was not only a think-tank, but an active promoter of contact and understanding between the races, between government and distressed black communities, between whites and the ANC.

Slabbert set out to form a bridge between parliamentary and extra-

parliamentary politics; for the past five years he has been quietly involved in the problems of deprivation, aspiration and reconciliation.

He denies he is re-entering politics; he says he has never left. But his fellow politicians are convinced he is publicly on the way up again.

It is believed that government, which sees the Metropolitan Chamber as a local negotiation guinea pig, was consulted before Slabbert was

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[0 SLABBERT:

(a%proached for the job this week. vernment realised that, by agreeing to Slabbert's appointment, it

would implicitly approve the concept of an independent chairman for future national negotiations. Slabbert was nominated by a Met-

-1 FTTEFRQ

oned to rise in national politics

ropolitan Chamber committee consisting of Johannesburg City Council chairman Ian Davidson, Soweto Peo-

leâ\200\231s Delegation spokesman Cyril Eamaphosa, TPA C Olaus van Zyl, Diepmeadow mayor the late

oses Khumalo and Soweto Civic Association chairman Isaac Mogase.

Yesterday Johannesburg Nation-

alist councillor and chamber delegate Hein Kruger said the choice of Slabbert had been unanimous because he was seen as strong enough to act as an arbitrator between the chamberâ\200\231s divergent members.

Davidson said Slabbertâ\200\231s election as chairman heightened the chamberâ\200\231s status as a credible instrument in the formulation of new local government structures. Slabbert had been chosen because he was perceived to be non-partisan, highly credible and experienced in the political process. He was also dedicated to the ideal of negotiating new, non-racial local and regional government structures.

Davidson believes this commitment will make Slabbert more than an umpire; he expects the new chairman to stimulate and drive members and working groups, ensuring that stagnation does not set in.

That might be just whatâ\200\231s required when national negotiations start. -

HE great debate over SA\200\231s

future is stirring up a host

of mini-debates, dissension

and outright schisms in

every major political group and ideological movement.

Rifts within the black left and the

white right have featured promi-

nently in the media, but similar up-

\200\230heavals are occurring in smaller,

less high-profile groups. This is true even of the libertarian/free market movement, which has traditionally accommodated and welcomed inter-

- nal differences of opinion.

All libertarians subscribe to a number of general principles, including the right of every individual to be free from coercion (whether by other persons or by government), the inviolability of personal and property

rights, freedom of association, con- -

tract, speech and movement. But they strongly reject any form of dogmatism, and there have always been numerous issues that are guaranteed to provoke vigorous debate within libertarian ranks.

For example, libertarians may be found on both sides of the abortion and capital punishment debates. Opinion on political issues is also divided: while some libertarians espouse anarchism, others advocate limited government.

Among the latter, there is disagreement over the extent to which it should be limited, and by what means. Some believe in restricting government powers through a rigid constitution strictly applied. Others believe government power is best limited by devolving power to numerous centres and encouraging maximum public participation in decision-making.

Another contentious subject is that

of strategy. Some libertarians refuse to become involved in any form of activism and focus on attaining free-

dom in their personal lives.

Then there are the â\200\234ivory towerâ\200\235 libertarians who limit themselves to debating esoteric questions that are of little interest to the general public. Some of these adopt a purist, all-

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_ \LLibertarlans, too,
â\200\230risk imprisonment
in dogmaâ\200\231s dungeon

intolerance. LIBBY

It is not only the extreme left and right 'that are prone to political HUSEMEYER examines similar problems in the ranks of free marketeers.

.matism.

or-nothing approach that makes no concessions to political realities. Whereas many libertarians would favour a state-financed but privately run education system, at least as a first step to a totally private system, the purists would regard this as an unacceptable compromise of libertarian principles.

Others concentrate on disseminating and promoting free market ideas in the broad community in order to create a groundswell of support for political and economic freedom. Still others try to influence policy by lobbying governments directly to deregulate and to adopt market-oriented programmes.

In the US and some European countries such as Norway, libertarians have formed political parties and put up candidates for election. In these grougi there is widespread acceptance that movement toward the libertarian ideal will be incremental

and that it will involve some com-

promises along the way.
Although these different strategies are hotly debated in libertarian

circles, most free marketeers accept that they all play an important and valuable role in furthering the creation of a free society.

In SA, as a consequence, each individual has tended to adopt the ap-

proach that is best suited to his or her temperament, and there have been no rifts within the movement until recently. .

The discussion in the letters column of Business Day regarding an article by Frances Kendall which proposes the use of smart cards for the provision of welfare belongs to this perennial strategy debate. However, there was a new element of animosity in some of the letters, which attacked not only the proposal but also the libertarian credentials of the author.

In her article Kendall was developing an idea first advocated by Milton Friedman. He argued that since some government involvement in social programmes is virtually inevi-

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table, free marketeers should urge governments to restrict their involvement to financing these pro-

grammes, while leaving the provision of welfare services to the private sector.

Friedman's reasoning was that this would minimise the negative consequences of government intervention. In other words, it would

- reduce costs, improve efficiency, and minimise opportunities for fraud and abuse.

However, one of the letter writers (a fellow libertarian) argued that Kendall, by advocating the use of smart cards and thus accepting a degree of government involvement in welfare, could no longer be considered a free marketeer.

This is not the first time a pragmatic approach has elicited accusations of ideological unsoundness

from within the movement: there have been several similar episodes in internal debates in recent months.

This is a disturbing development which shows how easily even libertarians, who place a high value on

independent thought, may fall into the trap of dogmatism.

Although it is a new phenomenon in SA free market circles, there have been precedents overseas, the most

— famous example being the late Ayn

Rand, founder of the free-market Objectivist movement in the US, who regularly â\200\234excommunicatedâ\200\235 followers for merely questioning any of her pronouncements. .

In his autobiography, *The Invisible Writing*, Arthur Koestler described the deadly effects of ideological dog-oestler, who was a member of the Communist Party during the thirties and later become a committed libertarian, explained how Marxism locked its adherents into a â\200\234closed systemâ\200\235 which â\200\230â\200\234reconditionedâ\200\235 all feelings and attitudes and rejected all individual forms of expression:

anguage, and with it thought, underwent a process of dehydration, and crystallised in the ready-made schemata of Marxist jargon.

There were perhaps a dozen or two adjectives whose use was both safe and mandatory, such as: decadent, hypocritical, morbid (for the capitalist bourgeoisie); heroic, disciplined, class-conscious (for the revolutionary proletariat), petit-bour-

-geois, romantic, sentimental (for

humanitarian scruples), mechanistic, metaphysical, mystical (for the wrong intellectual approach); and dialectical, concrete (for the right approach).

While Marxism and a number of other philosophies espouse a rigid body of thought and regard any deviations as heretical, this is diametrically opposed to the libertarian tradition of openness and free inquiry. ;

he libertarian movement can make a valuable contribution to solving SAâ\200\231s problems. It would be a pity if, at a time when open debate

and open minds are more important
than ever before, some libertarians
should become trapped. in a closed
system of their own making.

[0 Husemeyer is Consulting Editor
for the Free Market Foundation.

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BUSINESS DAY, Friday, May 17 1991

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,Â«Câ\200\230bMMMENT

.Deadline da

ing violence, political attention

today will focus on three ANC

deadlines, two of them extended from previous dates. The focus is wrong because negotiation by deadline is wrong.

- Fortunately, while the ANC rings its ultimatum dates, its leaders see the sense of some behind-the-scenes negotiation with business, government, other politicians and church leaders. All are affected by the violence, and concerned to stop it; their intervention is all the more necessary because the ANC leadership has become obsessed with ultimatums. The need is for peace, not public posturing.

- This countryâ\200\231s future is not a political game, nor can violence be a bargaining chip. The amount of political haggling going on, when violence threatens to consume the country and its future, is damaging the credibility of leaders such as ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, desperately concerned about the level of violence and whose intervention is essential if it is to be reduced, let alone stopped.

This is a three-in-one deadline day. All political prisoners were supposed to have been released by April 30. They were not, but the ANC held over discussion of that issue until May 9, when its ultimatum expired for government to take steps to address the violence. Its demands included the dismissal of two Cabinet members. Consideration of those two deadlines in turn was extended to today, the end of

INSTEAD of addressing horrify-

Mandelaâ\200\231s seven-day deadline to government to ban assegais from Inkatha rallies.

If spears are banned, Mandela is prepared to talk to government about the other deadlines. If it discusses those, and decides government has done enough about the May 9 deadline, it will resume talks about constitutional negotiations. If

not, it threatens to suspend all contact with government. That's the public position; no ban on spears, no talks. It worries a public and business community who would rather the political leadership dealt with the violence instead of dickering over deadlines. They can only hope that privately things may not be that bad. g

The ANC, like Inkatha, calls on everyone else to stop the violence. Everyone else can help, including business and a hard-pressed police force, but ultimately the violence will end only when ANC and Inkatha supporters have the will to stop killing each other. When the ANC and Inkatha leadership do something about that, maybe we can start trying to negotiate a common future. That's where the political power-play should come in, not now. Ultimatums may look good at the ANC's July congress, but they do little to stop the killings.

If the ANC is worried about the lack of attention given to the violence, it could stop setting headline-grabbing deadlines. They reduce life and death issues for millions of South Africans to political trading - stock. - N -

SACP general secretary Joe Slovo speaks in Kagiso yesterday.

Picture: CATHERINE ROSS

Stayaway, cramps -

Bou S &

Krugersdorp

BUSINESS came to a near standstill in Krugersdorp yesterday when workers observed a stayaway call by the Kagiso Residentsâ\200\231 Organisation (KRO) to commemorate victims of last Sundayâ\200\231s killings in Swanieville. Krugersdorp Chamber of Commerce and Industries president Marshall Fourie said the stayaway was 70% effective. â\200\234The town is quiet today (yesterday) and according to the information we have received from our members a major portion of their black workforce did not turn up for

| work,â\200\235 he said.

Fourie added yesterdayâ\200\231s stayaway â\200\234exacerbatedâ\200\235 the woes of the local businessmen suffering the effects of a consumer boycott which began four weeks ago.

Krugersdorp businesses canvassed by Business Day reported worker absenteeism of between 7% and 90%.

A Pick 'n Pay spokesman said 90% of their Kagiso workforce did not turn up for work while a Checkers spokesman said absenteeism rate at their four branches ranged from 7% to 55%.

Businesses in Chamdor â\200\224 an industrial area on the outskirts of Kagiso â\200\224 reported low attendance percentages.

Police reported 10 arrests and one injury yesterday in the western Transvaal township of Tshing, where residents voted to impose a consumer boycott on Venters-

e

"trade

WILSON ZWANE

dorp, Sapa reports.

The boycott resulted from last Saturday's attack by right-wingers on the nearby Goedgevonden squatter camp.

Although township residents earlier had reported that khaki-clad members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging were present when police raided Tshing at about 1.40pm, police said these allegations cannot be confirmed as there is no evidence of their involvement in these incidents.

Operation Masakhane for the Homeless reported 13 people were wounded in the township during the day but police reported only one injured man with birdshot wounds who was arrested and charged with public violence.

On Wednesday at least six people died and 64 were arrested, police confirmed.

At Kagiso three women were hacked and stabbed to death, and a delivery vehicle was badly damaged when petrol-bombed.

At Thokoza, near Germiston, police found the body of a man who had been shot.

Two men were hacked and stabbed to death at Gamalake, near Port Shepstone. One man was arrested.

In Cape Town, police arrested 39 people who had staged an illegal placard demonstration in the CBD. Police said the group had ignored a warning to disperse.

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~4 - THE WEEKLY MAIL, May 17 to May 23 1991

MANDELA TRIAL: The mother of the nation has been killed â\200\224 politically.

UESDAY afternoon outside the Rand Supreme Court was vintage Winnie Mandela â\200\224 the cameras and the halogen lamps, the throng of adulating admirers, the excitement and the mad hysteria, the populist smile and the clenched fist raised triumphantly.

Only the context was different. The saga of Winnie Mandela had just drawn to a dramatic climax in the courtroom and the 56-year-old leader who was once idolized as the mother of the

nation'had been sentenced to six years

in prison for kidnapping four youths and being an accessory after the fact to assault.

What was incongruous about the moment was not simply Mandelaâ\200\231s apparent lack of emotion and the way that she betrayed not even a split-second of bewilderment, let alone remorse, in the dock.

It was that, far from being a cause for celebration, the day marked the probable demise of her own political career, â\200\224_ a career that she had fought hard for against all the odds.

Irrepressible as she is, it will be too much to expect Winnie Mandela to fall silent. But, as the legal proceedings enter the tortuous process of appeal, her political role can only be increasingly divisive.

To the black youth in the streets, the Â\$

Winnie Mandela mystique lives on, no matter what the verdict of white manâ\200\231s justice. They treated her like a conquering hero as she left the supreme court.

Mandelaâ\200\231s supporters could argue, quite rationally, that even if she did hold Kgase, Mkgwe, Mono and Stompie, this was far less than the regime itself did at the time by incarcerating thousands under the official cover of the State of Emergency and the Internal Security Act.

TRIUMPHANT IN DEFEAT ...
this week

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â\200\230 PHILLIP VAN N/I(EKERK reports
innie falls from grac7
into a state of isolation

NO

â\200\234And who can deny that, from Mande-
laâ\200\231s point of view, there is something
entirely unjust in the same state which
held her in solitary confinement for 17
months in the late 1970s declaring her
guilty of depriving people of their liber-

y. :

But the issue here is not a trade-off of
wrongs. It is that Winnie Maudela, no
matter what her past and who her con-
nections, has brought the movement
into disrepute. :

A clear indication of her future politi-
cal prospects was the fact that on her fi-
~ nal days in court not a single major

Winnie Mandela acting like a winner after being s_entenced to si years

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

. ANC figure other than her husband at-
_â\200\224â\200\224 g

tended.

This was in marked contrast to the be-
ginning of the trial in February when
liberation movement leaders such as
Chris Hani, Joe Slovo and Alfred Nzo
attended the hearing daily.

Winnie Mandela was then still on the
political rebound, behaving in public
like the wife of a future state president.
For her it was a triumphant return from
the day two years earlier when the lead-
ership of the Mass Democratic Move-
ment had distanced themselves from
her over the events of December 1988

' and January 1989, including the death
of the 14-year-old Stompie.

Mandelaâ\200\231s relationship with elements

' of the movement had always been un-
easy. That was partly because of the

_ type of woman she was. She was not

just a wife, but an ambitious woman

whose dominant feature in a male-oriented environment was politicalchutzpah. S

Articulate and charismatic,â\200\235 Winnie Mandela was transformed into a media icon (an irony given that, according to her own account as she stood on the supreme court steps on Tuesday, it was the media who eventually brought her down). Back home, she was dogged by controversy.

Her statements such as those on neck-

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lacing articulated what many thousands of alienated black youths in the eye of the township rebellion felt, but were too embarrassingly frank and

tactless for the liberation movement.

There was more. The whiff of corruption and scandal followed Winnie Mandela. She built a mansion for herself in Soweto, amidst the poverty of

her people.

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~ enbutelecting to le:
~ the courts.

She attempted to offer the international

rights to the Mandela family name to Bob Brown, a Reagan-supporting American with a shady business > same time as Brown ar-

ged a lucrative scholarship at Boston University for her daughter Zenani.

bla

But it was the activities of the Mandela United Football Team, a gang of street toughs who lived in the back rooms of her home in Diepkloof Extension that finally drove her relationship with the internal anti-apartheid movement over the edge in 1989. eF

While ,the'&durt case continued, the

- tide was again turning against â\200\230Mandemïr\202w first real glimpse behind the curtain of silence that the ANC had

maintained around the Winnie saga came three weeks ago with the elections for the presidency of the ANCâ\200\231s Womenâ\200\231s League. Mandela was defeated by a landslide. .

That set the scene for this weekâ\200\231s even more ing judgment. =

Though Nelson Mandela again publicly upheld his wifeâ\200\231s innocence and expressed confidence that the verdict would be overturned on appeal, the ANC issued a remarkably neutral statement, saying they believed the last word on the matter had not been spoken in the hands of

Mandela was there on Monday 0 hear

Mr Justice Stegmann deliver a withering critique of his wife's veracity in the witness box, calling the one-time social worker a calm, composed, deliberate and unblushing liar.

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& L
The main finding was that she had

conspired to kidnap four youths from the Soweto Methodist manse in 1988.

Rejecting Mandela's denial of any involvement in the kidnapping, Stegmann found: To imagine that all of this took place without Mandela as one of the moving spirits would be like im-

agining Hamlet without the prince.

~ Mandela's poise in the 'dock was

~ somewhat at odds with the roasting

| lhatmr A Z

the judge's carefully argued five hour S.

reputation was subjected to in summary of the trial

Those who had attempted to predict the judgment on the basis of what political considerations would rule it underestimated the extent to which Mr Justice Stegmann would play the trial by the book. Sow ;

Time and time again he impugned Mandela's credibility, using the terms - vague, evasive and lacking in candour to describe her performance in the witness box.

Listening to all this, a downcast Nelson cut a solitary figure in the cramped public gallery an aged gentleman in a white raincoat.

Perhaps part of the complex tragedy of Winnie Mandela is that, even in her downfall, she will not be able to be her own person.

It will be in the effect on her husband

band's psyche at a time when peace in

the country is in the balance that Winnie Mandela's fall from grace will at the end of the day be '

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contretemps |
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Margaret Thatcher . . . no hot re-
ception. i

S Maggie Thatcher basks in

South African sunshine and
superlatives, from London comes
this tale of a minor Anglo-SA con-
tretemps and some neat diplomat-
ic footwork.

For many months our Govern-
ment has been pressing Whitehall
to sell the freehold of the British
embassy in Cape Town so the
building can be used as an exten-
sion to Parliament next door. The
answer has always been no.

Finally, weary of the persistent
begging, ambassador Sir Robin

"Renwick came up with a new

reply. Okay, he told FW, weâ\200\231ll
sell you our embassy, but in re-
turn you must let us have your
own extremely desirable site in
London â\200\224 stately South Africa
House on Trafalgar Square.

Pretoria, itâ\200\231s reported, â\200\234has
been strangely silent on the sub-
ject ever sinceâ\200\235.

D

WAS the ANCâ\200\231s now-legendary un-
punctuality responsible for Mag-
gie Thatcherâ\200\231s uneventful .arrival
it Cape Town?

Despite dire warnings of a hot
reception, there was no demo at

all at D F Malan airport. But jour-
nos returning from the airport no-

- ticed a bus hot-footing it the other

way, plastered with â\200\234Thatcher go

homeâ\200\235 placards. â\200\230

Another case of â\200\234Donâ\200\231t start the

revolution without meâ\200\235? -

B0 O

MORE on the Anglo-Boer thaw.

Bernie Grant, Labour MP for Tot-
tenham, was furious that Neil
Kinnock agreed to meet President
de Klerk in London the other day.
The MP claimed progress on dis-
mantling apartheid was insuffi-
cient, and tried to persuade the
Anti-Apartheid Movement to at-
tack his party leader.

Grant failed and Kinnockâ\200\231s sup-

porters accuse Grant of hypocrisy.
When he visited South Africa last
year with Jesse Jackson, who did

Jackson meet? You've guessed it

â\200\224 De Klerk.

2 % e

MONDAY this week was quite a
big day for news. Inter alia there
were the repercussions of the
Goedgevonden incident and an-
other township massacre; Maggie
Thatcherâ\200\231s impending visit; the
start of the Winnie judgment.

But what did Mondayâ\200\231s Tran-
valer decide was the dayâ\200\231s most

~ important story? None of the -
- above. â\200\234Uli vanaand in B-spanâ\200\235,

proclaimed the main headline on
Page 1. And in a thinnish paper
there was more on Pages 1, 2 and
3 and on two sports pages about
Northern Transvaalâ\200\231s rugby disas-
ter at the hands of Natal and cap-
tain Uli Schmidtâ\200\231s demotion.

You've got to keep your priorities right. Maybe it had something to do with the paper's recently acquired new editor â Gerhard Burger, a former rugby writer.

I e

IF a crackdown on smoking were put to a free vote in the Assembly, the âyesâ might easily have it. The great majority of MPs â 70 percent or more â don't indulge in the habit.

But the vital factor here (for: this isâ politics, remember) is(<% âwho does indulge? President de

Klerk and his most senior Cabinet member, Pik Botha, thatâs who. v

It was Pik who lit up in a distracted moment during his For-

eign Affairs debate i
5. e _in the House

And was it not De Klerk who, as Home Affairs Minister in 1983 was about to do the same but wasn't; âped by an MP who interjected: âF W, what are you doing?â

SA

FW is said to have given up umpteen times, but will always light up these days the moment he

. leaves the debating chambers.

Of the 19 others in the Cabinet

âroom each Wednesday, two more churn the air blue along with De

Klerk and Botha: Stoffel van der Merwe and Hernus Kriel. Anything to do with their arduous portfolios, black education and planning/housing respectively? _ In P W Botha's heyday, he made his repugnance of smoking quite clear. Hence, no smoking at Cabinet meetings. .

The Groot Krokodil had been a chainsmoker, you see, until the

&

A

1970s when he became the|

smokerâ\200\231s nightmare â\200\224 a convert. |
5 Bl 5 Dvad !

' QUEEN Elizabeth watched her

first baseball game â\200\224 between
the Baltimore Orioles and the
Oakland Athletics â\200\224 in Baltimore
this week. An interesting choice of
venue for an English monarch,
some would say. i
For a start, Baltimore is known,
as the city that turned back the/
Royal Navy in the War of 1812.,
And, perhaps more sinister, Reg-,
gie Jackson, one-of the Qakland

' team coaches, is an actor who.

tried to kill the Queen in the sa-|
tirical movie â\200\234The Naked Gun.â\200\235

oD |
IRON LADY or not, this comment:

" on the Thatcher visit (from an!

ANC Womenâ\200\231s League statement),
seemed a bit below the belt: = |

â\200\234We certainly donâ\200\231t think she
belongs to the same sex as us, and:
will have her know that.â\200\235 O

=1

e e s o o t e

â\200\230Background to the news

Cultural Weapon% ban "

THE cultural weapons row is at the centre of a stark choice for the Government: ban the public carrying of all offensive weapons to political rallies and marches; or allow some weapons, and fuel alle-

gations of a weak-kneed approach

to ending the killing.

The Government undoubtedly has the legal power to act. For example, the Dangerous Weapons Act outlaws the possession of weapons, described as â\200\234any object likely to cause serious bodily injury if used to commit an assaultâ\200\235. The Natal Code on Zulu Law made it illegal except under limited conditions, to carry such weapons in Natal/KwaZulu. 4

But the Government has under-

" mined its position, first by not in-

sisting that the law was enforced by the police when such weapons

were routinely carried to political

meetings in Natal; then by broadening the circumstances under which â\200\234traditional â\200\230weaponsâ\200\235 could legally be carried in terms of the Natal Code. :

Despite the uncertainty now created by changes to the code however, there are other laws and regulations which the Government could apply if it wanted to do so. However, it appears mesmerised by the argument that the carrying of spears and other weapons is a sacrosanct feature of Zulu culture,

even though the ban urged by the.

ANC concerns the carrying of such weapons during political marches, demonstrations and rallies â\200\224 not on the carrying of genuine cultural weapons during genuine cultural occasions.

KwaZulu leader and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi puts this view strongly, predicting

dire consequences of a spear ban.
To back his claim, pro-Inkatha traditional leaders say there can be
no compromise whatsoever on

the issue, warning of the serious

view which would be taken of any
move to strip Zulus of their cul-

tural weapons as accoutrements

People opposing the
demand that dangerous
cultural weapons
should not be carried
at political events
base their arguments
on history and
tradition. But
CARMEL RICKARD
suggests there are
Precedents in Zulu
history for a
temporary ban
on the carrying of
potentially lethal
cultural weapons
when public safety is
at stake.

through which they express their
historic identity. !
Clearly there are Zulu people
who have deep seated feelings
about the carrying of such wea-

pons. But it is by no means unan-

imous, and the question remains
whether this should stand in the
way of a government blanket ban
on all offensive weapons, from
spears and knives through to

- AK47s, carried on political occasions,

. There is also no evidence to indicate that if the gravity of the vio-

lence in the country were clearly -

conveyed to traditionalists, they
would still insist on carrying these
Weapons to non-cultural events.
For example in the past when
there were faction fights in various tribal areas, bans were imposed on the use of traditional weapons for ukugiya (a display of fighting prowess especially associated with court-

- ing and expressing joy), and bare

by individuals,

hands were used instead.

The ANC in Natal this week questioned the Inkatha view of the role these weapons play. They asked why the enormous crowds of Pro-ANC Zulu people attending political rallies in Natal did not carry such weapons, and - challenged Inkatha's right to be the sole mouthpiece on Zulu people

and culture.

The ANC's Zulu membership would tend to be those to whom at this stage, ethnic interests are sub-

-ordinated to national unity; while

those who respond to appeals based on tradition would tend to back Inkatha,

But even traditionalists may have to look at the issue again. -

In pre-conquest Zululand, when it was thought to be in the interests of the community for spears not to be carried, they were left behind. Evidence of this can be found in the writing of Anglican Bishop Colenso, a prominent figure in Natal at the time of the Anglo-Zulu war.

Colenso, a Zulu linguist, was strongly sympathetic to the Zulu cause. In research on this period, historian Jeff Guy has found details of an interview Colenso carried out with two Zulu soldiers who fought in the war. The two men discussed fighting during the 1878 umkhosi, or first fruits ceremony, the major Zulu national ritual of the year. They told Colenso that soldiers were not allowed to carry assegais to the ceremony, as it was feared there could be accidents. As a result of this ban, only sticks were carried. When fighting did break out at that year's umkhosi, soldiers of one regiment had to go back to barracks to fetch their spears.

This historical evidence seems to indicate that even during the period to which traditionalists would appeal, the carrying of cul-

-tural weapons could be banned:

when pragmatic considerations

such as public safety demanded it,

NATAL PEACE EFFORTS

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 The efforts of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC in Natal to secure peace in the region are holding and now need to be underpinned by development activity, says Independent Development Trust (IDT) chairman Jan Steyn. I . . . Addressing the National Association of Homebuildersâ\200\231 confer-

ence in Cape Town yesterday, he said. the business community â\200\224 particularly the housing industry â\200\224 should take incisive action to

â\200\230 avoid a â\200\234 Catch 22â\200\235 situation by

failing to break the deadlock caused by township violence and lack of funds for home building.

It was. for this reason his organisation had gone out to negotiate

with black leadership figures to conclude agreements of support for its initiatives.

Steyn said he was â\200\234 cautiously encouragedâ\200\235 by the endeavours of the President F.W. de Klerk and other leaders to secure formal and informal â\200\230 agreements aimed at restoring stability in the town-

N

Seipeiâ\200\231s mother â\200\230 afraid to speak ou

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 ANC township activists have once more stopped Stompie Seipeiâ\200\231s mother, Mananki Seipei, from expressing herself on the Winnie Mandela trial. : ;

She told a reporter this week:

â\200\234 I want to tell you how I feel but these people run the township and - I am afraid.â\200\235 . ;

Activists at Tumahole township near Parys in the Orange Free State have prevented her speaking.

T-5-9)

witness n|3

One of them, Take Tinane, said:

â\200\234The law in this township is that you should first come to us before interviewing anyone.â\200\235 -)

Another, who called himself Rastaman, said the press had no right to talk to Seipei.

Seipei said she was not aware Winnie Mandela had been sentenced to jail on Tuesday for the kidnapping of four youths, including her son, and for accessory after â\200\230the fact to assault. :

She said activists â\200\224 the local civic association and the advice centre â\200\224 told her she was not to grant any interviews without their approval and presence. i

At a press conference called in

* February this year by the local branch of the ANC to disclaim media reports that she had been muzzled by â\200\230â\200\234comradesâ\200\235, Seipei was not allowed to answer any questions. -

She was seated between two

â\200\234The efforts of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC in Natal to secure peace in that region, although fragile, is holding and now needs to be underpinned by development activity that can give evidence to the commitment,â\200\235 he said. . :

He believÃ©ed the new South

ships. i i
NATBL W \â\200\230TNE&â\200\235\Afrlca would demand a housing

policy which respected the principle of equality of treatment by the State.

â\200\234The present racially structured and fragmental housing departments make the task of bringing dynamism, cohesion â\200\230and sustainability to the market place extremely complex and difficult to achieve.â\200\235 .. | ~ Â¥

Steyn said he remainWâ\200\230cauâ\200\224tiously optimisticâ\200\235 that his organisation could make some contribution to a housing process that would afford the key players â\200\224 and particularly the private sector â\200\224 an opportunity to contribute towards a firmly established range of housing initiatives. â\200\224

Sapa.

burly men who answered on his behalf. . . sl
After some persuasion on the part of journalists; Seipei was allowed to answer one question â\200\224 was she withdrawing previous criticism of Winnie Mandela?
- She answered: â\200\234I am still not satisfied. Because she is â\200\230the mother of the nation, and as an

ANC member, I'm expecting her toâ\200\231

come to me and clear up these rumours.â\200\235 â\200\224 Sapa.

MUST BE UNDERPINNED BY DEVELOPMENT

Boesak to join,

e y

ANC â\200\230soonâ\200\231â\204ç
CAPE TOWN â\200\224 Anti-apartheid activist and theologian Adlan Boesak, who was enthusiastically received when he addressed a meeting at the University of the Western Cape on Wednesday, said afterwards he would soon join the African National Congress. ;

Responding to a report that â\200\234"ANCâ\200\234@Ã@puty president Nelson Mandela had said in Khayamandi on Wednesday that leaders like Boesak should be included in an interim government, Boesak said with a smile: â\200\234Itâ\200\231s a nice thoughtâ\200\235. ;

Moments earlier, Boesak had addressed well over 1000 students in the main hall on the need to participate in such projects as the signature campaign for a constituent assembly. â\200\224 Sapa. - s .

Margaret Thatcher today

IT is to be hoped that South Africa offers Margaret Thatcher a sumptuous welcome. Private talks, public lunches, large limos and the occasional red carpet. Goodness knows she deserves it. As one statesman ready to offer a slice of carrot alongside the endless stick, she played a determining role in changing the path

of South African history. She also happens, and not for the first time, to have been proved right.

None of this is of great comfort to her -

friends at home. Here there is growing concern that in recreating about her abroad the old trappings of office, she is seeking only to escape from the bitterness of betrayal to which she has never been reconciled. And that the

spirit of the once invincible Iron Lady has been - strained to breaking point by her brutal exile

both from the Tory Party and all affairs of state.

Such misgivings have inevitably been fuelled by the extraordinary interview she offered to Vanity Fair in America - a country where she evidently feels so at home that she is

able to share the innermost feelings with co-

lumnists who in London are greeted with a bland smile and a fulsome recital of her political ideology. Her admission that, stripped of No. 10, she was barely able to recite which day of the week it was, alarmed many. So was the bitterness behind her remark that removing her from Downing Street was like throwing a pane of glass with a complicated map on it onto the floor.

Psychologists this week have been left analysing her hyperactive ego after the curious remark that home is where you come to when there is nothing better to do. Columnist Keith Waterhouse was led to remark that, for most people, home is where your heart is, not where you hang your hat. Another compared her to a

N/ A7pe

-

Margaret Thatcher

political Miss Haversham - frozen in an episode of gross betrayal.

All this, of course, might be the result of a moment of over-indulgence by a Thatcher who plainly finds that the whole mood of America (and perhaps of South Africa too?) is a lot more receptive both to her personality and her ideas than is a thankless establishment and public

back home. But it is at last borne out by the
facts on the ground which suggest that she is
a woman distinctly uncertain of her own future.

VVWME&S

The situation is one which gives little comfort
to the Tory Party.

She has, to everyone's relief, declined
until now to make any major intervention in
the Commons where she retains her back-
bench seat as the member for Finchley. She
has, on the other hand, shown no intention of
doing what many political friends are urging
and announcing her intention of standing down
at the next election. This is said to be because

of her continuing determination to battle at

every public level against the apparent ease
with which the John Major government ap-
pears to be sliding towards federalism in
Europe. B AT

This was not only the battle which trig-
gered her departure but is the one interna-
tional issue on which she has not been seen to
be convincingly triumphant, at least by her own
lights. The damage she could do for party unity
at an anyway horrendous time for the govern-
ment were she to side openly with the still sub-

stantial cabal of anti-Europeans on the right of

the party is beyond contemplation. Is this to be
Thatcher's revenge? No-one is sure, including
perhaps herself. i

Meanwhile she is told that she would be
far more influential out of parliament, support-
ing the party from the flanks as an elder states-
man. Others point out that with Tory fortunes
as they are, she might even face a humiliating
defeat in the constituency she has held since
1959 were she to brave another election.

Yet there is no sign that any post-parlia-
mentary career which she plainly needs is
being fashioned. This may be in large part due
to the shocking brutality with which we ditch
even the most prestigious prime ministers
when their term of office is deemed to have
ended (in this case, of course, ended not by
electorate or by parliament but by a rump in

the Tory Party, as Mrs T never ceases to point

out). Apart from a policeman at the door, she is
bereft of any effective office or consultancy
staff of the sort usually accorded to ex-presi-
dents. In such circumstances, the concept of a
Thatcher Foundation aimed at propagating her
belief in radical conservatism, appears to be
foundering. It is being pointed out that al-
though 60 000 people wrote to her after her de-
mise, no-one was around or even considered
committing the basis of a long term funding
operation. Nor for the moment is there evi-

dence of a memoir: it is said that she does not like writing.

Instead, the damaging post-mortem goes

on, fuelled this week by the testimony of Sir Bernard Ingham, her bluff and beetle-browed press officer for 11 years and perceived by many as the Svengali of No. 10, ready to manipulate government and even destroy ministerial reputation in the wider interest of preserving her authority and integrity. It is his view, in a TV interview, that it was the mishandling of the economy under Chancellor James Callaghan and Nigel Lawson that paved the way to disaster. It all goes back to the economy, and then all the other factors come into play. The eye was taken off the inflation ball and I think Mrs Thatcher did indulge her Chancellor. She was a very indulgent person.

So the debate and the pretence continues. In London her immediate aides have tried to create at the least the atmosphere of a No. 10. A red despatch box is delivered overnight stuffed with documents and reports on world affairs which might interest her but where there were six boxes, there is now one and that is frequently

difficult to fill. Foreign trips and

speeches head the working schedule. South Africa this week, then Moscow where Gorbachev will assure a warm public welcome, Japan later in the year, and another lucrative (and triumphant) lecture tour of the States where she re-charges her ideological batteries.

Ironically there are unmentioned signs amidst it all that her leadership is missed. Would she have allowed George Bush to have permitted the survival of Saddam Hussein, now seen as the fatal error that has flawed all the glories of the Gulf campaign? Might she not have directed a more positive western re-

* sponse to a Gorbachev threatened with eclipse

in the tumult of the Soviet Union? Might her unshakeable radicalism not even have proved that the Tory Party is forced back into mundane debate on the future of the health service which it shows little sign of winning?

She would undoubtedly this week tell you, yes. She is that remarkable phenomenon, a woman of 65 with the mind and the energy of a 40 year old. Her private cry no doubt is 'my horse, my horse, my kingdom for a horse' though friends might better counsel her to think of her good colleague Norman Tebbit's proverbial advice to the unemployed, 'Get on your bike'. Either way, if we are to avoid the risk of a personal tragedy, someone must find her the right steed.

John Ellison is a former Assistant Editor of the Daily Express, and the London correspondent of The Natal Witness.

~

_Hillbrow blast injures 230 . limpet mines found outside bank, police
station
STAR .. 4, /77,47 199/

Police teams scour

| By Guy Jepson,
Monica Oosterbroek
and Julianne du Toit

Bombers launched a mys-
tery blitz on Johannes-
burg last night.

-- ~ Three mini-limpet mines
224 including one which de-
vastated a Hillbrow restau-
rant and injured seven peo-
ple 224 were planted in the
city.

Today a huge police oper-
ation was launched in the
city centre to search for
more bombs. .

After last night's blast at
Garbo's restaurant in Hill-
brow, police today found a
second Soviet-made mine
outside a city centre bank
at: a third attached to a car
outside the city's police
headquarters. id ;
3 At 6.34 am they used a
controlled detonation 235 to
blast the Soviet-made device

found on the pavement ou- |
tside the Volkskas bank on

the corner of Commissioner --
230 and Sauer streets. :

234 Police bomb disposal ex-
perts rendered the device
harmless by exploding the
detonator which was unsta-
ble, 235 E'di-\201ce spokesman Ca-
tain Eugene Opperman said.

Within an hour they had
found and disarmed a mine

Wâ\200\230*M&Lî¬\201î¬\2011 caf ut-
side John Vorster Square.
As police scoured the city
ts for more bombs, Cap-
tain Opperman appealed to
the public to be on the look-
out for unattended parcels
and suspicious packages.
He said members of Â¢
public should not enter cor-

â\200\224â\200\224

doned-off areas as this could
not only be dangerous to

~them, but also hinder police
. investigations.

At Garboâ\200\231s, while bomb
disposal experts sifted
through the rubble this
morning, owner of the res-
taurant, George Christodou-
lou, said he could not un-
derstand why his restaurant
had been attacked.

â\200\234Itâ\200\231s a decent place. They
are not troublemakers.
There has never been any
fights between customers.
All this violence is like the
Middle Ages in Europeâ\200\235.

Mr Christodoulou said he
would not be stepping up se-
curity but would â\200\234turn my
waiters into sniffer dogs â\200\224
make them more aware of
any strange parcels and
offer a R500 bonus if one of

. them finds a bombâ\200\235.

. â\200\234The bomb, which explod-
ed outside Garboâ\200\231s restau-

' rant on the corner of Claim

and Pretoria streets at

' 11,15 pm, had been placed in

a rubbish bin. The blast re-

{ verberated for kilometres

Joâ\200\231sburg for bombs

around the high-rise area.

The flying squad, riot police, traffic officers, firemen, and ambulancemen were on the scene within minutes.

At least seven injured were rushed to the Johannesburg Hospital,

Extipajgpe |
caused the d

windows in nearby buildings
| were shattered by the force
' of the blast.

The area was immediately cordoned off
A patron of Garbo's,

' Karen Badenhorst, said she

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â\200\230The window fell on our tableâ\200\231

Â® From Page 1

was being served when
the explosion occurred.

Covered in dust and
shaking with shock she
told The Star: â\200\234I felt my-
self being blasted
forward before there
was a deafening noise.

â\200\234Next thing, the win-
dow fell on to our table
and the roof caved in.
Fortunately, we were
sitting right next to the
window so we didnâ\200\231t get
caught by flying bits of
glass,â\200\235 she said:

One Hillbrow reveller,

who named himself only

Adam, said he heard a
â\200\234very very loud bang,
glass shattering and peo-
ple screaming.

â\200\230â\200\234People were just
slumped over their
tables. I thought several
had been killed.â\200\235

A freelance photogra-
pher, Maurice Dingli, ar-
rived within seconds.

â\200\234I heard a large re-
sounding explosion and .

rushed around the cor-
ner. There were huge
clouds of dust and the
steel girders around the

building had been blast-
ed away,â\200\235 he said.

â\200\234Then the walking
wounded were evacuated
and led to ambulances.â\200\235

Captain Opperman re-
fused to speculate on the
possible motives for any
of the blasts, but added
that police had not ex-
cluded the possibility
that they were linked.

â\200\234We really want to
make an appeal to the

- public not to think that

terrorist attacks of this
nature can no longer
happen in South Africa
â\200\224 like any other country
in the world, they can
still happen,â\200\235 he said.

râ\200\230ge'vastatlng limpet mine blast outside |
streets in Hillbrow : '

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S restaurant,

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es of last ni
on the corner of Claim and Pre

Garboâ\200\231

10 The Star Friday May 17 1991

CGhe Star

Intolerance S

Established 1887

South Africaâ\200\231s largest daily newspaper

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Cries from
the grave

hacked to death, was a clear re-

minder of the need for urgent ac-
tion to end the carnage in black townships.
So, too, are the 1050 people who, according
to a new preliminary estimate by the Insti-
tute of Race Relations, have died in politi-
cal violence since January 1. These hapless
victims cry out from their graves for firm
action.

President de Klerk must heed their
cries; he must add spears to the list of pro-
hibited dangerous weapons without delay.
If it means alienating Chief Mangosuthu

HE Swanieville massacre, in which
at least 27 people were stabbed and

Buthelezi, he must accept that as the price

of strong leadership. , : ~
But the ANC, which is pressing for a ban
on spears, must offer a quid pro quo. If
Chief Butheleziâ\200\231s Inkatha loyalists are to be
disarmed, then the ANC must make sure
its young zealots do not burn people alive
merely because they are suspected of
being political opponents. Two sets of
graphic photographs published in the press
recently come to mind: the first showed a
man being stabbed to death by a hostel
dweller; the second captured the death
agonies of a hostel dweller as he was
doused with petrol and set alight. They
make the point tellingly. '
The whole issue is coming to a head be-
cause the ANC has given Mr de Klerk until
today to prohibit the carrying of spears in
public, except at genuinely cultural occa-
sions. But while the ANC is appraising its
position, it should reconsider its refusal to

attend Mr de Klerk's summit on violence
on May 24 and 25.

The ANC has rejected an invitation to attend, arguing that the summit is a unilateral initiative by Mr de Klerk. But the idea of a summit meeting apparently came originally from Dr Van Zyl Slabbert whose credentials, presumably, are not suspect. When Mr de Klerk later offered to hold the summit, he was responding to the ANC's open letter of April 5, exhorting him to take decisive action. Understandably the ANC prefers a conference under the churches' aegis. But to refuse to attend Mr de Klerk's summit, now that he is determined to go ahead with it, smacks of pettifoggery in the midst of death.

AN

POTCHEFSTROOM University might believe it is being neatly even-handed by banning scheduled addresses by both Joe Slovo and Eugene TerreBlanche. But all it has done is to capitulate to intolerance and negate the very essence of a university as a free market-place for ideas. Both the communist and the rightist leader should have been allowed a platform. Behind the move was a fear of the right-wing violence which characterised recent appearances by Nelson Mandela at Pretoria and Stellenbosch universities (at which latter, after he was finally able to speak, the ANC leader made a markedly conciliatory speech). At Potchefstroom, in addition, there were worries about atheistic views being expressed by Mr Slovo. Yet even an institution for Higher Christian Education ought to be open-minded and confident enough to hear dissenting voices. Sadly the university was influenced by objections - mostly to Mr Slovo - from off campus. A pity, too, that this should happen at a university associated with the most liberal of the Dutch Reformed churches; one which produced at least two notably enlightened Nationalist leaders - President de Klerk and Barend du Plessis.

1\lb'WS

Warning of v

Staff Reporters

If 50 whites had been killed the Government would not have hesitated to ban deadly weapons, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Speaking at a commemoration service in Kagiso on the West Rand for the 27 victims of the Swanieville massacre last Sunday, he said there was a danger of township violence spilling over into white areas if the Government did not stop it immediately.

Addressing 4 000 people, he accused President de Klerk of being reluctant to ban assegais because white people were not dying in the violence.

Mr Mandela made it clear the ANC would not compromise on the exclusion of spears from the ban on weapons.

â\200\234If the Government does not ban the carrying of sticks and spears, there is no question of negotiations.â\200\235

He indirectly accused the Inkatha Freedom Party of bussing its supporters to the Transvaal to assist in a forced recruitment campaign. The IFP was using traditional weapons ' to coerce people into joining.

Mr Mandela said there was â\200\234an organisationâ\200\235 which wished to rise to power on the corpses of black people.

â\200\234If black people found out the Government was working with this organisation they would arm themselves and take the

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lence in white areas

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Mounties .

violence into white areas.â\200\235

However, he called on the
ANC and-other organisations
not to attack white areas.

Most whites shared their as-
pirations and many â\200\234valued the
lives of black peopleâ\200\235.

Mr Mandela criticised Mr de
Klerk for his â\200\234unwillingnessâ\200\235 to
ban Inkatha supporters from

carrying â\200\234traditionalâ\200\235 weapons .

at political meetings.

He accused Mr de Klerk of
regarding as the lives of black
people as â\200\234cheapâ\200\235.

Families feared'for their

safety â\200\234because they (the auth
orities) are not interested in de-
fending themâ\200\235.

He rejected the SAPâ\200\231s expla-
nation that they were not aware
of a planned attack on the Kagi-
so squatters.

The authoritiesâ\200\231 failure to
protect residents againgit vio-
lent attacks was part of an at-
tempt to weaken the ANC.

Deputy president of thie PAC,
Dikgang Moseneke, caljled for
unity among polltlcal parties,
and said that by allowing the
violence to continue the; Gov-

ernment was conducting a war
against the â\200\234oppressedâ\200\235.

Pandelani Nefolovhodwe of
Azapo accused the Government
of destabilising black communi-
ties by killing people, dividing
liberation movements and ex-
ploiting political intolerance.

In Johannesburg last night, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said there would be no future for South Africa if violence was not brought under control.

However, on the ANC call for banning of cultural weapons, Chief Buthelezi said: "One does

. security force personnel on horseback yesterday patrolled Swanleville after threats of more violence

not call for the banning of lollipops when you are confronted with serious drug abuse among teenagers and one does not call for the banning of matches when you are campaigning against smoking."

He said reliable research showed that 80 percent of deaths in the current violence were caused by gunshots.

He said the ANC knew it was putting tremendous pressure on Mr de Klerk, who would have to placate the ANC by banning traditional weapons or per-

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;|'Hostels

problem

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Changes to the notori-
ous single-sex township
hostel is slowly becom-
ing a reality. But with
the implementation of
plans to phase out
these apartheid-inspired
structures, strong reser-
vations have emerged
over how the task is
being approached, re-
ports HELEN GRANGE.

INGLE-SEX - township
hostels, long neglected by
J the financially strapped
black local "authorities

governing them, are on their

Although hundreds of hostels

/| remain as the squalid living
'| quarters of thousands of work-
â\200\230| ers on the Reef, the informal
| agreement by the Government,
|| the ANC and Inkatha to phase

'| them out is now seeing results.

But reservations are being
expressed about the way in
which this change of status is
being implemented by township
authorities and big business.

To date, at least three black
town councils have sold or are
planning to sell hostels to pri-

vate development business.

The Tembisa Town Council last week placed newspaper advertisements to attract potential developers to buy and con

! â\200\230v'gg)t two hostel complexes into fan

ily units. The hostels house 22000 people, mostly single male migrant workers.

Two Dobsonville hostel com-

plexes have also been put up for sale by the Dobsonville

Town Council, which would like

to see them turned into family units. !

THE

i In December, Diepmeadow

Town Council sold Diepkloof hostel for R862 000 to a private company, which stands to make more than R1 million a year in rent charges. (This decision angered the 6 000 hostel dwellers who threatend to take action against the council.)

| The Soweto City Council and the Soweto Developers and Builders Forum have also ex-

| pressed hope that the private sector will invest in hostels, .

with a.view to redevelopment,

- Despite what appears to'be a '

positive development in - the progression of the barrack-

o

~.curity of single men in hostels, - many of them prone to the be-

CIRR&

hostel to upgraded â\200\230b.ache-
?(tgl%r family units, facl_lltated
by an injection of funding b};
the private sector, a number 0
housing consultants have
warned that such a on_e-5lded
strategy may be disruptive, be-
cause the methods of councils

i i i rting -

and big business in convert-
hostelsâ\200\235 â\200\230amid highly volatlll)g

black' communities may
misinterpreted or rejected by
both hostel dwellers and the

_community.

Apart from the political
stress in certain townships, the
fact that black town councils
â\200\230entering negotiations to con-
vert hostels are regarded by
black communities as non-rep-
resentative and â\200\234on their way
outâ\200\235 presents an obstacle.

This problem was demon; -

strated when the Tembisa Hos-
tels Residents Committee slat-
ed the Tembisa council for ad-
vertising the sale of hostels

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remain comp

without consulting it.
Another problem is the inse-

lief that the meagre shelter,
they have at present will be -
taken away from them.

Ian Bernhardt, of Bernhardt,
Dunston and Otten, consiiltants
in worker housing, believes that

black town councils making -
deals with big business to get
hostels off their hands are high-
ly irresponsible.

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â\200\234It will be a disaster. What
these councils are looking at

iare speculators out for a finan-
â\200\230aal killing, ignoring the com-

munity needs,â\200\235 he says.

This was not to say that hostels should not be converted.
â\200\234Most of the hostels are perfectly good buildings and con-

I version is preferable to simply

tearing them down.

â\200\234Conversion must be sensi-

lâ\200\230, tive, taking into consideration

the communityâ\200\231s needs. Low-
â\200\230cost housing for married and

" single people should be provid-

ed and financing could be established by community trusts.
It is a pity councils are doing deals with developers,â\200\235 he said.

Mr Bernhardtâ\200\231s current objective is to put a model of such a converted hostel on the

* ground for everyone to see. .

â\200\234The point is to show all the possibilities of converting hostels to low-cost housing and es-

- tablish the costs involved.â\200\235

â\200\231:;Though we will see far fewer
â\200\230the old-style hostel in years to come, the Government and some urban consultants believe there is still a need for them.

Said one consultant researching hostel conversion: â\200\234It is a complex issue which cannot be separated from the countryâ\200\231s housing crisis. There are many hostel dwellers who simply want their hostels improved, not necessarily converted.â\200\235 0

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Heading for the scrapheap . .

. a hostel resident makes his Springless bed. .Single-sex hostels are now being phased out.

bers mareh in Johannesburg ln
community leaders agree that
from political organisations.

g the need for
y of the civic
Associations of
svaal (Cast) vice
OSunkutu says:
ing to guard
pt to translate
tility towards the
| movements.â\200\235
nd says the civic

instead cast itself in the mould of a
pressure group on the outside.

Molefe agrees but adds that, in a
democratic non-racial South Africa,
pamcnpauon in local government
by civics could be an option.

â\200\234But this is not the only option.
We believe that other mechanisms
could be found to direct the distri-
bution of resources and how devel-
opment could take place.

" NEW.NATION May'17 = May 23 1991 PsgÃ©'7

erning local authorities are not
restrictive and are formulated â\200\234in
the best interests of civil societyâ\200\235,
the fear that they would end up fur-
thering a party political agenda must
of necessity be non-existent.

But Molefe says it does not nec-
essarily follow that a peopleâ\200\231s gov-
emment will automatically do what

the civic movement demands of it.

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the political party in power dis-

tributes resources,â\200\235 he explains.

â\200\234If there is a deliberate effort on

the part of the party to meet the

_basic needs of the people, and it

does not simply ride rough shod
over the heads of the people sim-

ply because it is committed to a par-

ticular ideological position, it would

. have the effect of increasingly

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ON THE SOUTHERN TIP

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A new Sandton tradition

YOU KNOW, here in the Dorsbult bar
we happen to think that ou FW might be
fighting a losing battle when it comes to
| this traditional weapons business, I
| mean, where does he draw the line?
' â\200\234OK, so0 he manages to stop these okes
carrying spears,â\200\235 said Hubrecht Willem-

se.â\200\234But what about all those other Inka- -

tha traditions?â\200\235 Oubaas Malan could
only agree. â\200\234Thatâ\200\231s true. What will the
cops do when the Sandton branch stage
their first rally? Would you like to be the
man who has to disarm a mob brandish-
ing Kreepy-Kraulies and hair-dryers?â\200\235

MOH this new South Africa ... my
earch for clues to our destiny goes on.
One goes like this. On board a flight to
Cape Town there sits: Securocrat Neil
Barnard, travelling business class,
ringed by bodyguards; Helen Suzman,
travelling business class, alone; Thabo
Mbeki, flying solo, flying economy.

. Whatdoes this all mean? Answers on a
| postcard, winner gets a ... umm ... fabi-
| lous prize. I'll think of something,

| :

\MTHE writing is always on the wall, of
course, but sometimes you need a little
extra insight to figure out what it means,
A wall in the township of Mamelodi car-
ries this message: â\200\234Africa for the Afri-
cans. Support BBC.â\200\235.

Is this an advertisement for British
broadcastingâ\200\231s new expanded coverage
of the subcontinent? Or just an Azapo
member with a slight stammer?

WSOMETIMES the words just wonâ\200\231t
come out right. Desmond Tutu was ad-

ressing an ANC Bill of Rights confer- -

ence and building up a fair head of steam,
The break up of family life, child labour
and prostitution should be legalised
said the Nobel one.

When the laughter died down, Tutu
managed to get his tongue around legis-
lated. And at least his grace had the,

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grace to laugh.

MBUT it does seem difficult these days
for people to say what they mean, Take:
Robin Welsh, M-Net boxing commenta-
tor, who said of Pierre Coetzer: Pierre
Coetzer is the best white heavyweight in
the world ... and we're not talking racial-
ly, we're just talking drawing power.
Talking strictly drawing power, what

est white heavyweight in the world?
Still, Welsh was less confused than pro-
moter Thinus Strydom. With three of
world boxing's four bodies vying to
stage a title fight in South Africa, Stry-
dom has vowed to match his man Grego-
ry Clark with one Julian Jackson, the
'WBO junior middleweight champion',

Trouble is, Jackson is a middlewei ght.
And he fights under the WBC, the only
one of the four that will have nothing to
do with South Africa. ;

BMETHINKS the laddies doth protest
too much ... The International Freedom
Foundation has been lobbying hard for a
crackdown on British charity Oxfam for
its involvement in political activities,
Come come now, a little political activ-

ity never hurt anyone. Not even the IFF,

which calls itself as a free market think
tank. What of that Jamba jamboree,
where Unita were brought together with
other right-wing groups? What kind of
tanks was the IFF thinking about then?

BLAST week we told you of how Es-

does that make Mike Tyson? The black-

kom had sent Renamo leader Alfonso
Dhlakama some spanking new uni-
forms. This week Renamo blew up Es-
kom power lines around Maputo.

Shooh, Alf! Even if the new threads
didn't fit, couldn't you just have asked -
for a bigger size?

BMJOURNALISTS everywhere try to
look for a local angle on big international
stories, as in Bangladesh floods claim
thousands of no Beaufort West resi-

dents involved. But some try harder

than others.

Seen outside the supreme court after
sentence was passed on Winnie Mandela
was a Japanese woman bearing a placard
which said: Winnie is innocent, with
some Japanese writing underneath,

Not a member of the Tokyo anti-
apartheid movement, my sources tell
me. Just a visiting journalist, giving her
cameraman a little something for the
folks back home.

LIFE ON THE SOUTHERNTIP

THE biggest hobo dance ever will be
staged in the Vereeniging Town Hall on
June 1 by Risiville's Club La Rochelle.
The extravaganza is being promoted at
clubs throughout the PWV area. The
public are invited to become instant ho-
bos and join in the fun. The Town Hall is
to be converted into a veritable den for
hobos, with sprayed newspaper flowers
growing out of tin vases, newspaper table
cloths, blankets and newspapers serving
as seating on the floor and rags hanging
everywhere. Even the tickets will look
like old newspaper. Imitation blue
train methylated spirits will be
served and participants are welcome to
bring their own liquid refreshments.
Light snacks will be served. In addition,
up to 30 prizes are on the cards for the
Best dressed. Ilobo, the Best Hobo
couple, the Smelliest Hobo and others.
Vaal Ster, 29/4/91

Peaceful student

By ANDREW MELDRUM: Harare

A STANDOFF between protesting students of the University of Zimbabwe and President Robert Mugabe's government may lead to the university's closure.

Angered by the students' three-week boycott of classes, the government threatened to shut down the university unless the 8 000 students returned to classes by Thursday. The student body adamantly continued the boycott, in protest against new legislation which will increase government control over the university.

One of the university's professors commented: "In principle, I support the students' protest because I am against the new legislation, but I don't believe they ever stood a chance of reversing the government's position."

The legislation in dispute, the University of Zimbabwe Amendment Act and the National Council of Higher Education Act, was passed by parliament last December and awaits Mugabe's signature to become law. The government-appointed vice-chancellor will be granted the power to suspend and expel students and

lecturers, without any right of appeal. In addition,

the new governing body, the National Council of Higher Education, will be controlled by government appointees.

"This is just a way for the ruling Zanu-PF party to extend its control over the university," said an angry engineering student. "Mugabe still thinks Zimbabwe is a one-party state and he wants to close us down because we are causing too many problems."

When students rioted against the legislation last year, they were subjected to a violent crackdown by police. This year the SRC has been careful to keep the boycott peaceful, in an attempt to prevent police intervention.

But the students are adamant that the boycott will not be called off until the minister of higher education, David Karimanzira, holds discussions with student representatives.

The government ultimatum, issued on Tuesday night, stated that the boycott had already wasted Z\$5,7 million of taxpayers' money and that if the students did not return to classes by Thursday, there would be no choice but to close the university.

Many faculty members are encouraging the

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students, but the boycott is receiving little support elsewhere. During last yearâ\200\231s riots the stu-

dents were actively supported by the trade-

union movement, but this year the unions ap-

pear to be preoccupied with their own battles

over Zimbabweâ\200\231s economic restructuring,

The legislation has been the subject of widespread criticism from the start. Church groups, opposition parliamentarians and international human-rights groups have objected to the undermining of academic freedom inherent in the Acts. Yet the government has remained inflexible. Mugabe personally supports the legislation, stating that it is needed to bring about more discipline. :

*â\200\234Thereâ\200\231s not much hope that the government will alter the legislation, but weâ\200\231ve got to try,â\200\235 said a lecturer. â\200\234This is a test of how open our society will be in the future.â\200\235 '

The irony is that while the university stayed open throughout the countryâ\200\231s liberation war, despite the animosity of Ian Smithâ\200\231s regime, and has survived a series of violent riots in recent years, it appears that its ultimate demise will be caused by a peaceful boycott.

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| HEDIED as she had lived, in battle. It

was a quite extraordinary end, but it |

was in keeping with everything important that had gone before. There was a continuity, not only in the texture of those events but in the circumstances of - her long life and swift demise. Just as her triumphs were often rooted in her zest for combat, her refusal to listen to advice and her unwillingness to admit that she could be wrong, so were these the sources of her last predicament. Until last November, when all three habits were, finally broken.

It was a shocking way to go. Having lost no vote either in the Commons or in the country, she was yet disposed of by the unaccountable will of fewer than 400 politicians.

There has been nothing like it in the democratic -

era: no verdict apparently so perverse and unprovoked delivered by a governing party against a leader upon whom it had fawned and under whom it had grown fat for so many years. Many Conservatives were thunderstruck by what they accomplished; some, even among those who did the deed, will be ashamed. For the first time in her prime ministership she provoked,

while not requesting it, the sympathy reserved

for a helpless creature at bay.

The symmetry between the life and the death was nonetheless compelling. She was a leader of lurid style and risky habits, especially in the field of personal relations. Aggressive to a fault, she spent years scorning not only consensual policies but the consensual demeanour. Although she was forced from the helm she managed to get her protege, former Chancellor of the Exchequer John Major, appointed as her successor. Even now, without an official post, she continues to exert influence on other leaders, notably President FW de Klerk.

The Thatcher years, however, will not be forgotten. The Callaghan era might never have happened, for all that history makes of it. This is

ess true of the periods to which Harold Wilson

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and Ted Heath attach their names, but what lingers from them is notoriety more than fame.

The Thatcher era was different, and nowhere

more so than in the evidence it offered that personality can be the single most potent contributor to the pattern of events. For better or for worse, glris will truly and for ever be called the Thatcher a.

All reformers need circumstance to coincide

with destiny. But character matters more. There were things that happened which would, I think, have happened quite differently without her.

The first was the Falklands War. It was a prime

example of ignorance lending pellucid clarity to her judgment. Surrounded by ministers who knew what war was and dithered at its prospect, | she understood what the soldiers wanted and shirked neither the military consequences nor the political risk. '

Second, the conduct of economic policy in the

early Eighties owed almost everything to her moral fibre. It may have been a failed policy, but it was hers. She was committed to an economic theory and committed against caring about unemployment. When Lord Hailsham told her, in July 1981, that she would destroy the Conservative Party as surely as Herbert Hoover led the Republicans to oblivion in 1932, she spat in his eye.

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Third, and for similar reasons, the dethroning

of trade union power would have taken a different course without her. She acted. out with ut-

Former British premief Margaret |
Thatcher was in South Africa this

~ week. HUGO YOUNG looks at her |

rise and fall

most seriousness the anti-union prejudice which most other Tories shared but which many of them had not dared to deploy. Public sector strife, culminating with the 1984 coal strike, was |

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permitted to drag out as ministers watched with almost sadistic fascination.

With Thatcherâ\200\231s fourth irreplaceable mark, we reach more contentious territory: the region, in fact, where hubris and nemesis met, to ultimate-

ly catastrophic effect. Few qualified observers doubt that her stand against the European Com-

munity achieved a British advantage in the earlyâ\200\231 â\200\230 _

days; which was unavailable by other means.

By asking reasonable questions in a wholly unreasonable manner, she secured more of â\200\234our moneyâ\200\235 from Brussels. A decadeâ\200\231s combative diplomacy made for a quite different British presence. _

But here came the first source of her trouble. The mark in Brussels. became a kind of curse at home. Her elemental convictions about nationhood and sovereignty were not accompanied by sufficient sensitivity to the opposite feelings of significant colleagues. The issue became an emblem of the style as well as the content at the

heart of her difficulties. It showed the falsity of this distinction. With this leader the style was the woman.

- In modified form, this was also a key to her fifth uniquely personal policy, the poll tax. It is

the only tax in the Western world to have grown

more out of character than reason. Reason, expressed by Nigel Lawson and the Treasury, said that it would be unjust, unworkable and insupportably expensive. Character, sticking blindly, with a Thatcher commitment dating from 1974, insisted that it must go forward and enlisted another consistent trait of these years â\200\224 the incau-

| tious support of enough meekly compliant mini- |
. sters for the blame to be spread.

Policies alone, however, do not define the place she will take in the annals. The intangibles

- are perhaps more important, and may ensure her

-name a longer life. Thatcherism embodies a style and a set of values that will take a long time to disappear from British politics.

As a leader, she developed abrasiveness into an art form. She despised, above all, consensus:

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the goal of most other leaders but not her. As a leader, also, she needed to know everything and often seemed to do so. There never has been a leader better briefed, with readier riposte, more scornfully deployed against her ignorant enemies. : . .

This most formidable capacity was some kind of answer to those who charged her, accurately, with an insatiable desire to interfere in every

:

minister's business. Hardly anything moved in Whitehall without her approval; but for hardly anything that happened did she fail to have a justification.

As well as this ambiguous virtue, however, she had a plainer one. She did not want to be liked. The least likeable of all leaders, according to consistent opinion poll findings, she nonetheless won three elections. In this she was wholly admirable. She did not pander to the people. They often remarked on how much they hated her, even as they admitted to a grudging respect.

She used this harshness to establish a more prominent British presence in the world. Of all the people bewildered by what happened, none floundered in deeper astonishment than foreigners from all over.

For most of them, Margaret Thatcher gave a passable imitation of the Britannia whom, during the Falklands crisis, she shamelessly sought to personify. Before and after her, a series of faceless men, usually in grey suits, trod the global stage pretending to an influence that depended on past glories some of them could almost remember.

In the Thatcher era, the image was different.

. During the Reagan years, moreover, image proclaimed more than mere appearance. Through their shared ideology, they formed a society for the mutual support of leaders determined to abolish the post-war consensus.

Evangelism and showmanship captured the

As it began in the Soviet Union shortly before the 1987 election. Some might say that the influence thereby attained was a little illusory. How could a weak country like Britain aspire to change the world, especially when Germany

was becoming so manifestly the dominant power in Europe?

point: without her peculiar quality of conviction, proclaimed by her flamboyant personality, Britain would have continued to take its

as an increasingly obscure island off the shore of north-west Europe.

She spoke, as no one else did, for business Britain. Not just for big business but, rather more, for small. Detached from her party, she could easily have been a latter-day Poujadist, ex-

pressing economic but also the social philosophy of little-England shopkeeping, from which she sang.

She left an economy which, for all the Labour Party's railing, is stronger than it was,

that may be: this may well be able to say that

the Thatcher years decelerated British decline. There were failures, however. And of many candidates for consideration, two strike me as reaching close to the heart of the hatchet experience. Just as there were positive events unattainable without her, so were there the negative: specific and peculiar to her person. ; The first concerned her attitude to government itself, and in particular the role of the state. She came into power determined to reduce it. Most Tory leaders have said as much, but she was the first who announced a conscious mission to - abandon paternalist aspirations and get government, even benign government, off the people's

This was conspicuously accomplished in only

one department, that of state ownership. The privatising of productive business will never be reversed, and even the utilities are likely, under the 10 remain outside the public sector. Elsewhere, Thatcher's relations with the state

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* But her actions, also, countermanded her ambj-

tion. In the Thatcher years, there were many

ways in which the central state â\200\230grew more not
less powerful. In finance, in education, in health

ket choice was Supposed to stand substitute for
local democracy. But in the end the gentlemen,
and un-gentlewoman, in Whitehall knew best.
We were told that this would be temporary, But
a government of different temper will find a lot
of new instruments in Place, the tools of Thatch-
erâ\200\231s rage for action, ready for use.

The second failure concerned, in the end, her
view of what political leaders were meant to be
and do. She had the vices of her virtues. This

R e S P S e

- was what flhaïr\202y engulfed her. She was strong,

but put excessive weight on strength. She accu-
mulated more personal power than any peace-
time prime minister in history; and in that guise
will interest the historians for many years. But
â\200\230she saw too little value in the art of compromise

. Leadership, for her, was equated too often wn;h
/ the satisfaction of her will. :

She was a conviction politician, but too often
scorned the reasoned statement of different con-
victions. Argument she relished, as long as she
won, but persuasion she neglected. Give-and-
take and the other techniques of sweet reason

were alien to her nature, For surprisingly many years, it wrought no lastin ' damage.

The collective was willing to put up with its un-comradely supremacy, essentially, it was persuaded that she was going in the right direction: and in any case she kept on winning elections - i

- But at the end, over Europe, the one issue on

which the Conservative Party was prepared to concede that it was most seriously divided, the ~ Obedience of the collective in line with Nigel Lawson and ending with Geoffrey Howe collapsed - VFormanyywmshethmghtshewasirreplmâ\200\224

ble,ajuigmemwhidngmwnotmtofsimplevmâ\200\224a) ity so much as an assessment of Britainâ\200\231s plight and what she could contribute to it. When the tumults began to roll, she still could not credit that -

this verdict was being revised. Nor could many

other people. Having broken the rules and beaten the systemâ\200\231ften in the past, she was now capable of doing it again. It was almost an offence against natureâ\200\231 to that she could not..

But finally the system, which says that this is cabinet and not prime ministerial government, reacted. There was a point beyond which it declined to be flouted. So in the end, in a drama whose outlandishness aptly reflected the years before, she went. â\200\224 The Guardian, London.

â\200\230@Guardian reporter Hugo Young is the author of One of Us, the definitive biography of Thatcher.

KIN BEI;Q{TLEY Te

â\200\230question . . .

ELDOM CAN the British media have devoted more space to a topic than they did this week to the implications of Winnie Mandelaâ\200\231s six-year prison sentence. S

Apart from the hard news of the sentence from the Rand Supreme Court, which again made the front pages of virtually every one of the 12 or so national newspapers, there were also nine lengthy features and five editorials.

One reason for the intense interest in Mrs Mandela could be that during the 27 years she spent separated from her . . husband, Nelson, the British public was kept better informed of her plight than were South Africans.

Here are a few examples of what the British Press had to

say:
The Daily Mailâ\200\231s Peter Younghusband, in a feature

headlined â\200\230This tragic marriage that could wreck a nationâ\200\231, wrote:

â\200\230In a way, the sentencing of Winnie Mandela was the sen-

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tencing of this nation, struggling on through bloodshed and near-civil war towards a very uncertain, dehcately balanced future

â\200\234What had kept Mr Mandela â\200\230the force he is todayâ\200\231, was not: his dream of uniting the country so much as his love for his wife.

â\200\230Few men have been so obsessed by the love of a woman â\200\224 and so sustained by a woman. And, indeed, so affected by a woman.â\200\231 â\200\230

Like many columnists here, Younghusband quoted from a

letter Nelson Mandela wrote to Winnie while in prison, in which he told her of the physical urges he still had for her. â\200\230My heart beats for you as if I was a teenager, hopelessly in love for the first time.â\200\231

Younghusband quoted a friend of the Mandelas: â\200\230They are hopelessly in love. Sometimes when you are with them, you can literally feel the sex between them.â\200\231

But, added Younghusband, this Anthony and Cleopatra-

type relationship could be lethal in the context of South Africaâ\200\231s volatile politics. In three years, Mr Mandela

.could be the countryâ\200\231s first.

president, â\200\230with his wife, the first lady of the nation, quxte

possibly still in jailâ\200\231. iy 1 i

Younghusband asked whether Mr Mandela would get over the shock of the last few days, adding that there was â\200\230anxious talk of it breaking himâ\200\231.

Echoing the sentiments of other columnists, he said Mr

- Mandelaâ\200\231s problem was that

he failed to see the flaws which developed in her character in recent years.

â\200\230If Nelson Mandela, the vital political flywheel in the delicate constitutional process gets knocked awry because of the emotional impact of what is happening to his wife, it

could send all of South Africa; ' crashing into the bloodiestâ\200\235 :

mess of its tortured history.â\200\231 Daily Express columnist

John Ellison said: â\200\230One of the losers is Nelson Mandela,

After the trial . _.'â\200\230av smile from Winnie, but not from her husband t
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whose dignity :in facing the
appalling personal challenge

of his wifeâ\200\231s public humili-
ation can only earn him the
admiration of us all.â\200\231

' tragedy of finding himself sep-
arated yet again by prison
bars from the woman he so
dearly loves and after only 15
months of snatched happiness
together, may be more than
he can standâ\200\231.

But, Ellison added polem-
ically, the implications could
be worse than Nelsonâ\200\231s trau-

maâ\200\231s :

" â\200\230Winnieâ\200\231s support in the
ANC comes from the substan-
tial radical fringe of young
toughs who exult in the very
style of township violence for
which she herself is now going
to jail.

â\200\230Brutality, intimidation
and, ultimately, the dreaded
necklace, is their stock in

. trade, all in the name of the

" liberation struggle.â\200\231

The courtâ\200\231s verdict could . |

â\200\230only strengthen their resolve,
and worse, their support. In

â\200\234He 'said. ;heâ\200\234Unexpected'.

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Winnie, they now have a Joan
of Arc, and a powerful martyr
she will prove; What matters

to many thousands â\200\230of quite ' *
. respectable blacks in the
. townships, is not that, Winnie y
; is branded . g .

â\200\230What is (branded) is the
white manâ\200\231s justice, renowned
over the years for its too-fre-

quent victimisation of blacks,
which has been allowed pub-
licly to destroy a woman who
was, for all her faults, a leg-
endary figure of the liberation

: struggle.

Mr Mandela, he said was
faced not only with the dan-
ger of renewed violence in the
townships, but also with a
long-feared break-up of the
ANC, in which Mandela him-
self might be marginalised by
a cabal of Winnie's radical
young comrades.

Some blame attached to Mr
Mandela, Ellisons said, be-
cause he indulged her wild
politics to the point at which
his own statesmanship was

! under serious question,
The Independent's John

Carlin, who covered the trial,

quoted a black woman out-
side the court, who comment-
ed on the massive
deployment of police helicop-
ters and armoured vehicles:
Look at this. But when

* Inkatha attacks there are no
helicopters, no defence
us.

The trial, said Carlin, ex-
posed the extraordinary dis-
tortions of justice in South
African society. .

It was ultimately because
of Winnie Mandela's position
of leadership in her communi-
ty that the judge saw fit to pin
the moral blame on her in the
conspiracy to kidnap three
young men and a boy."

But what about the count-
less conspiracies to kidnap or
eliminate activists, to bomb
or destabilise neighbour-
hoods?

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â\200\234Then there are the 1500
deaths in the township vio-
lence of the past nine months.
A tiny fraction of arrests have
been made, No one has been

â\200\230 i convicted.â\200\231; _*: Bl

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NATAL MERCURY

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CAPE TOWNâ\200\224The
Government gave stern
notice yesterday it
would demand an ac-
counting from the ANC
for what it viewed as
bickering about details
rather than facing up to
its responsibilities to
address the violence
issue..

In what must rank as the
most forthright criticism of
the ANC' yet, the Minister of
Constitutional Development,
.Dr_Gerrit Viljoen, said .the:
Government: would" not plan -
its agenda in response to the
ANCâ\200\231s ultimaturggan ill-
Judged and unfortunate
actionâ\200\231. Â\$

He was in near challenging
form on the eve of a crucial
ANC-alliance meeting to for-
mulate its position on the
Governmentâ\200\231s response to the
ANC'â\200\231s open letter ultimatum.

The minister announced to

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the media that the planned
national summit on May 24
and 25 would open its plenary
sessions to the Press and
would be held at the CSIR
Conference Centre outside
Pretoria. ;

The summit would not be
accused of being a â\200\230secret con-
claveâ\200\231 but he did not think
anyone could stay away â\200\230with-
out giving a proper account
for staying awayâ\200\231.

- The conference would also
certainly not bÃ© a waste .of

time if the. ANC did not attend, Dr Viljoen said.

While Dr Viljoen said there
dbeenâ\200\231 â\200\230considerable convergence of understandingâ\200\231
during â\200\230the most recent talks
.between President de Klerk
and Dr Mangosuthu Buthe-
lezi on the issue of dangerous
weapons, he did not know
what the ANC_had heard on
the subject.

The Government was â\200\230not
interested in their deadlinesâ\200\231
as these were neither constructive nor a method to ad-

ovt lashes

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ultimatums

dress constructively the
challenge of violence
together.

The ANC, he said, changed
its views and spokesmen
quite frequently with deputy
president Mr Nelson Mandela
first favouring the summit
and then being against it because he was not previously
consulted. i

Asked whether he expected
the ANC to be there, Dr Viljoen emphasised he wanted
all the main players present
but due to the @Jtering emphasisâ\200\231 of the ANC, he could

not say they would be
st ey, WO

â\200\230We cannot' be planning our-
things in response to their ultimatum. If we did so, we
would have a new ultimatum
every day.â\200\231

, The basic responsibility remained with the Government,

. and the urgency of the matter

fully justified accepting Mr de Klerkâ\200\231s bona fides in laying
on the conference, said Dr Viljoen.

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MERCURY

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wonâ\200\231t wait

the Group Areas Act, few can
, have created more headaches for
the dispossessed communities and
the various authorities now charged
' with â\200\230overseeing redevelopment than
Cato Manor. :

.~We do not wish to harp on the in-
justice done to individual families
and thriving communities who were
forced out of their homes and off
their land, paid a pittance in com-
pensation, and resettled in dormi-
â\200\230tory suburbs. But now that the
apartheid laws are being undone,
there are rival claims to the land that
. stood empty for so long while people
. cried out for housing. A compelling
moral obligation rests on the au-

horities to see that these various .
laims - and views are fairly consid-

: -ered, and the land fairly allocated.
This task has now been delegated

to the Provincial Administration, fol- -
lowing an inspection of the area this

week by Government ministers and
provincial and local-authority offi-
cials. Among the proposals it will

have to consider is one from the new-

ly formed Cato Manor Development
Forum, representing 12 organisa-

. #tions;for.a cosmopolitan township of

1'300 000 people â\200\234comprising "all racial
andâ\200\231economic groups. As a possible
model for a post-apartheid society, it -
deserves seriousâ\200\231 consideration-and .

â\200\234should not in"the meantime be "

-1 jeopardised by piecemeal develop-
*1; ~ment in the area.

The task is urgent. Squatters are
â\200\230pouring into Cato Manor every day,

'l _and if action is not taken soon

. â\200\234Durban could have a Calcutta-type
- . situation in which planned develop-
â\200\234â\200\234ment: is' rendered impossible by a
â\200\234practically immovable mass of hu-

manity living in appalling condi-
â\200\234tions. How ironic that this almost

â\200\230exactly describes the notorious Cato
- Manor shack-farms of the 1950s.

_ 0 F ALL the bitter legacies left by

| Burn out!

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have been demands to curtail the
right of smokers to exercise their
addiction when and where they

B F OR YEARS, even decades, there

â\200\230please. This campaign has been only
partly succcessful.

" In most parts of the country there

are regulations that prevent smoking

~ in government places, in aircraf};,
. - cinemas and in stores where food is.
_ â\200\230soldzNew strictures on the sale of

cigarettes to children and tightening
up of the code of advertising of ciga-
rettes, but stopping short of banning
advertisements, are now being pro-
posed in draft legislation circulated
at the request of Health Minister
Rina Venter.

Things may be getting tougher on
smokers, but we are still a long way
short of the limitations on smoking
imposed in other Western countries.
Canada, for example, does not even
allow smoking areas in certain build-
ings; anyone who wants to smoke
must leave the building altogether
and smoke on the pavement in the
cold. :

We do not think such extreme leg-
islation is necessary. We have more
than enough laws already. We hold
no brief for the tobacco industry, but
do believe the individualâ\200\231s rights are .
supreme. If people want to smoke, let
them do so, so long as tobacco pro-
ducts carry compulsory health warn-
ings so people realise they are

probably harming themselves.
Smokers should also exercise reasonable restraint and do nothing to harm or annoy other reasonably tolerant people around them.

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question . . . | -

ELDOM CAN the British

media have devoted more

space to a topic than they
did this week to the implica-
tions of Winnie Mandela's six-
year prison sentence.

Apart from the hard news of
the sentence from the Rand
Supreme Court, which again
made the front pages of virtu-
ally every one of the 12 or so
national newspapers, there
were also nine lengthy fea-
tures and five editorials.

One reason for the intense

interest in Mrs Mandela could '

be that during the 27 years

husband, Nelson, the British .

public was kept better in-
formed of her plight than were
South Africans.

Here are a few examples of
what the British Press had to
say:

The Daily Mail's Peter
Younghusband, in a feature
headlined 'This tragic mar-
riage that could wreck a
nation', wrote:

In a way, the sentencing of
tencing of this nation, strug-
gling on through bloodshed
and near-civil war towards a
very uncertain, delicately bal-
anced future. ;

" What had kept Mr Mandela' '®

the force he is today, was not *
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The court's verdict could :

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Winnie, they now have a Joan
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After the trial . . . a smile from Winnie, but not from her husband

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He said that, â\200\230inured to the abnormalities of the societyâ\200\231, these reflections were not being made by the ANC leadership. But he added that this might be because the leaders of its military wing, â\200\230whose cadres carried out terrorist â\200\230acts in which innocent civilians died, are all running around freely, scheming for promotion when the national conference comes up in Julyâ\200\231.

The Daily Star made it clear where it stands in an editorial yesterday: â\200\230Wicked Winnie Mandela is a lucky woman, it said. On Tuesday she should have been â\200\230banged up in a jail cell at the start of a six-year sentenceâ\200\231.

Instead, she was â\200\230soaking up more misplaced adulation from her gruesome groupiesâ\200\231.

Her trial was â\200\230totally fairâ\200\231 and â\200\230a damn sight fairer than the ANC kangaroo courts where burning car tyres are hung round the necks of opponents :

â\200\234The stark fact is that all South Africans would have a load lifted from their suffering shoulders if this wayward woman was thrown into prison now. And the key lost.â\200\231

The Times, in an editorial headed â\200\230Mrs Mandelaâ\200\231s Nemesisâ\200\231, said: â\200\230Winnie Mandela has ruined herself, betrayed her husband and harmed her cause. Fighting apartheid has nothing whatever to do with such activities. It is to the credit of many black South Africans, including senior figures of the ANC, that they understood this and stayed aloof from the trial.â\200\231

It concluded that â\200\230much naive optimism still overlays what is called the â\200\234negotiating processâ\200\235 in South Africa at presentâ\200\231. â\200\230

â\200\234The chances of a constitu-
tional formula being settled
this year are minimal. And ev-
erything depends on the
black population overcoming
the failures of leadership

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