

Buthelezi no to Namibia model

CAPE TOWN. — The world should forget the notion that the model for South Africa's liberation was identical to those used in Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia.

This was said yesterday by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, who was addressing the Aspen Institute's Southern Africa Policy forum in Cape Town.

In other African countries, he said, overpoweringly strong liberation

movements had waged a successful armed struggle against racism and colonialism, and were swept to power by citizens who regarded the returning liberation forces as the only immediate forces with the right to form a government.

He warned that such developments would, however, not take place in South Africa.

"In South Africa, there will be no drummed-up political conformity, no coerced lines of action, no unity based on a fearful compliance with any one-

party political dictates enforced by the politics of intimidation."

He said the three major parties — Inkatha, the African National Congress and the ruling National Party — had common commitments to co-operate with each other in establishing a new political era.

There was substantial agreement amongst these three parties on many fundamental issues such as universal adult franchise, the dismantling of apartheid in a non-violent manner, and citizens' equality before the law and the constitution.

They also agreed that all racist legislation had to be removed, that only a multi-party democracy with free elections would be acceptable, and that violence had to be put aside.

On other issues there was "some argument but no enmity" — for instance on the kind of economic mix needed in the country.

His personal conviction was, however, that since there was substantial agreement on issues that really mattered, the IFP, ANC and NP would create a South Africanism "which will rally ever-increasing numbers of citizens around that which the three major parties are doing together".

He said both the IFP and the ANC were still grappling with the problem of violence "in a very violent society".

He praised growing normalisation of relationships between the IFP,

the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress, and said other political forces such as the Azanian People's Organisation would also be drawn into the normalisation process.

He warned that unless reconciliation was established between Black and White and between Black and Black, South Africa would not obtain the national will to make any established democracy work. — Sapa.

NEWS

No coerced lines of action in South Africa, says Buthelezi

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Govt, ANC, Inkatha STAR 3/4/91 deny moves to form exclusive alliance

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government, the ANC and Inkatha have denied that they have officially discussed the formation of a "troika" alliance among themselves that would exclude other political parties.

But some Government leaders are believed to have informally discussed the idea of a National Party/ANC/Inkatha interim coalition which they believe could command 90 percent of the country's support.

Violence

The three parties responded to mounting speculation since the weekend, after a reported call by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for a troika leadership — comprising himself, President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela — to "guide" the country.

Mr Mandela is reported to have described the suggestion as reasonable.

The exchange happened when the two leaders met in Durban to discuss the continuing violence between their supporters.

But yesterday leading spokesmen of all three parties hastened to give the reassurance that no secret deal had been struck or even discussed.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said informal discussions were taking place concerning a multi-party conference.

Senior ANC national executive committee member Aziz Pahad said any interim government would have to be "inclusive not exclusive".

He said the ANC believed one of the possibilities of an all-party conference was that it

could be transformed into an interim government.

There would have to be many bilateral discussions about who should attend the all-party conference. The Government was holding such discussions and so was the ANC. However, Mr Pahad was not aware of any discussions between the ANC and Inkatha on this point.

Dr Frank Mdlalose, national chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party, denied that his party was holding discussions about an alliance with the ANC and the NP "to the exclusion of anyone else".

But the IFP was prepared to speak to everyone, including the ANC and the NP.

Government sources have also played down the meeting of parliamentary leaders which President de Klerk has called in his office for next Monday.

They said the meeting should be seen as an attempt to create a parliamentary forum rather than a "united front", as had been speculated.

Support

The sources said Mr de Klerk has already established two forums of parties within the system — a forum of ministers' councils in the three Houses of Parliament which had been meeting three or four times a year, and a forum of regional leaders (the self-governing territories and the provincial administrations) which had met a few times.

Monday's gathering would be the start of a third forum, they said.

Weekend press speculation gives the meeting a much larger importance, presenting it as an effort to counter plans by the ANC and others to unite support for an elected constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution.

Effects of violence in South Africa

From Mr Ben M. Skosana

Sir: John Carlin writes derisively about the meeting on 30 March between the President of Inkatha, Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Deputy President of the ANC, Nelson Mandela ("Violence diminishes the ANC", 1 April). Not that Mr Carlin has ever been content with anything associated with Dr Buthelezi. In the past, he even resented his own Prime Minister (then Mrs Thatcher) for receiving Dr Buthelezi at No 10.

Violence diminishes everyone who participates in it. At present, the violence in South Africa has an adverse effect on both Inkatha and the ANC, and that is why the two leaders saw it as an "indictment" of black leaders. For Mr Carlin to say that "the violence of the last eight months has diminished the stature of Mr Mandela

and significantly boosted Chief Buthelezi's" is to flaunt inaccurate and insensitive analyses of the effects of this violence on the political credibility of the whole community in South Africa.

It is also plain mischievous for Mr Carlin to suggest that Mr Mandela should have laughed when Dr Buthelezi proposed a meeting including F.W. De Klerk. After all, Dr Mandela and the ANC have relentlessly implicated the South African Police as the "third force". Moreover, Mr De Klerk presides over a government whose racial policies are largely responsible for the anger within the black community. And this alone is sufficient to make Mr De Klerk join in the efforts of the two black leaders.

Yours sincerely,

BEN SKOSANA

Permanent Representative

Inkatha Freedom Party

London, NW8

2 April

The Independent
3 April 1991
London.

Speaking in one voice

PAC,
ANC
to
hold
talks
soon

Sowetan 3 April 1991

THE national executive committees of the PAC and ANC are to meet in Harare on April 13 and 14.

The meeting was initially planned for the Easter weekend but "something went wrong", a senior ANC source told *Sowetan*.

The first meeting between "heavyweights" of both movements took place on February 4 and subsequent talks have been held, a PAC source confirmed yesterday.

While there were no final details available from either movement regarding an agenda and exactly who will attend the talks, it is understood "both NECs" will meet.

The purpose of the meeting is officially "to establish working coalitions and joint strategies about a multiparty conference and a constituent

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

assembly".

In reality, and unofficially, both movements feel "it is necessary to talk". The fear in both camps is that the other side "could be reading the situation incorrectly".

The ANC has opted for a negotiated political settlement and the PAC is against publicly talking to the Government and engaging in talks about the constitutional future of the country.

Coalition

In another development, it has been speculated that the Government, the Inkatha Freedom Party and ANC are looking at establishing a loose coalition as an interim measure which could pos-

ANC, PAC to meet

From Page 1

sibly stretch beyond a multiparty conference.

Speculation was heightened by suggestions on Saturday by IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that the three - referred to by the nation's media as The Big Three - should "get together" to try to stop the violence that has been sweeping the country for almost a year.

Meanwhile, dispatches came from Mauritius yesterday saying a summit meeting between ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk was planned for September.

There was no confirmation from the Government or the ANC by late yesterday.

● To Page 2

Close door to violence, urges bishop

By Esmaré
van der Merwe
Political Reporter

Methodist cleric Bishop Peter Storey yesterday suggested that religious leaders should monitor the peace process in South Africa.

The churches, which did not have a power motive, could play a vital role in ensuring the participation of all political parties in a multiparty conference, he told a conference organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA in Johannesburg.

Emphatic

Adding his voice to that of Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who last week made an emphatic plea for peace, Bishop Storey said the door to violence as a last resort should be closed once and for all.

If violence were not truly denounced by all the major political parties, politicians should not expect to be believed when they called for

peace but continued to carry traditional weapons, or run the Civil Co-operation Bureau, or set up self-defence committees, or shout "one settler, one bullet".

Bishop Storey, of the south-western Transvaal district of the Methodist Church, launched a stinging attack on the major political parties, saying "the struggle" had become much less moral lately than during the four decades of apartheid rule when it had been led by the churches.

Behave

Churches had earned the right to be present at an all-party conference to "make the politicians behave".

"The future is far too important to be left in the hands of politicians," he said.

A multitude of groups — such as the trade unions, churches, women's groups, youth movements and human rights organisations — did not identify with the main political players, but had earned the right to play a role in drawing up a new constitution, he added.

Multiparty indaba gets nod

Political Reporter

The need for a multiparty conference, to determine the principles on which a new democratic constitution should be based, was yesterday endorsed by the country's main political parties.

Azapo and the PAC rejected the concept.

The conference, organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA, was attended by the NP, ANC, PAC, Azapo, Inkatha and the South African Communist Party.

The NP's Dr Frik van Heerden said the Govern-

ment should accept the responsibility of convening a multiparty conference after preliminary discussions with the leaders of the major political parties to determine the agenda.

The ANC's Penuell Maduna said the Government first had to create a climate conducive to negotiations.

If this were not done before April 30 — the deadline agreed upon by the ANC and the Government for the removal of the obstacles to negotiations — the ANC might "return to the era of bombs" by resuming the armed struggle, he said.

Inkatha beware

SIR - Please, brothers in the Inkatha Freedom Party, do not allow yourself to be used by the agents of the system.

Beware of their hidden, evil aims to degrade our nation to senseless murderers.

The Zulu nation's dignity and humanity is being made a doormat.

Brothers, enough is enough. Please let's walk tall again as a well-disciplined and respected Zulu nation.

Let's change the direction of the spears.

Instead of pointing them at our own black brothers, let them now face the regime's structures and its agents.

CONCERNED ZULU
Germiston

4 die as gunmen open fire on Alex residents

By Stan Hlophe

Four people were shot dead in Alexandra yesterday, bringing the death toll in the township to 14 since Friday.

A police spokesman last night confirmed the death of one person and the wounding of four others after an attack by a group of armed men.

A police spokesman said the area was tense but quiet and that police

were patrolling.

The SA Communist Party has voiced its concern over the violence.

Transvaal regional publicity secretary Sam Shilowa yesterday said the killings had not been stopped by the imposition of a curfew.

He called on Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok to admit that either the Government had failed, or was not willing, to end the violence.

Natal's crime rate now highest in SA

J

NATAL has the highest crime rate in the country — and the province can brace itself for further increases in such crimes as robbery, housebreaking and theft.

Speaking at the opening of a temporary police station at Umhlanga, deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers said the crime situation in Natal was unacceptable to the South African Police.

Last year, he pointed out, Natal had 121% more crime than the Orange Free State, 39% more than Transvaal, and 50% more than the Cape Province.

'This is good reason why Natal should be given priority when it comes to the fight against crime,' he said.

The main reason for the increase in crime in Natal was the high rate of urbanisation, and resultant squatting and unemployment.

'The new budget is aimed at addressing the socio-economic problems in the deprived communities, but we need the

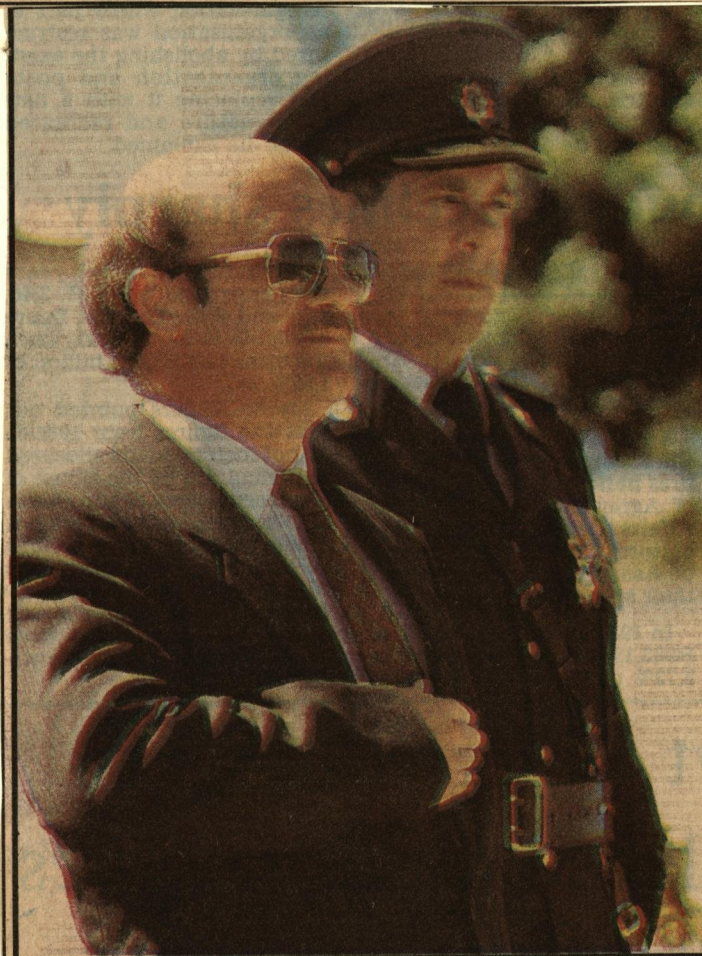
By Jurgen Gregersen
Crime Reporter

support of the private sector to find a permanent solution to this problem.

'Crime is a harmful and destructive phenomenon in any society. No country can ever develop if its economy is ruined by crime and anti-social behaviour.

'The South African Police needs the co-operation of the community to fight crime, and more people must get involved — communities have to be encouraged to join organisations such as neighbourhood watch and business watch schemes,' said Mr Scheepers.

He added that in South Africa only 3,3% of the white population, 0,3% of the coloured population, 1% of the black population and 2,3% of the Indian population were actively involved in the prevention of crime and the protection of their homes. In the United States however, between 11% and 17% of the population were involved in these activities.



Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers and Natal Regional Police Commissioner Major-General I G Coetzee at the opening of the new police station at Umhlanga yesterday.
Picture by ANTHONY McMILLAN



Leaders dismiss talk of Inkatha-ANC pact

CAPE TOWN—Both Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and the ANC's Harry Gwala, have emphatically dismissed the possibility of an alliance between the two organisations.

Dr Buthelezi said the ANC had an alliance with the South African Communist Party, but the IFP 'will have no truck with communism'.

'Why are we being pressurised to jump into bed with them when it is politically impossible for us to do so?

'The IFP would cease to exist if we did. Its members would seek or form a more compatible political home elsewhere.'

Mr Gwala said the aspirations of the people were enshrined in the Freedom Charter and if the ANC's leadership departed from that, it would have problems with its own constituency.

'The Freedom Charter is not Inkatha's document, they don't want it.

'If there is any agreement at all on certain matters, those

Political Staff

are not fundamental agreements.

'The policy and strategic differences between Inkatha and the ANC are too wide at this moment.

'But it does not mean that we should start fighting among ourselves.'

Dr Buthelezi and Mr Gwala were both interviewed on the possibility of an alliance between Inkatha and the ANC in the latest issue of Indicator South Africa, which is published by the Centre for Social and Development Studies at the University of Natal in Durban.

Dr Buthelezi said when people talked about an alliance between the ANC and the IFP, 'it is though because our organisations are predominantly black, we must be monolithic.

'Must we? Why is it acceptable for western countries to enjoy multi-party democra-

cies, and yet time and time again I am asked why all black forces do not join together in South Africa?

'Would that be healthy? Would it be in the best interests of this country?

'Is it possible for a single organisation to encapsulate all the desires of the people?

'Should people not have a choice to put various parties into power and to remove them from power should they wish to do so.'

Although it would be impossible for the ANC and the IFP to have an alliance, this did not mean they could not respect each others' right to exist.

The IFP sought devolution of power in South Africa, not concentration of power.

However, he saw no reason why the IFP should not form alliances in the future, and it already had affiliations with various like-minded bodies.

'I must also state that I believe democratic political competition to be healthy,' Dr Buthelezi said.

ANC youth NATAL MERCURY in court over 3-4-91 five murders

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

FOUR men, including an ANC youth leader, appeared in the Richmond Magistrate's Court yesterday in connection with five counts of murder.

The four — Mzwandile Mbongwe, 23 (ANC youth leader at Ndoleni, Richmond), Mduduzi Mbanjwa, 28, Phelelani Nzimande, 22, and Siphwe Mshengu, were not asked to plead to any charges and were given bail of R500 each.

The case was adjourned until April 19.

The charges facing them arise out of the latest incidents of unrest in the Magoda and Ndoleni townships near Richmond, which left 25 dead.

Police spokesman, Major Pieter Kitching, said yesterday the situation in the Richmond area was tense but had been quiet since Saturday.



The leader of the Orde Boerevolk, Piet 'Skiet' Rudolph, addresses an AWB meeting in the Durban City Hall last night. Seated at the table are AWB leader Eugene Terreblanche and members of his party dressed in the uniform of its paramilitary units.

Pictures by TERRY HAYWOOD

Piet 'Skiet' warns of revolution

Mercury Reporter

THE French and Russian revolutions would both look like 'Sunday school' compared with the future that awaited South Africa if the Government pursued its present policies, Piet 'Skiet' Rudolph told more than 1 500 Right-wing supporters in the Durban City Hall last night.

Mr Rudolph, a recently released political prisoner and the leader of the Orde Boerevolk, said to a cheering audience that 'South Africa stands in the greatest political crisis of its history while the Parliament is nothing but a debating society'.

He said nothing would stop the Government handing power to the ANC/SACP alliance.

'If we want to stop them we must do more than talk ... you must all fight with us,' he urged.

Many khaki-clad AWB supporters were present at the meeting, which was also attended by their leader Mr Eugene Terre Blanche. To open the evening a squad of burly bodyguards marched to the front of the hall before speakers took the rostrum.

To the amusement of the audience, Mr Rudolph said that the last time he was in Durban he had ended up having to 'run for his life'. He was later arrested and charged under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

He described the Act as archaic legislation coming out of the Middle Ages.

The first speaker warned the audience against heckling saying 'we do the talking and you do the shutting up'.

There was a spirited atmosphere in the City Hall and at times emotions ran high.

The relatively large crowd is seen by political observers as an indication of a 'stable' support base for the AWB in the Southern Natal region.

But Mr Rudolph said there was widespread support across the Republic for the AWB, 'I know the heart of the people in Durban, it is the same heart beating in the hearts of Transvaalers and those in other provinces.'

Political Reporter DOMINIC MITCHELL reports on a 'secret' Inkatha project

Mystery of the Mkuze 'leadership development school'

A TRAINING base in an isolated area of Zululand near Mkuze is used as a leadership school and not as a facility for military training, according to senior Inkatha and KwaZulu Government officials.

And both the SAP and the KwaZulu Police deny being involved with the base.

But neither the KwaZulu Police, the SAP, Inkatha or the KwaZulu Government can explain why a prominently displayed notice signed by a Mr M Z Khumalo forbids anyone 'apart from members of the police force on official duty' from entering the base. Mr M Z Khumalo is the name of Dr Buthelezi's former personal secretary.

He took the responsibility for accepting R250 000 channelled by the Government on behalf of the SAP to bolster Inkatha.

A source has also revealed that the base, codenamed 'Tshaneni Leadership and Development Project', was set up before 1989 'with the direct financial and material assistance of the SAP'.

The source said the purpose of the base was to train units for the 'attack and elimination' of ANC members 'or any group regarded as a threat to Buthelezi and Inkatha'.

Dr Dennis Madide, an Inkatha Central Committee member, last night denied the base was used for any military or clandestine purposes.

'There was, and is certainly no military training there,' he said. He added that senior members of the KwaZulu Government and Inkatha stayed at the base for 'leadership development'.

The KwaZulu Commissioner of Police, Gen Jac Buchner, said he knew about

the existence of the base, and did not doubt the source of the information.

'But I deny it was used for the training of KwaZulu policemen — in any case it is in an area which falls under the jurisdiction of the South African Police,' he said.

He recommended that the Mercury contact Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi's office, the SAP and the Inkatha Youth Brigade.

The Regional SAP Commissioner, Gen Colin Steyn said: 'As far as we can ascertain, the SAP have no knowledge of the base'.

Regional ANC secretary Sbu Ndebele said: 'Unless the IFP can prove otherwise, the existence of the Tshaneni training camp provides further indication that the IFP at very senior levels is directly implicated in the setting up of covert operations outside the KwaZulu Police force.'

The base, located in an isolated area, is

comprised of six military-style barracks, a lecture theatre, a large hall with a gravel-floor, and a house suitable for a senior officer or course co-ordinator.

The barracks are constructed in such a way that it was impossible to see into them.

According to the source, the base specialised in training for:

- ☐ Propaganda,
- ☐ Mobilisation,
- ☐ Defence units consisting of units totalling 200 men, some of whom who retreat to the base after completing 'operations'.

When the Mercury arrived at the base, it was abandoned, desks in the lecture theatre were in disarray, and all the buildings were locked.

Members of the KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources (BNR) were busy constructing a game fence around the perimeter of the camp.

A spokesman for BNR said the property had been allocated to them recently by the KwaZulu Government for the development of a conservation area and quarantine station. He said he had no knowledge of the previous uses of the facilities.

Mr Stan Armstrong, secretary of the KwaZulu Chief Minister's department, said the base was used until recently by the IFP as a political leadership development school.

Residents of Mkuze village, though many are hardened hunters and wildlife experts, are wary of going near the base.

Rumours about it abound among the white villagers and some say they have seen men in civilian clothes and others in blue overalls walking around in it.

Another Mkuze man said he had seen uniformed men carrying arms around the base. 'But they seem not to do any shooting around here. It's too close to town.'

3-4-91

To PG 2

1991

ANC contradictions

Daily News 3 April 1991 +
SIR — What actually are the ANC saying? Every day I read conflicting statements. How do their followers understand? I as a so-called privileged, educated person scratch my head in wonderment and frustration.

Our newly-wed ex-pastor who has been fighting for the underprivileged, for sanctions, (which deny the underprivileged the dignity of a job) for all anti-capitalist things, has purchased a beautiful home in an exclusive area in the Cape. I do hope the money didn't come from a capitalist venture.

PAM WILLIAMS, Durban

Kriel earns praise from Bishop Tutu

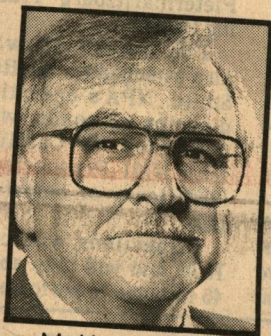
**MARTIN
CHALLENGOR**
Political
Correspondent

CAPE TOWN: One of the Government's leading reformers, Mr Hernus Kriel, Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing, has come in for praise from the head of the Anglican Church, Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Archbishop Tutu led a delegation of clergymen in talks with Mr Kriel yesterday to discuss the plight of farm labourers kicked off white farms in the Kei Road area near East London, and the community of Braklaagte, near Zeerust.

Braklaagte was incorporated into Bophuthatswana against the will of the people. Fighting has now broken out between the community and pro-Bophuthatswana vigilantes allegedly aided by the Bophuthatswana Police.

Mr Kriel asked for a full, written report from the Bishop of Klerksdorp, Bishop David Nkwe, on Braklaagte so he could take up the issue.



Mr Hernus Kriel

Mr Kriel also said he would send a senior official to Kei Road next week to talk to the evicted farmworkers with a view to settling them permanently.

The Government would provide funds for this, Mr Kriel said. The official would meet the Bishop of Grahamstown, Bishop David Russell, who had stood by the evicted people, and would also see other interested people.

Both bishops were at the talks yesterday.

Archbishop Tutu told a Press conference afterwards that they had a very friendly meeting, and he was surprised and "really taken aback" by Mr Kriel's "heartening" response to the issue.

This said a great deal about the possibilities for the new South Africa, Archbishop Tutu said. "I think we have to commend the Minister for responding positively."

Government help for the displaced farmworkers was "a victory".

"It may not be a massive victory. But it is an important milestone in human relations and in the creation of the kind of atmosphere that all are seeking in this country."

"Now, this man" — evicted farmworker Mr Moltano Mtantalala, who was also at the talks — "will feel much better than when he came this morning," Archbishop Tutu said.

Bishop Russell said the Trespassing Act and the Illegal Squatting Act left the nine million workers and their families on South Africa's farms profoundly vulnerable.

Even after being born in their homes, and living there for years, they could be told overnight that they were no longer wanted, making them criminals if they did not leave the farm.

Daily News
3 April 1991

ANC's demands and threats are offensive

SIR — I come from a liberal family. We always voted Prog and I had a strong sympathy for the ANC, even for their "armed struggle".

One day an event so brutal, so callous and so atrocious changed all that. The carnage at Magoo's Bar destroyed all sympathy I'd ever had for the ANC. They used an excessively strong explosive in a heavily built-up area and butchered friend and foe alike. One of the pitiful victims was the mother of a small child. Sightseers with a strong ANC sympathy came to gloat over the carnage, and my contempt for the ANC knows no bounds.

Their vociferous demands with a threat of violence if they aren't met is offensive.

They demand the release of prisoners in Zimbabwe who, like Odile Harrington, are ill-treated.

They demand housing for all and yet burn houses down!

The ANC is rapidly overplaying its hand and losing sympathy here and overseas.

DISGUSTED WITH ANC, Durban

Daily News
3 April 1991

Four ANC Youth members on murder charges in Richmond

THE leader of the ANC Youth League in the Richmond area and three other men appeared in the Richmond Magistrate's Court yesterday in connection with five charges of murder.

They were not asked to plead and were released on R500 bail each.

The Youth League leader is Mr Mzwandile Mbongwe (20), and those who appeared with him were Mr Mduduzi Mbanjwa (28), Mr Phelelane Nzimande (22) and Mr Sipiwe Mshengu (19).

The case arises out of last week's violence and 25 killings at Magoda and Ndaleneni in the Richmond area.

The weapons used included AK-47 and R-4 rifles, police said.—Pietermaritzburg bureau

Prepare for coming war, whites told

Daily News

3 April 1991

1

WHITE South Africans must arm themselves and prepare for "the war which is coming", Orde Boerevolk leader Piet "Skiet" Rudolph told about 1 500 people in the Durban City Hall last night.

Mr Rudolph, who received standing ovations before and after his speech, was the guest speaker at a public Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging meeting. He has just been appointed the AWB's chief public relations officer.

Recently released from jail, Mr Rudolph looked pale and had lost weight. But he told the audience that if State President F.W. de Klerk again placed AWB members in the position where they would have either to back down or go to jail, they would choose the latter.

"Now is the time for white people to take hands and stand together," he said.

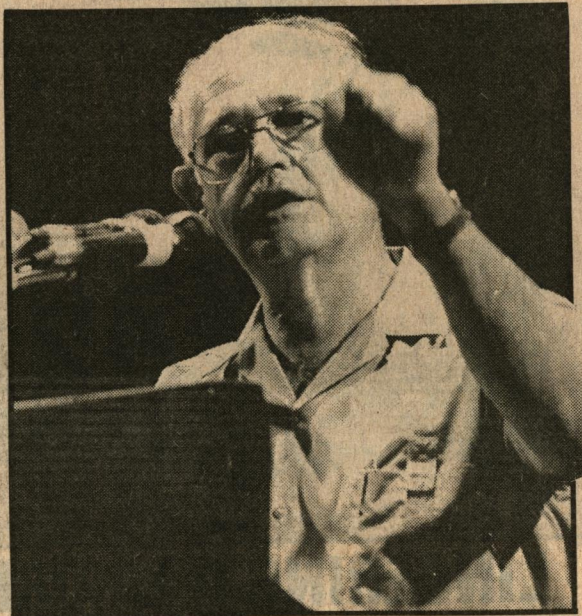
"The policy of the National Party is the policy of abdication. Nothing is going to stop them handing over power to the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party."

Mr Rudolph said the Russian and French revolutions would "look like a Sunday school picnic" compared with what was going to happen in South Africa.

He said whites had to do more than just clap

NICOLA CUNNINGHAM-BROWN

Political Reporter



AFTER his jailing and hunger strike a leaner Piet "Skiet" Rudolph urges white South Africans to "prepare for war".

their hands while listening to speeches and talk among themselves if they wanted to stop the Nats' move towards negotiations.

"The simple truth is that we must prepare for war.

"We stand now in the biggest crisis imaginable and the terrain where we will have to fight is the terrain outside Parliament.

"We are preparing for the tenth kaffir war."

He urged members of the audience to buy weapons and arm themselves for the battle that

was to come.

Mr Rudolph said English speakers, many of whom were in the audience, and Afrikaans speakers must come together in the face of the enemy and let bygones be bygones. He periodically broke into English during his speech.

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche reiterated Mr Rudolph's call to whites to prepare themselves for war, saying every nation had the right to rule itself.

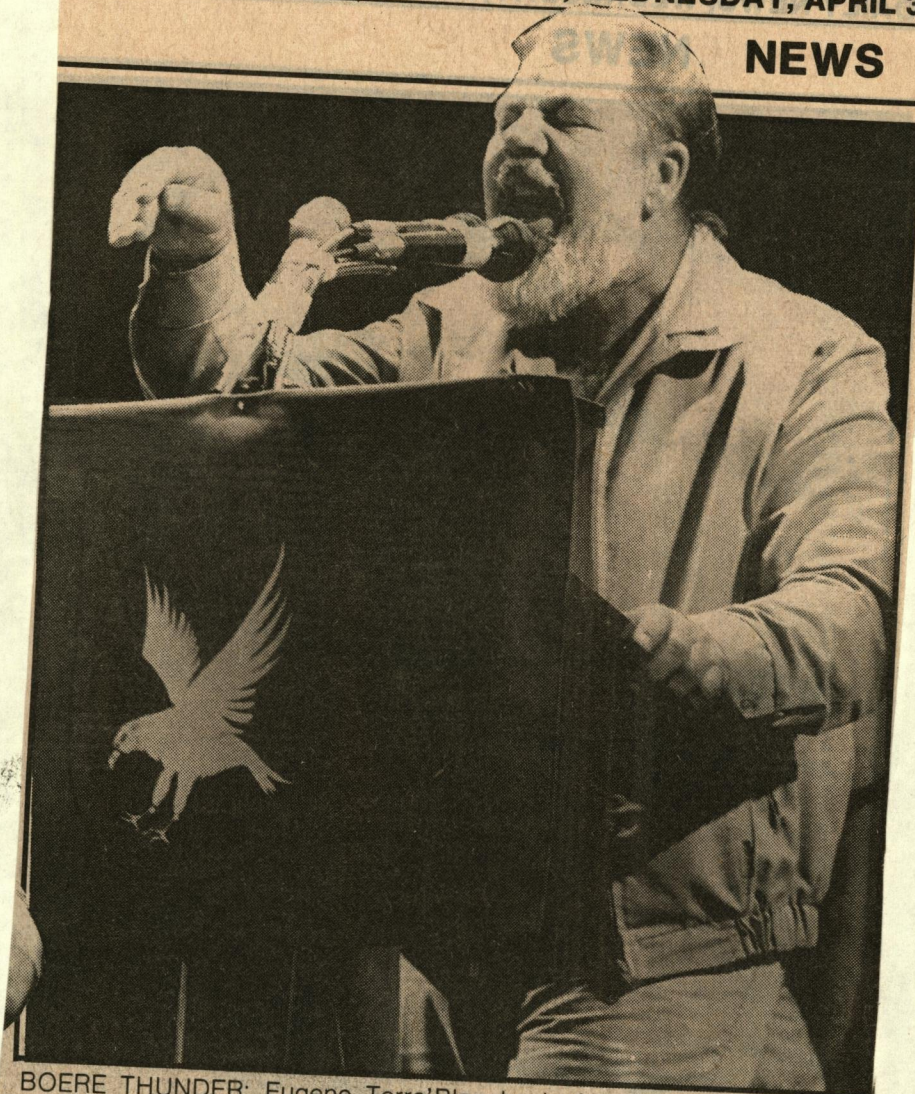
He slammed "Jelly-tot de Klerk" for "handing power to the murderers and terrorists in the ANC", and accused him of being a political traitor and liar.

"The ANC is not interested in any form of power sharing — they want our land. They are only interested in taking what is ours.

"The murder of every mother and child in South Africa rests on Mr de Klerk's head," Mr Terre'Blanche said.

THE DAILY NEWS, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 3

NEWS



BOERE THUNDER: Eugene Terre'Blanche in full cry last night at the Durban City Hall.

Talks cannot be left to Business Day 3 April 1991 politicos — churchman

TIM COHEN

THE proposed multiparty conference on negotiations or a constituent assembly should consist of mediators elected because of their contribution to the common good and not just politicians, Methodist bishop Rev Peter Storey said yesterday.

"Let the politicians run for this conference, but let others sit there as well to make sure they behave," Storey told an Institute for Democratic Alternatives conference.

Storey said the vacuum created by bannings and the repression of normal political activity had been filled by a multitude of organisations, civic associations, neighbourhood alliances, single issue campaigns, support groups, youth organisations, women's organisations and churches.

"All of these were involved in the struggle and in fact led the struggle, in spite of claims by late arrivals on the scene.

"Some of us would say that the struggle in SA over the past four decades has had an exceptional and remarkable moral content precisely because it was per force led by bodies which were committed to justice

without seeking power.

"The moral content has been less than prominent since the politicians entered the scene and began to dominate.

"Not all of us are impressed that the quality of leadership in the political terrain always matches that which was found in the years of struggle, nor that some of the jockeying for position that typifies political strategy is worthy of the high purpose of writing a new constitution for a democratic, non-racial non-discriminatory future."

Given the failure of politicians to control their followers, and in some cases the deliberate encouragement of those followers to create havoc, a general election would provide a recipe for large-scale violence.

For this reason democratic representation at either a multiparty conference or a constituent assembly would not be possible without a monitoring group which was manifestly disinterested in any form of political power.

ANC to meet Vlok as death toll in Alexandra rises to 14

AN ANC delegation is to meet Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok today to discuss the violence in Alexandra where four more people were reportedly killed on Monday night.

This brought the death toll in Alexandra to at least 14 since Friday.

The four were apparently shot dead on Monday night when a group of unidentified men opened fire on residents, the second armed attack in two days.

An ANC statement said the meeting with Vlok would take place at police headquarters in Pretoria.

The delegation represented "a cross-section of the Alexandra community" and would include members of the ANC's national executive.

Issues to be discussed include the violence in the township, the role of the security forces and measures to normalise the situation.

Alexandra Civic Organisation (ACO) executive member Mzwanele Mayekiso said police patrolled the quiet but tense township yesterday amid fears the "silent war" would continue.

A police spokesman said yesterday another bullet-riddled body had been found.

The SACP has also voiced its concern over the violence in Alexandra.

In a statement yesterday, Transvaal region publicity secretary Sam Shilowa said the killings had not been stopped by the imposition of a curfew.

"Vlok will agree with us that either he has failed or he is not willing to end the violence," Shilowa said.

The SACP also hit out at the carrying of "traditional weapons" by Inkatha, saying these were "weapons of death". — Sapa.

SACP accused of creating conflict

Business Day Reporter

PLANNING and Provincial Affairs Minister Hernus Kriel has accused the SA Communist Party (SACP) of continuing to further conflict in order to make SA ungovernable.

In an interview with the Bureau for Information's magazine RSA Policy Review released yesterday, Kriel singled out SACP leader Moses Mayekiso for criticism.

Kriel described Mayekiso's involvement with the Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal (Cast) as indicating that "the SACP is still establishing front organisations with the purpose of furthering conflict in a disguised manner in an effort to make the country ungovernable".

Kriel said Cast's plans to establish alternative authority structures were contrary to the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

Aids will slash Black population

CITIZEN 3/4/91

I REALLY fail to see the concern expressed by members of the White population in this country, regarding the steps being taken by the government in favouring Blacks.

Surely I am not the only White person around who is able to read and to comprehend what I am reading. I am referring to the large number of articles that have appeared in the daily newspapers, weekend newspapers, family-type magazines and medical journals, concerning Aids and the Black population.

What these articles have been telling us is that Aids in the continent of Africa is spreading from the north southwards, thereby enabling statisticians accurately to forecast what will be happening at the end of the line, ie, South Africa.

The intensity of the spread of Aids, in conjunction with the time factor, as recorded in

countries north of South Africa, has resulted in the following predictions for South Africa.

1. By the mid 1990's, ie. 1995 or 1996, about 80 percent of the Black population in this country will have Aids, and within a further two years not only will 80 percent of the 80 percent be dead from the disease, but the majority of those Blacks still alive will be affected by it.

2. By the turn of the century, ie in just over eight-and-half years, the Black person in this country will be in the minority, and a very small one at that.

Since the above-mentioned events and subsequent forecasts were made, it has been widely accepted that the spread of Aids has escalated out of any foreseen proportion, so the forecasts ar-

rived at previously, could, in fact, arrive a lot sooner.

Anybody who now understands the Aids situation in South Africa can surely put two and two together and see exactly why Mr F W de Klerk is doing what he is doing.

As the leading politician in the country, he must be aware of what is going to happen, bearing in mind that no cure for Aids will become available before the year 2000, ie, nothing can stop the forecasts becoming reality.

Mr De Klerk is very cleverly appeasing the rest of the world and getting South Africa back into the international community before South Africa has White majority rule in a few years.

K F HODGES

Brackendowns

The mechanics of transition

AS South Africa enters the turbulent waters of fundamental constitutional change, it is imperative to establish clarity about the key questions which will determine whether the passage is successful or disastrous. Fortunately, an authoritative study which addresses some of the big questions has just been published in South Africa. This is Donald L. Horowitz's *A Democratic South Africa? Constitutional Engineering in a Divided Society* (Oxford University Press). A law professor at Duke, North Carolina, Horowitz is also the author of a comparative study, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (1985), which is widely regarded as the most important breakthrough in recent years of our understanding of divided societies.

The great value of the study is firstly that it draws on the lessons from constitutional engineering in other divided societies — Horowitz is particularly well-informed about Malaysia, Sri Lanka and Nigeria — and that the author genuinely does not appear to be biased towards any of the major power contenders in South Africa. Since analyses of South Africa are characterised above all by their partisan and parochial qualities, this book offers both welcome relief and illuminating new perspectives.

Firstly there is the question for what kind of society are we in South Africa trying to draw up a new constitution? Horowitz is the first scholar to review both comprehensively and comparatively the extensive evidence about the attitude of South Africans to race and ethnicity. On the basis of that he concludes that not only white/black but also intra-African differences represent potent political forces. As he put it: "Eliminate white domination and intra-African differences will be particularly important. They are very much on the order of the cleavages

that in some countries translated into the serious post-independence conflict and violence." In the South African constitution not only individuals but parties representing specific groups will have to be accommodated satisfactorily.

But what kind of constitution will work? In recent times consensus seems to have developed between government and the ANC that the first post-apartheid election should be conducted on the Proportional Representation list system. According to this system each party puts up a list numbered in order of the party's preference for its own candidates. A party with, say, 25 percent of the vote secures the election of the top 25 percent of its candidates.

The idea behind the PR-list system is to prevent the dominance of a single party. For this reason proponents of power-sharing (or "consociationalism") strongly favour the PR-list system as a key element in a new constitution, along with constitutional devices such as a Bill of Rights, minority vetoes and a "blocking" Senate to curtail the power of the strongest party.

In an important section Horowitz raises serious questions about the applicability of this system. Things may in fact work out quite differently. Firstly one can doubt the assumption of PR-list advocates that several (say five or six) parties will emerge in South Africa each with considerable support (say more than 10 percent), thus forcing a broad-based coalition. In such a polarised society such as South Africa a single party may well get more than half the votes and go on like Swapo (which attracted 57 percent of the vote) to effectively govern alone. Judged from a comparative perspective, it is unlikely that such a party will allow itself to be hamstrung by constitutional devices.

The other possibility is that the

"But what kind of constitution will work? In recent times consensus seems to have developed between government and the ANC that the first post-apartheid election should be conducted on the Proportional Representation list system . . ."

election does indeed produce, as the exponents of the PR-list systems hope, no outright winner. This will force parties to enter into a coalition. However, as the study notes, coalitions which pool seats are merely coalitions of convenience. They invariably fall apart over some major ethnic issue, leaving society in a worse state than before.

Instead of seat pooling, Horowitz proposes vote pooling which makes use of two other forms of proportional representation, namely the Alternative Vote (AV) and the Single Transferable Vote (STV). Voters are required to vote in order of preference for candidates in large heterogeneous electoral divisions. In AV the second and subsequent preference of voters whose first preference is not one of the two top candidates are reallocated until a candidate attains a majority. In STV the "surplus vote" of successful candidates is transferred in proportion to its size to candidates who are the second and subsequent preference of his/her supporters.

The beauty of both AV and STV is that people are not locked into supporting an entire party list but can indicate their preference for candidates across party lines. Since elections may easily turn on second or third preferences, parties are forced to put up moderate candidates and to contract beforehand with other parties to pool their voters or at least their respective second and subsequent preferences. In this way one can prevent the election turning out to be nothing but a census indicating merely which is the biggest racial or ethnic group. Under AV and STV the majority is decided by floating voters eliminating the extremists and rewarding the moderates.

Attractive though this may seem, the study fails to argue convincingly that AV and STV can be used successfully in South Africa. The first problem is South Africa's appalling functional and political illiteracy. Close to half the prospective electorate is unable to read; how can they be expected to list candidates of several distinct parties in order of preference? Furthermore, whites and blacks do not really know each other's politicians, apart from the few "stars" whose names are familiar nationwide. How are NP supporters to know who are the moderates in the ANC who deserve their vote and vice versa?

The second big problem is "gerrymandering" or the fiddling of the boundaries of constituencies usually in order to favour the ruling party. Even if one has large electoral divisions, say the nine or ten development regions of the country, the drawing of the borders may largely determine the result. With a controversial census just behind us, the demarcation of electoral boundaries represents a vexatious issue.

Disagreements over the electoral system aside, there are two big questions hanging over the transition in South Africa. The first is under

4 12 5
11th Africa Wednesday, April 3, 1991

by Hermann Giliomee

Notable Witness

To Pg 2

which circumstances would power contenders accept "democratic uncertainty", i.e. rules which do not guarantee victory as the 1983 constitution did for the NP? The second is how can the party winning most votes be prevented from proclaiming a one-party state which would eradicate parties based primarily on racial or ethnic affiliation?

Perhaps the only real hope is that in the process of negotiations the ANC, the NP, the Democratic Party and Inkatha would come together as an interracial, moderate centre party which would fight the election under a common umbrella against the extremist parties on the left and the right. This three-sector spectrum has ensured a successful democracy in the divided society of Malaysia. As Horowitz puts it: "The hope is that in the constitutional negotiations the potential hegemonic (the NP and the ANC) would be 'enticed into becoming co-operators and democrats in spite of themselves'." The entailment of a series of transactions must hem them into "a new structure of constraints".

Although one may have doubts about the electoral system proposed in the study it is difficult to disagree with the proposition that the road to peace in South Africa does not lie through fierce electoral competition between parties with hegemonic pretensions. It is rather through the cautious collaboration of erstwhile opponents, both in elections and in government. This in itself is a dangerous route but Horowitz's study spells out clearly how much greater the perils of the alternatives are. All of us who are slightly nervous about South Africa's attempted transition to democracy should read this compelling and most timely book.

• Hermann Giliomee is Professor of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town.

3-4-91

Wednesday, April 3, 1991

South Africa

by Hermann Giliomee

Natal witness

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To Pg 2

THE MECHANICS -

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Anti-apartheid Movement launches campaign to 'help' SA negotiations

LONDON — The British Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) has launched "a major campaign" to help get negotiations off the ground in South Africa before the April 30 deadline agreed between the government and the African National Congress.

In an Easter statement, the AAM said the campaign would focus on the need for

effective British Government action to pressure President F.W. de Klerk to remove internationally agreed obstacles to negotiations, such as the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

Noticeable by its absence from details of the AAM's campaign, was any direct call for economic sanctions disinvestment against South Africa

to be continued.

Launching the campaign, the AAM chairman and Labour Party MP Bob Hughes said in a letter to British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, that "it would be a tragedy for all the peoples of southern Africa if this unique opportunity for a peaceful political settlement is lost".

"Yet this could be the direct

result of further intransigence by Mr de Klerk. If he fails to honour his undertakings... this will endanger the 'peace process' and create an atmosphere of lack of trust and confidence."

Hughes said there could be no doubt of the considerable influence which Britain could bring to bear on developments in South Africa.

"This is an occasion for the Government to act with determination both by direct representations to the South African regime and in concert with our European and Commonwealth partners."

As part of the the campaign, the AAM would be holding a nationwide day of action on April 6, in preparation for the meeting later in the month be-

tween British premier John Major and De Klerk.

AAM groups across Britain would be collecting signatures on a petition to Major, urging him to take up the issues of obstacles to negotiation with De Klerk.

"The April 6 Day of Action is part of an international initiative designed to complement protest action taking

place inside South Africa on that day," the AAM said.

The Movement was also writing to the United Nations, Commonwealth and European Community leaders, urging them to make further urgent representations to Pretoria to ensure its adherence to agreements reached with the ANC by the April 30 deadline. — Sapa.

Tough talking from the BCMA

Sowetan 3 April 1991

FROM inception, the BCMA envisaged some kind of bargaining taking place between the white racist power structure and the oppressed people, most probably towards the climax of the struggle.

The South African Students Organisation policy manifesto of 1971 and the writings of the leadership of the BCMA during that period, such as Steve Biko, exhorted blacks to organise and form themselves into a powerful bloc that can effectively confront the equally well-organised and homogeneous white oppressors and by so doing place themselves in a position to bargain.

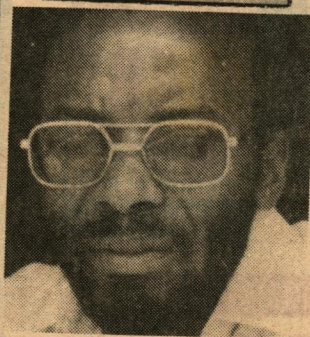
The BCMA always asserted people can bring about fundamental change in Azania through organisation, struggle and making revolutionary demands. The white oppressors are completely incapable of liberating blacks, because the emancipation of blacks means the erosion of white privilege and economic domination.

In an essay entitled *Black Consciousness and the quest for true humanity*, Biko wrote: "We must learn to accept that no group, however benevolent, can ever hand power to the vanquished on a plate. We must accept that the limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress. As long as we go to whitey begging cap in hand for our own emancipation, we are giving him further sanction to continue with his racist and oppressive system."

"We must realise that our situation is not a mistake on the part of whites but a deliberate act, and that no amount of moral lecturing will persuade the white man to correct the situation. The system concedes nothing without demand, for it formulates its very

methods of operation on the basis that the ignorant will learn to know, the child will grow into an adult and therefore demands will begin to be made. It gears itself to resist demands in whatever way it sees fit. When you refuse to make demands and choose to come around the table to beg for your deliverance, you are asking for the contempt of those who have power over you. This is why we must reject the beggar tactics that are being forced on us by those who wish to appease our cruel masters."

The above words were written in the early 1970s when the strategy and tactics of the white racist regime to maintain itself over the black majority consisted mainly of naked intimidation and brutality. With the exception of white liberals (who were very weak at the time), the National Party and other white structures



MOSIBUDI MANGENA, exiled chairman of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, sets out his view of the political situation and outlines the BCMA's demands before it will agree to negotiations with the Government.

FOCUS

behaved like the present-day Conservative Party and Herstigte National Party.

Indeed, for a period they managed to keep blacks cowed and subservient. The philosophy of BC was a product of particularly this period. It set out to produce a new black person who would assert his/her humanity and right to be free. From the early 1970s onwards blacks have been refusing to be intimidated by the white men's violence and brutality. Clearly, strategies and tactics to maintain oppression had to change.

The overall objectives of the NP under the De Klerk and other white supremacist parties are basically the same; namely, to advance the interests and maintain privileges of whites through the oppression of blacks. What has changed drastically is the balance of power between liberal whites and the traditional types.

De Klerk and his clique have now moved to the ground occupied all along by the liberals.

The strategy of the regime is to emasculate the liberation movement, depoliticise and demobilise its opponents. Negotiations will then be conducted with a weakened and divided black community that is incapable of making any coherent demands or backing its demands with coherent organisation and meaningful political action.

The oppressed have a duty to resist these machinations of the regime. They should dismantle none of their infrastructures that enable them to wage struggle in its different manifestations.

To meet the demands of the times, the BCMA has adopted positions meant to promote the interests of the oppressed.

* The BCMA has proposed the holding of a consultative confer-

ence of all components of the liberation movements as well as workers' organisations in order to bring about greater unity in the ranks of the oppressed. We need unity now more than ever before so that we can articulate the demands of the oppressed with one powerful voice.

* The BCMA calls for the democratisation of the negotiating process which will be achieved by the establishment of a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one-person-one-vote on one voter's roll that recognises no race, region, sex or religion. Our break with racist practices of the past must be clean and complete. It will be the duty of the democratically-elected constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution for the country.

* Modalities for the establishment of the constituent assembly should be negotiated with the regime at a neutral venue outside the country under the chairmanship of an impartial mediator. This is to protect the liberation movement from the forces of the regime and avoid the situation where the regime is a participant as well as a referee.

* The constitution must contain mechanisms for the redistribution of land and wealth. Failure to do so would mean that the economic oppression of blacks visited upon them by centuries of colonialism and racism will continue. Mere repeal of racist laws without corrective measures will ensure perpetuation of the status quo as privatised racism. In fact, the BCMA believes that the repeal of racist law and the establishment of democratic political order will only be the starting point of a long struggle to liberate blacks from the clutches of economic slavery.

The struggle must continue in all its forms until a political settlement is reached.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg. The reproduction or broadcast without permission of articles published in this newspaper on any current economic, political or religious topic, is forbidden and expressly reserved to Argus Newspapers Limited under Section 12(7) of the Copyright Act 1978. * Write to the Editor at PO Box 6663, Johannesburg 2000. Nom-de-Plumes can be used, but full names and addresses should be supplied or the letter will not be published.

Cosatu to meet Mangope

THE Bophuthatswana Cabinet is expected to meet a Congress of South African Trade Unions delegation on April 12 to discuss the possible recognition of the federation in the homeland.

This was disclosed by Chief Lucas Mangope's personal secretary, Mr Joseph Jack. However, he would not divulge details of the planned talks.

Cosatu northern Transvaal chairman Mr Phil Bokaba said yesterday the talks had been initiated on the personal instructions of Mangope.

It was claimed at a public meeting two weeks ago that Standard Bank had also played a role in initiating the meeting, which is the first of its kind in the homeland.

Mangope has up until now refused to allow "foreign" trade unions to operate in the homeland.

Boycott

Bokaba told a Sharpeville Day commemoration service in Pretoria that the Cabinet, if not Mangope himself, was persuaded by Standard Bank to consider such a meeting.

He said the bank was a

principal creditor of the homeland and so had been asked to initiate the meeting "or face boycott action".

Standard Bank deputy managing director Mr DR Busse said yesterday that the institution did request such a meeting but declined to comment on the boycott action threat.

Busse denied the bank was currently a creditor of the government of Bophuthatswana.

But he refused to confirm or deny Bokaba's allegations that the bank had granted personal loans to Mangope and members of his Cabinet. - Sapa.

3 April 1991

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FOR C. Inc A vol
SOWETAN Wee

COMMENT

Telephone (011) 474-0128

THE article by Mosibudi Mangena on this page today shows that even the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania does not rule out negotiations with the Government.

True, the BCM wants them at a neutral venue outside the country and then only to talk about the establishment of a constituent assembly, but the point is that even this most hardline of liberation movements favours negotiation as a means to end the South African crisis.

These are not the best of days for the community. Violence stalks the streets like a lion. People and their property are no longer safe from criminals who are using the climate of political confusion as a cloak for their own evil ways.

Yet there is a light at the end of this long tunnel.

That light is that sooner or later the Government is going to sit down with representatives of the people to talk about a new country here: A country where there will be greater freedom and justice than before.

Nobody really disagrees with that.

What the argument is about is how that conference should be held, where it should be held and, most importantly, when it should be held and what the rules should be.

Those are not arguments about principle.

In principle the serious players agree that the talking must start.

And that is good news for everyone who wishes for a peaceful future.

MORE hopeful news is that the national executive committees of both the PAC and the ANC are to meet in Harare soon to try to agree about the way they will approach future dealings with the Government.

As *Sowetan* has pointed out before, the more united the leaders stand now, the greater the voice they can raise at the negotiating table.

The most important thing now is to speed up the process which will bury the old South Africa forever.

Once that is done the people can decide in an election which of the political parties or liberation movements should be voted into power. That is the time for political argument.

For now let the leaders unite and present the Government with one voice.

For the PAC and the ANC to speak with one voice now will speed up progress towards the great day when all South Africans will be able to equally decide who shall govern them.

John Carlin finds that the continuing cycle of violence has boosted Inkatha at the expense of the ANC

Losing out in the township power play

STAR 3 APRIL 1991

LAST week's edition of New Nation, the biggest pro-African National Congress newspaper, carried a startling critique of the ANC leadership's dismal failure to deal with the most pressing — and potentially destructive — political issue of the day: the violence again sweeping Johannesburg's black townships.

The article carried the opinions of ANC supporters in Alexandra township interviewed after the latest atrocity, the AK-47 attack last Wednesday which left dead 15 mourners at a funeral vigil.

One person interviewed, expressing a generalised sentiment, said the ANC had shown itself to be incapable of protecting the people. "The ANC was the only organisation that we trusted in everything, but now it seems as if

we are left to the mercy of the killers." What they are saying in Alexandra is being echoed in ANC circles all over the Johannesburg area, where more than 100 people have died in political violence in the last month and where at least 1 200 have been killed since August.

Not surprisingly, the ANC leadership is in a panic. Which was why Nelson Mandela called on Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, head of Inkatha, in Durban on Saturday. The idea was to try to come up with something constructive to try to end the slaughter. But all that came out was lame, tired rhetoric — little to reflect the urgency of a problem which threatens to destroy the entire process of negotiated political transition

on which the country is supposedly set.

At the height of the township violence in September, Archbishop Desmond Tutu was quoted as saying that if nothing was done the country was "for the birds". Last week he repeated his cry. "Something has gone desperately wrong in the black community," he told his Cape Town congregation. "We can't go on forever blaming apartheid."

This, of course, is precisely what the ANC is doing. Blaming all the violence on a shadowy "third force", the ANC insists that to describe the violence as "black-on-black", as anything other than the product of yet another dastardly apartheid conspiracy, is racist. This is not to say that the slaughter should be seen merely

in terms of black savagery, a position editorial writers in the "white" newspapers increasingly lean towards. One question these eloquent pundits rarely ask, oddly, is who is gaining and losing from the violence in political terms? (Otherwise, of course, why insist on referring to the violence as "political" in the first place?)

Beyond doubt, as New Nation's piece last week served to demonstrate, the ANC has suffered more than anyone. Its credibility among the vast majority of the black population who have long supported them has been seriously undermined. And Inkatha has gained. For all the bluster and well-honed PR of Chief Buthelezi, the fact is that his party's support is minimal compared to the ANC's. A national opinion poll conducted in February

by the government-funded Human Sciences Research Council found that in a general election, 53 percent of the total population would vote for the ANC, one percent for Inkatha. A poll conducted by a Gallup subsidiary, Markinor, found 58 percent of black urban adults supported Mr Mandela, one percent Chief Buthelezi.

At Saturday's meeting, notwithstanding, Chief Buthelezi had the temerity to propose that he, Mr Mandela and President de Klerk should form a sort of leadership "troika" to oversee the nation's problems. If Mr Mandela did not laugh the suggestion out of court it is because he recognises that the violence in the country, and Inkatha's central role in it, have given Chief Buthelezi a measure of power, a political bargaining

position, utterly disproportionate to the support he enjoys among the potential electorate.

If the country were at peace, Chief Buthelezi would rapidly regress to the relative obscurity — one homeland leader more — to which he was reduced just after Mr Mandela's release a year ago, before the township killings flared. The violence of the last eight months has diminished the stature of Mr Mandela and significantly boosted Chief Buthelezi's. That is the politics of the township violence. If politics has nothing to do with it — if Inkatha has merely been caught up in a senseless spiral like everybody else — then the white editorial-writers are right, and it's all just barbarism. — The Independent News Service. □

Buthelezi no ✓ to Namibia model

CAPE TOWN. — The world should forget the notion that the model for South Africa's liberation was identical to those used in Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia.

This was said yesterday by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, who was addressing the Aspen Institute's Southern Africa Policy forum in Cape Town.

In other African countries, he said, overpoweringly strong liberation

movements had waged a successful armed struggle against racism and colonialism, and were swept to power by citizens who regarded the returning liberation forces as the only immediate forces with the right to form a government.

He warned that such developments would, however, not take place in South Africa.

"In South Africa, there will be no drummed-up political conformity, no coerced lines of action, no unity based on a fearful compliance with any one-

party political dictates enforced by the politics of intimidation."

He said the three major parties — Inkatha, the African National Congress and the ruling National Party — had common commitments to co-operate with each other in establishing a new political era.

There was substantial agreement amongst these three parties on many fundamental issues such as universal adult franchise, the dismantling of apartheid in a non-violent manner, and citizens' equality before the law and the constitution.

They also agreed that all racist legislation had to be removed, that only a multi-party democracy with free elections would be acceptable, and that violence had to be put aside.

On other issues there was "some argument but no enmity" — for instance on the kind of economic mix needed in the country.

His personal conviction was, however, that since there was substantial agreement on issues that really mattered, the IFP, ANC and NP would create a South Africanism "which will rally ever-increasing numbers of citizens around that which the three major parties are doing together".

He said both the IFP and the ANC were still grappling with the problem of violence "in a very violent society".

He praised growing normalisation of relationships between the IFP,

the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress, and said other political forces such as the Azanian People's Organisation would also be drawn into the normalisation process.

He warned that unless reconciliation was established between Black and White and between Black and Black, South Africa would not obtain the national will to make any established democracy work. — Sapa.

600 youths have fled South Africa

LUSAKA - More than 600 South African youths of school-going age have fled the country to seek better education outside its borders.

The youths, aged between 10 and 20, have for the past two months been flooding the Zambian capital of Lusaka.

The African National Congress in the city said the arrival of the youths would not in any way affect the repatriation of South African exiles.

ANC spokesman in Lusaka, Mr Tom Sebina, said the youths were fleeing South Africa to "search for education".

Education

He said the youths felt they would have better prospects for education if they left their country, "especially with the assistance of the ANC and the international community".

Sebina said the youths could not have contacted the ANC in South Africa before deciding to leave.

"My impression is that the youths are leaving

on their own without the knowledge of the ANC," he said.

The young South Africans have been arriving via the Dukwe Refugee Camp near Francistown, Botswana, before entering Zambia at Kazungula.

Some of the youths will soon be heading for Kenya and Nigeria as soon as arrangements between the ANC education department and host governments are finalised.

With regard to the repatriation of exiles from Lusaka, Sebina said most people had received indemnity "but the problem now lies with Pretoria".

He said the Government was stalling the issuing of emergency travel certificates.

In view of some unforeseen problems, the repatriation exercise - due to end on April 30 - could spill over to the first half of May.

The chartered flight this week has been postponed to a later date because fewer than 40 people had been issued with the emergency travel certificates. - Sapa.

SACP hits out at Alex killings

THE South African Communist Party has voiced its concern over the violence in Alexandra Township.

In a statement yesterday, the SACP's Transvaal publicity secretary, Mr Sam Shilowa, said the killings had not been stopped by the curfew in the township.

"(Law and Order Minister Adriaan) Vlok will agree with us that either he has failed or he is not willing to end the violence," Shilowa said.

The SACP also hit out at the carrying of "traditional weapons" by Inkatha, saying these were "weapons of death".

Shilowa called for the resignation of Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, saying their "hands are dripping with blood".

He said it was alarming that 15 people could be killed at a funeral vigil in a township that was "crawling with police". - Sapa.