

NATAL WITNESS

21/01/91

# Chief says SAP beat, killed man

POLICE have said that one man died and eight were arrested following a shoot-out between police and gunmen at Table Mountain at 4 am on Saturday morning.

A home-made .303 rifle, a machine gun and an assortment of ammunition were also seized, SA police liaison officer Lieutenant Bala Naidoo said.

He said those arrested are to appear in court today.

The police report conflicts with allegations made by the chief of the area, Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, who claimed the man died as a result of physical injuries after SA police in six vehicles assaulted ANC supporters at Maqongqo, Table Mountain, early on Saturday morning.

The chief cited the registration numbers of all six vehicles, adding police had demanded firearms from the residents.

Naidoo has denied the allegation of assault, claiming the chief had "selectively reported" the incident.

He said the alleged assault was linked to an Inkatha attack on ANC members on Thursday afternoon.

Police on Friday confirmed the attack.

Maphumulo said three of the injured had been picked-up from his home at Maqongqo by a SAP and a SADF vehicle on Friday morning, saying no reason was given for their detention. He said that two of the detained, Mkhandeni Maphumulo and Philani Buthelezi, were dropped by a special constable near his home on Friday night. He said they had barely been able to walk or see as a result of their assault. The two claimed they had been blindfolded by police on Friday morning and assaulted throughout the day.

"I don't know nothing about it," Naidoo said. "People are welcome to open charges against the police."

• At Swaymane (Wartburg) four men, including a KwaZulu police special constable, were wounded when gunmen fired at a group of people with AK47 assault and .303 rifles. KwaZulu police returned the gunfire and the attackers fled.

• At Tembisa township, near Kempton Park on the East Rand, police said they found the body of a man with bullet wounds. — Sapa.



# KwaZulu, Bop set to join us - ANC

By IKE MOTSAPI

QUESTIONS were raised yesterday when the African National Congress claimed that the governments of KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana were to join the organisation.

Mr Wilton Mkwayi, a veteran ANC member, told a cheering crowd at a rally held at the Jabulani Amphitheatre, Soweto, that the two homeland governments were ready to throw in their lot with the organisation.

The rally was held to mark the start of the organisation's defiance campaign.

The ANC has been at loggerheads with the KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana governments in the past.

Many lives have been lost in fights between the ANC and supporters of the two governments because of clashes of interests.

By late yesterday neither the KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana leaders, Chief Mangosuthu

Buthelezi and Chief Lucas Mangope respectively could be contacted for comment.

The ANC, under the leadership of deputy president Nelson Mandela, and Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party are due to meet on January 29.

Mkwayi told the crowd: "The ANC has been working hard to get all forces that are against apartheid to come together.

## Black unity

"I am happy to say that the KwaZulu government and that of Bophuthatswana have indicated that they are ready to join us.

"This is good news because black unity would be restored.

"The important thing is that we, as united blacks, would fight our cause without fearing division," he added.

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SOWETAN

21 JAN 1991



Some of the people who attended the ANC rally at the Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto yesterday. Pic: MOFFAT ZUNGU

## ANC on black unity

● From Page 1

Mrs Joan Fubbs, regional deputy chairman the ANC Women's League, told the rally that the fight against apartheid laws would be carried out in the streets of Johannesburg this year.

She said: "The fight against domination is beginning.

"We the women of South Africa, who number about 53 percent of the population, are going to fight to the bitter end."

"We have waited too long for things to change

but to no avail. The ANC should be supported in its endeavour to end racism and apartheid. The time is ripe now. Away with domination," she added.

Mr Parks Tau, an official of the Soweto ANC Youth League branch,

said the time of waiting "to FW De Klerk's tactical games" has come to an end.

"Enough is enough," he added.

"We cannot wait any longer. The fight to end apartheid has started," he added.



B/Day

21-1-91

private investors could not see any simply unacceptable

## Crucial meeting

**A**T LAST ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthe have agreed to meet. The date has been set for January 29, when they are due to head delegations to talks in Durban. There can surely be no reason this time for a late-cancellation. If either party calls off the discussion, there will be strong suspicions of bad faith.

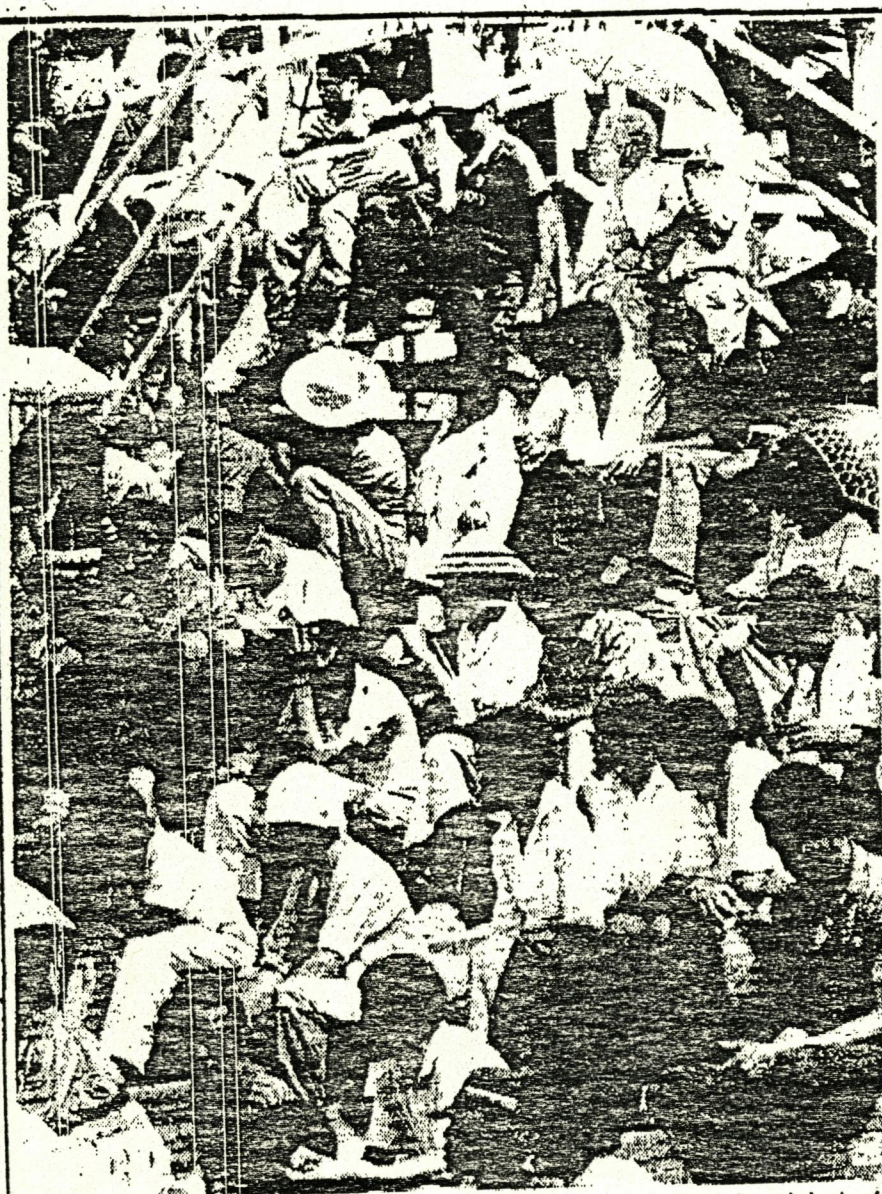
The two men have been shadow-boxing and sparring for months, seeking to gain a psychological advantage here, or to deny the other a little credit there. Both have frequently appealed for peace in the feuding between their supporters which has cost thousands of lives, but although ANC/Inkatha working groups have achieved some success,

it has long been obvious that a real breakthrough depends on a public reconciliation between Mandela and Buthe.

The meeting on January 29 gives the country's two most important black leaders a fine opportunity to steal a march on President de Klerk days before the opening of Parliament. Nobody expects them to agree on strategies for constitutional negotiations, or even for ending township bloodshed. But what people are entitled to expect is a joint initiative aimed at creating an atmosphere of hope and tolerance in South Africa.

Talk of a democratic future is meaningless while no more than lip-service is paid to such fundamentals as freedom of political association.





Some of the people who attended the ANC rally at the Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto yesterday. Pic: MOFFAT ZUNGU

## ANC on black unity

**Main Page**  
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apartheid has started," he added.

ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu said violence in South Africa would not end until the country's majority had taken over power and were able to regulate government forces properly, reports Sapa.

Sisulu renewed the ANC's commitment to mass action and also called for greater discipline among the youth.

Sisulu said mass action would intensify from February 1, the opening



Colin Legum looks at all-black domination in the light of SA's political realities

STAR JANUARY 21

# Alliances likely to call the tune

1991

**I**N a society like ours, still painfully trapped in a transition period away from the known to the unknown, there is an irresistible desire to reach out for a guru, whose wisdom and experience of world affairs sheds light across the hazardous path along which South Africans are struggling in their search for the Valhalla of a non-racial democracy.

There are already signs that Professor Donald Horowitz of Duke University (USA) is a candidate for this role since his important work, "A Democratic South Africa? Constitutional Engineering in a Divided Society", is based on his study of multiracial societies.

While Horowitz — who savaged Allister Sparks's recent book in a review in "New Republic" (Washington) — deserves to be taken seriously, his conclusions about what can be learnt from the experience of divided societies is seriously flawed in several major respects, and shows a lack of understanding of South African political realities. His biggest error is his presumption that political parties in the post-apartheid era will divide more or less clearly along racial lines, and his breathtaking prediction that racial divisions will take at least 100 years to heal.

Horowitz does not make the mistake of many political commentators — such as Professor Herman Gilliomee — that race and ethnicity are the major elements to be considered in consti-

tution-making. Yet, despite his disavowal of such a view, he nevertheless concludes that South Africa risks ending up under a system of undiluted black majority rule unless the new constitution makes such an outcome impossible.

Ethnicity is undeniably one major cause of societal disharmony, as we well know from our own history and for which we hardly need to learn from the experience of countries like Sri Lanka and Malaysia, or from the current controversies in the Soviet Union and East European countries. But in most countries — even those without serious ethnic problems — conflict is rife and has to do mostly with the inequitable division of political and economic power. And even in countries with severe ethnic problems, systems of government have been devised to bridge these divisions and to allow time to achieve a sense of national consciousness.

Just two examples should suffice to support this view. In Tanzania — a country with 156 tribes which include four dominant communities — ethnic problems have played no significant part in its post-independence development; its difficulties arise from different causes. An even more striking example is that of Nigeria where ethnic conflict resulted in a civil war and wrecked several constitutions.

A federal system based on 23 regional units and which makes it impossible for purely ethnic parties to contest national elections

has overcome the earlier struggle for power between the Hausa-Fulani, Yorubas and Ibos. Nigeria, more than any other country, has much to teach South Africa.

If there are two lessons to be learnt from history and especially from post-independence Third World countries, they are that effective regional autonomy is a *sine qua non* for the achievement of more harmony in multi-ethnic societies, and that an inequitable distribution of power at the centre is a sure recipe for severe political conflict.

Provided these two lessons are grasped by those now engaged in devising South Africa's new constitution, our ethnic problems need not be as divisive as is commonly feared. My reason for optimism derives from an analysis of South Africa's political realities which are largely ignored by academics such as Horowitz.

One of these major realities is that, despite the bitter experience of centuries of racialism, there is a surprising lack of anti-white hostility in this country. All the major black nationalist parties and movements favour a shared society based on an equitable distribution of political and economic power.

The representative leaders of the black community fully accept the need for an inter-relationship between themselves and the whites to ensure the country's future economic development; their differences with the white establishment is not over maintaining the industrial base of the econ-

omy, but over the means for achieving greater equity. This is what is primarily involved in the negotiating process and what will determine the political divisions of a post-apartheid society.

Democratic politics can be defined as the free interplay between competing interest groups for power within a parliamentary system. Thus, a proper analysis of the political future of South Africa requires an understanding of the make-up of its competing interest groups. This country differs from almost all other African countries in that, despite our long history of racial discrimination, it is already a pluralist political society made up of a wide diversity of well-established interest groups.

Some of these groups are centred in the white society which is, of course, by no means homogenous. Among Afrikaners there are differing interests (for example, between business and rural communities, as well as over the conditions for ensuring the survival of the Boerevolk).

Among the English-speaking community, there are mainly different business interests. The black community is similarly non-homogenous and is composed of diverse interest groups which range from the urbanised workers and those defending the vested interests of the bureaucracies in the homelands, to the still small but not unimportant black middle class.

There is also the exceptional Zulu interest group, which is itself internally divided between the

traditionalists and the urbanised workers spread across the country; but its leader, Chief Buthelezi, sees Inkatha as part of the wider political spectrum.

While some of these interest groups are ethnically based, most cut across ethnic lines. For example, there is a community of interest between Afrikaner and English-speaking business people which has bridged the old Boer-Briton cleavage — and across the colour line, for example between white and black business people, and between those with differing ideas about the shape of a non-racial society.

South Africa's politics are already largely dominated by these heterogeneous interest groups, which leads to the conclusion that the future political struggle will be among them rather than between ethnically centred parties.

The predictable future, therefore, is not of "race politics" (which assumes homogenous black and white parties), but between alliances of interest groups that cut across the racial divide.

The National Party will increasingly rely on attracting allies from among the coloured and Indian middle classes (those represented in the tricameral parliament); possibly Inkatha and some homeland leaders like Chief Mangope; the right wing of the Democratic Party; and probably even a breakaway of the Conservative Party.

The ANC alliance will attract Cosatu; the Communist Party (at least during a transition period,

but probably not thereafter); most of the homeland leaders; the left wing of the Democratic Party; and the restructured UDF.

Whichever of these alliances should win the elections, based on a universal franchise and proportional representation, it will be multiracial in its make-up.

Such an analysis precludes the idea of straightforward "black domination". Each of the alliances will perforce have to take account of the need to win support across the colour line.

There are bound to be serious difficulties in the way of reaching an acceptable constitution, with recurrent crises and threats of (or even actual) violence from extremists among both the white and black communities. What is still seriously lacking in the present phase of the negotiating process is the development of a "democratic culture" which eschews violence and encourages tolerance of opposing views.

A "democratic culture" cannot be achieved overnight — as is currently witnessed in Eastern Europe and in many parts of Africa; it requires strong political leadership to cultivate what Julius Nyerere once aptly described as "the habit of democracy".

● Colin Legum is a South African journalist who has spent the past 40 years in England where he was an associate editor of The Observer and is currently editor of Third World Reports. He is also the editor of the Africa Contemporary Record and author of a score of books on the Third World and international affairs. □



Monday 21 January 1991

# Majority rule will end violence: Sisulu

**VIOLENCE** in South Africa would not end until the country's majority had taken over power and were able to regulate government forces properly, ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu told a Soweto rally to celebrate the organisation's 79th anniversary yesterday.

Speaking at Jabulani amphitheatre, Mr Sisulu renewed the ANC's commitment to mass action and, along with other speakers, made emphatic calls for greater discipline among the youth.

Flanked by two ANC chairpersons, Mr Sisulu called for the ANC for an all-party congress did not mean it no longer dominated a Constituent Assembly.

Both Mr Sisulu and National Executive Committee member Mr Wilton Mkwayi pleaded with the often noisy 4 000-strong chanting crowd to be disciplined and to adhere to the organisation's constitution.

Mr Sisulu reiterated that mass action was everyone's democratic right — adding that it would continue in 1991 — but urged protesters to be disciplined.

Addressing the youth, both veteran ANC lead-

ers renewed the ANC's call to return to school, to do all they could to gain education and to adhere to the ANC's code of conduct.

Mr Sisulu added that the organisation hoped to have established by March a patriotic front of all anti-apartheid organisations.

"We want to mobilise and organise the oppressed to speak with one voice," he said.

He further called for the eradication of sexism in the liberation movement and praised women for their role in the struggle.

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Mr Sisulu recited extracts from ANC Deputy Leader Nelson Mandela's address made on January 8, and called on ANC members to adhere to points in a booklet outlining the speech, called Year of mass action for the transfer of power to the people.

Several ANC Witwatersrand branches attended the rally, waving banners and flags bearing ANC and SA Communist Party colours and slogans. There was also one banner which read: "We love van Suiden".

## Shoofout leaves

## Winnie slams US presence in Gulf

**SPEAKING** at the launch yesterday of the ANC Women's League for Ga-Rankuwa in Pretoria, Winnie Mandela commented on the war in the Middle East, saying the US had no right to be in the Persian Gulf.

It was a "no win war", Mrs Mandela said, and would result in the continued suffering of the Palestinian people.

She was not interested in commenting on the wrongs and rights of President Saddam Hussein.

In Johannesburg, the ANC called for an immediate end to the Gulf War and said it was opposed to the South African Government's offer to the US, Israel, and Arab states, which would be made available if required.

The ANC also called on the South African Government and not to "stop harassing and persecuting our people who are engaged in peaceful public demonstrations to express their views about what's happening in the Gulf."

On Saturday, ANC spokesman Ms Gail Marcus expressed the organisation's concern at the war and called for an end to hostilities.

Sapa



# World watches ANC

JOHN RYAN, Africa Service

LUSAKA: Both the internal and external wings of the African National Congress came under glaring international scrutiny here this week.

But even more important was the opportunity the first meeting between the two wings gave the ANC to scrutinise itself.

Via the media, the international public saw a rather motley collection of activists of various colours, ages and intensity, most of them sartorially laid back. The natty Walter Sisulu was a striking exception.

## ANC will decide on negotiations today

John Ryan

LUSAKA: The joint leadership of the African National Congress ended a three-day meeting in the Zambian capital last night to decide on a strategy for possible negotiations with the South African Government.

Also high on the agenda of discussions between the visiting South African leaders, the national executive committee and the ANC's military wing was the role Mr Nelson Mandela should play in the organisation after his release.

However, no official communique was available at the end of the meeting.

ANC officials said a statement will probably be issued today after the leadership has reported back to its members in Lusaka.

Mr Mandela himself will be in touch with Lusaka today to discover what decisions were taken. So will ANC president Oliver Tambo, now recuperating in Sweden after a brain spasm last August.

Apart from the problems of accommodating Mr Mandela, Walter Sisulu and other recently released leaders in the hierarchy without laying them open to being rebanned, the ANC is concerned that it might be caught tactically wrong-footed should President FW de Klerk suddenly agree to meet the demands of last year's Harare declaration.

These include the release of Mr Mandela and other jailed members, the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations, the return of members of political parties in exile, the lifting of the state of emergency and the withdrawal of troops from the townships.

The ANC is concerned that Mr De Klerk may seize the initiative if its leaders have not formulated a detailed plan for negotiations by the time those demands are met.

Mr Sisulu and other members of the ANC will attend a summit of the frontline states tomorrow.

## Anglo's secret document

Patrick Bulger

THE Anglo American Corporation has submitted a secret draft on future constitutional options to the African National Congress and the South African Government — but the man in the street will have to wait up to two months to see it.

Anglo executives — public affairs and industrial relations director Bobby Godsell and chairman Gavin Relly's personal assistant Michael Spicer — flew to Lusaka last weekend to hand the 85-page draft to exiled ANC leaders.

Mr Godsell has conceded that the South African Government already has the document.

The document is in the possession of the Minister of Constitutional Development and National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Otherwise the ANC leaders might have been a crowd in the arrivals hall of any African airport.

But there were also the ANC schoolchildren, uniformly dressed in yellow and brown outfits and party scarves, solemnly exuberant youngsters mainly born in exile.

The one white face in the school contingent was Frannie Rabkin, the 13-year-old daughter of David and Susan Rabkin. She was born inside a South African jail, where her mother was in detention.

The meetings took place during the Zambian capital's depressing summer rains. Lusaka is not at its best when its streets are flooded.

But few observers could have failed to notice the extent of the ANC's presence and its influence here.

ANC cadres met visiting journalists at the airport and escorted them with little formality through the often daunting customs and immigration procedures. ANC cadres personally arranged journalists' Zambian Press accreditation.

The ANC commandeered the five-star Pamodzi Hotel for the duration. The tomato sauce was even called Rivonia — though the brand is in general use in Zambia and the derivation of its name is obscure.

A London reporter was moved to remark that the ANC would have no trouble running South Africa if — or when — it came to power.

"It runs Zambia pretty well," he said.

During the familiarisation procedure, the media tactic was to latch on to a friendly ANC official — grab a terrorist, as some



WALTER Sisulu (right) raises a clenched fist after meeting his son Max (left) shortly after the arrival of the ANC leaders in Lusaka.

## There were some surprising policy differences among top leaders on certain issues

might put it.

Talking to individual officials, journalists became aware of a certain diversity of opinion within the leadership on some issues.

Many were surprised, considering the evident solidarity shown by the ANC at the week's functions, to find that some leaders had different opinions about negotiating with South Africa.

But pessimism or optimism appeared to be at the heart of that matter. Some leaders believed that President FW de Klerk would respond positively, and soon, to the demands contained in the ANC's Harare Declaration.

Others were convinced he would not, that he would continue to keep holding some cards — like the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC itself — close to his chest.

Others appeared to fear that if Mr De Klerk did respond positively and soon he might catch the ANC unprepared about its own strategy.

One figure who re-

ceived special attention during the week was Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party and, among white South Africans, arguably the most politically reviled ANC member.

Mr Slovo produced a discussion paper about world socialism in relation to the events in Eastern Europe.

South African journalists concluded that the SA Communist Party would be prepared to entertain a multi-party system in the country and hailed it as local perestroika.

But it was claimed that this was nothing new, that the party had long ago rejected the (until recently) rigid position of the Eastern European governments.

Considering how long the ANC has waited for a significant place in South Africa's political sun, the alarm evinced by some leaders at the thought that Mr De Klerk might be prepared to negotiate soon was astonishing.

The acting ANC president Alfred Nzo indicated

the alarm at the opening of the three-day meeting of the National Executive Committee.

It seemed he was concerned that the South African President would move speedily to wrong foot the ANC and so keep the initiative.

But since that initiative belonged to the ANC when it formulated the Harare Declaration last August — and had it accepted by several world bodies as a sort of Resolution 435 truism — why was no following strategy worked out? If the ANC had intended to put the ball in the Government's court, it should have been prepared for a return volley.

Mr Nzo became alarmist once more about the ANC's lack of capacity to intensify the armed struggle in any meaningful way.

The acting president's speech must have electrified discussions during the closed meeting. Certainly there was an atmosphere of grim purpose among the participants at the end of it.

## Government hints at unbanning the ANC

David Breier

THE Government this week strongly hinted at the possibility of unbanning the African National Congress amid indications that the ban had become virtually impossible to enforce.

Some attorney-generals confirmed privately that an increasing number of charges against people for promoting the aims and objects of the banned ANC were being withdrawn.

They said they were taking their cue from recent Supreme Court judgments, while lawyers representing people facing charges were now more inclined to discuss the withdrawal of charges compared to the more confrontational approach of a few years ago.

These charges relate to petty charges such as possessing ANC pamphlets and not charges involving violence.

"The ANC is effectively unbanned," said Democratic Party chairman and spokesman on law and order, Mr Tiaan van der Merwe.

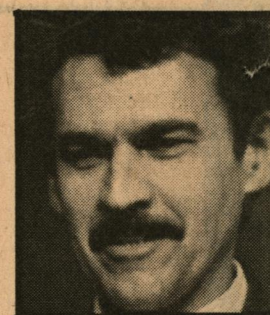
"The Government should bring the law into line with the new political realities," he said, referring to recent mass marches.

Conservative Party spokesman on justice, Mr Chris de Jager, said the Government was putting courts in an impossible position, expecting them to sentence people for promoting the ANC while the Government was talking to its leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

"If you talk to them, how can you charge people for possessing their pamphlets?" he asked.

This week the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, gave the strongest hint yet that the Government was reconsidering the position of banned organisations such as the ANC as well as restricted bodies like the United Democratic Front.

He did so when approached for comment on the UDF announce-



□ Tiaan van der Merwe



□ Kobie Coetsee

ment this week that it had "unbanned" itself. The UDF was severely restricted in 1988 in terms of the State of Emergency, along with a number of other anti-Government bodies.

Mr Coetsee said the Government was considering the position of restricted organisations. He said such as exercise was in the pipeline.

Asked about the position of organisations such as the ANC and SA Communist Party which are banned in terms of the Internal Security Act, Mr Coetsee said the Government was adopting "a more comprehensive approach".

Mr Coetsee also said that the list of banned persons was being reviewed as well as policy, adding that the matter could be taken further.

This has been interpreted as a hint that the Internal Security Act could be amended to scrap the provisions for listing people who may not be quoted or attend gatherings.

However, other attorney-generals maintain that there had been no change in approach and no decision of any slowing down on prosecutions.