

Paris 'indaba' looks at a CITIZEN new S Africa

4 DEC 1989

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PARIS. — Considerable common ground on a "pragmatic" post-apartheid economy for South Africa has been agreed upon at the Paris "indaba" between the exiled ANC, and prominent internal economic figures and anti-apartheid activists.

At a closing Press conference on Saturday night after the weeklong secretive discussions, key spokesman for the delegates indicated general agreement — despite clear differences in approach — on a restructured economy which would do justice to the Black majority's developmental and other needs.

Equally, such a Socialist approach has to commodate the need for a free-market system to provide the economic growth to ensure the success of a non-racial democracy in a new South Africa.

Spokesman for the ANC and other delegates made it clear, however, that the "indaba" had been intended as a forum for discussion and "building further bridges of understanding" between differing viewpoints, while there was no mandate from any side.

Although there were varying degrees of support and different assessments of State President, Mr F W de Klerk's reform initiatives, consensus was that the onus was clearly

on the South African Government to create a proper climate for negotiations.

The ANC's information secretary, Mr Paullo Jordon, indicated his organisation would continue the armed struggle until the SA Government created — as only it, and not the ANC could — the climate for negotiations.

What was needed was a fully binding ceasefire between the SA Government and the ANC — which he claimed was the main opposition factor.

While post-apartheid economic structures appeared to dominate the "indaba" other equally and more immediate important issues focussed on were the ANC's and SA Government's preconditions for negotiations and constitutional proposals, and the SA Law Commission's draft legislation for individual human and group rights.

The "indaba" was held between some 75 South Africans from a wide spectrum from within the country and a top contingent of 25 of the ANC leadership.

It was hosted by the France-Liberte human rights organisation founded by the French President's wife, Mrs Danielle Mitterand.

The Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), founded by former Liberal Parliamentarians, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine, co-ordinated the discussions.

The South African Government immediately rejected any participation and dismissed the "indaba" when news of it was leaked to the media at the beginning of October.

Also noticeable by its absence at the Indaba was the Inkatha organisation of the KwaZulu homeland's Chief Minister, Dr Mangosutho Buthelezi, who strained relations with the ANC continue.

— Sapa.

NEW AFRICAN 4 DECEMBER 1989

Jubilation in Alice as Stofile is released

By Peter Auf Heyde

THOUSANDS of cheering Ciskeian residents on Saturday lined the streets of Alice to welcome border United Democratic Front (UDF) secretary Reverend Arnold Stofile after his release from prison.

Stofile and Sakhumzi Somyo were due to be released at 10am on Saturday

morning, but security police dropped them at their rural homes shortly after nine in the morning. This was apparently an attempt to prevent people from showing support for the released prisoners outside Middledrift prison which has been their home for the last two years.

Stofile was sentenced to 11 years in

jail in 1987 after being convicted of terrorism, while Somyo received a four year sentence after refusing to testify against Stofile and three others.

After greeting several hundred people at his home in a small village outside Alice, Stofile drove into Alice.

Several thousand people had gath-

ered outside Stofile's home. The crowd, many of whom were wearing political T-shirts, sang freedom songs and toyi-toyed.

The two released prisoners then went to Nelson Mandela's old college, Lovedale College, where a thanks-giving service was held.

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Stofile release

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Stofile said he felt both glad and sad about his release.

'Obviously I am glad, as prison is no virtue, and I am glad to be free. But at the same time, I am sad because I left behind seven others who had been sentenced for similar offences.'

He said he had not yet made any plans for the future, but would wait to see what programme had been drawn up for him. Embracing his wife and three children, Stofile said he was happy to be re-united with his family.



ABOVE: Imbali Support Group spokesman Mr Graeme Swan and Imbali town councillor Mr Ben Jele shake hands after agreeing to work together for peace in the township.

Agreement on whites in Imbali

NATAL WITNESS
A DEC 1989 **Witness Reporter**

IMBALI town councillor and Inkatha Central Committee member Mr Ben Jele and the Imbali Support Group yesterday agreed to work together for peace in the township, at a meeting attended by Ward One residents, members of the Imbali Support Group and Democratic Party MP Mr Pierre Cronje.

"Peace is the main objective. I see this meeting as a beginning, the meeting which may bring peace. I want the fear and doubt to be washed away from the people of Imbali and the killing to stop," Mr Jele said.

Members of the ISG, who have been staying with troubled families in Imbali requesting support against violence and intimidation, were introduced to residents at the meeting.

Their presence has led to strong protest from some quarters, with calls from Inkatha members, including the mayor of Imbali, Mr Phikelele Ndlovu, and KwaZulu MP Mr David Ntombela for them to "get out".

Mr Jele, the Imbali councillor for Ward One, said the aim was to create a new South Africa which would look "almost like a zebra, with white and black living and looking beautiful together ... It would be wrong to drive white people out".

ISG spokesman Mr Graeme Swan, Mr Cronje and Mr Jele all deplored the continuing violence and the fact that people were being killed.

"While we are talking, people are dying. Among those being killed are youths that are the leaders of tomorrow. Let us agree on what solution can be used to expose the perpetrators of violence in Imbali," Mr Jele said.

Explaining the reason for the presence of the support group members in Imbali, Mr Cronje said there had been hundreds of deaths in Natal and very few of the people responsible for these murders had been prosecuted.

"This makes our monitoring function important. People that are too scared to go to the police can come to us. We have the support of some senior policemen, not from this area, who have guaranteed that if we give them the names of people with information, they will look after these people," he said.

Mr Cronje said there would be peace only if the perpetrators of the violence were prosecuted or taught to live differently.

Mr Swan thanked Mr Jele for holding the meeting and praised him for his courage in the stand he was taking.

"We realise you are taking a personal risk and want you to know that we will stand by you," he said.

He said while the ISG members were now coming to give support to people, they hoped that one day they could simply come to Imbali as friends.

Six die as fighting shifts from tense Mpumalanga

by CARMEL RICKARD

HEAVY fighting in the Umsindusi area near Cato Ridge left six dead at the weekend, as the centre of fighting shifted from a still tense Mpumalanga, scene of more than 12 deaths last week.

Five of the six people who died in the Umsindusi area on Saturday morning were killed in a single incident when heavily armed men attacked a homestead before dawn.

These deaths were listed in the police weekend unrest report as having been "at Ham-

marsdale". According to the report: "Police found the bodies of five black males, all with knife wounds."

The sixth man was killed in Nhlanzeni in a clash involving about 100 people.

A number of homes were razed, and many refugees left the area at the weekend. More than 80 people are currently staying at the Inchanga Catholic mission station after fleeing their homes.

Other refugees have been streaming into

white homes in the Hillcrest and Cato Ridge areas.

The Inchanga assistant parish priest, Father Mark Hay, went into the Umsindusi valley on Saturday morning, several hours after the attack in which the five were murdered, to rescue a church worker and his family.

He described several tense moments, including an incident in which he came up against more than 300 armed men crossing into the

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29-11-89 Imbali

NATAL WITNESS

White Imbali Support Group members staying with families in Imbali — and for the most altruistic of reasons — may well not have anticipated the range and vehemence of local reactions to their presence. While some grateful residents, for example, believe the whites have, mascot-like, kept violence at bay, others, for assorted social and political reasons, resent them and are suspicious of their hosts. In short, their presence seems unexpectedly to have introduced new tensions.

Perhaps it is time to ask what purpose may be served by a prolongation of the exercise. If violence has indeed been reduced in parts of Imbali, it would be a pity if that good effect were to be swept away by forcible expressions of resentment. A tactical departure at this stage might prevent this and should not be regarded as an admission of defeat, even though the support group has not succeeded in eliminating violence as it had hoped. Political and social awareness is at a new high in Imbali, as is the growing recognition that a community can take pride in resolving its own difficulties. The Imbali Support Group's indirect contribution to this increased sense of responsibility may not have been spectacular, but it is valuable nonetheless.



Man killed as police break up Edendale rally

by CHRISTELLE DE JAGER

SIX people were injured and one man was killed in Edendale yesterday at a rally organised by the Congress of Traditional Leaders (Contralesa), after police dispersed crowds they said had gathered illegally.

The rally was held at the Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre after the city's acting chief magistrate, Mr P.J. Venter, refused permission for it to be held at Wadley Stadium.

This made the rally illegal as soon as crowds gathered outside the hall. Police stopped people from entering the grounds once they decided the hall was too full and the rally was an illegal open-air gathering.

Mrs Winnie Mandela, Contralesa president Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, Chief Elphas Molefe and Democratic Party MP Mr Pierre Cronje were among the guests.

More than 2 000 people crowded into the hall while hundreds more packed the doorways trying to see in.

There was a heavy police presence in the area and at about 11.45 am, during the rally, shots were heard. They were fired outside the grounds after youths threw stones, witnesses said.

People panicked and the mood became more militant as organisers and Mr Cronje tried

to negotiate with police.

Marshalls moved in to control people and keep them inside, while youths outside streamed through the gates until police surrounded the fence and locked the gates.

Marshalls linked hands around the crowd inside the gates and the rally continued but police fired on the crowd from outside the fence while chasing away those who remained outside.

Organisers struggled to get the injured out of the grounds. Mr Linos Ngubane (23) died in hospital.

Several policemen were aggressive towards reporters and photographers, and residents were sworn at and threatened.

A Pretoria police spokesman, Colonel Jac de Vries, said permission had been refused for an outdoor meeting and that the meeting therefore had to take place in the hall.

"The hall, which could only accommodate 1 000 people, was too small for the crowd of 2 800 attending and many people converged outside the fence.

"Police closed the gates from 12.15 pm and directed buses and other people on their way to the rally away. The people inside became restive, threw stones at police and police vehicles and displayed banners and placards.

ABOVE: Mrs Winnie Mandela salutes the crowd at yesterday's rally in Edendale.

RIGHT: A busload of supporters on their way home after violence disrupted yesterday's rally.

Pictures by CLINT ZASMAN



"Police fired on the crowd. No teargas was used, but one rubber bullet and several stun grenades were fired," said Colonel de Vries.

He said one person had been killed and six injured, while eight special constables were injured by stones and a police vehicle was slightly damaged.

Mrs Mandela, speaking after the crowds had been locked in to the grounds and surrounded by police, read out a message from Nelson Mandela.

"He sends fraternal greetings and solidarity. Like any man he would like to be with his family, but he knows that you have determined the future.

"If you love your freedom and his freedom, you will cease this violence and direct your energies to the main enemy," Mrs Mandela said.

Mr Cronje was cheered by the crowd when he said there were many cultures in South Africa and that "we do not have to destroy anything to move forward".

PAM rejects negotiation and ANC position

By Thabo Leshilo

STAR

4 DEC 1989

A negotiated settlement and the ANC's position on the issue were rejected yesterday by the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM) on the third day of its launching congress held at Nasrec, Johannesburg.

Interim committee member Mr Cuninghame Ngcukana said the preconditions to negotiations set out in the ANC's Harare Declaration earlier this year failed to address the questions of one person, one vote, in a unitary Azania and the redistribution of the nation's wealth.

According to Mr Ngcukana, the ANC and the OAU's conditions were not anything new.

Similar conditions were put down in the Lusaka Manifesto of 1969 and rejected by the PAC.

Mr Ngcukana said that his movement on Saturday agreed:

- Not to participate in the Conference for a Democratic Future, billed in some quarters as the biggest anti-apartheid gathering to be held since the early Fifties, which takes place this coming weekend

NO CLARITY

There was also no clarity as to who should participate and homeland leaders had been invited.

- That there should be working class unity.

- That there were inconsistencies in the terms of the cultural boycott. A special commission would formulate a consistent policy on this.

- Education was currently designed to perpetuate the status quo.

- That it should relate to other organisations in accordance with the principles of non-collaboration and non-racialism.

- To put forward as conditions for negotiation with the Government one person, one vote in a unitary country and redistribution of the means of production.

- To condemn the National Sports Congress as sectarian, based on political affiliation and to support Sacos.

Honorary degree for ANC's Govan Mbeki

STAR 30/11/1989

CAPE TOWN — Govan Mbeki became the first leader of the outlawed African National Congress to receive an honorary doctorate from a South African university when he was awarded a philosophy degree yesterday from the University of the Western Cape.

Mr Mbeki (79), was freed in 1987. After holding two news conferences, at which he declared he believed in the actions for which he was sentenced and remained a member of the outlawed ANC and the South African Communist Party, he was prohibited from making public appearances or statements until his restrictions were lifted last month.

After a message from Mr Nelson Mandela was read to the cheering crowd of 1 000, he said: "We live in exciting and disturbing times when much of the world seems to be in the process of renewal.

"We are fortunate that this happens on the eve of our own liberation."

He added that South Africa should endeavour "not to repeat the mistakes that the sister peoples on our continent have made".

SUNDAY TRIBUNE, DECEMBER 4, 1988

ON THE MOVE

PAC poised for a revival

By SARAH SUSSENS

IN an increasingly hostile political climate of a swing to the right and a failure to negotiate, black opinion could become more radical.

Against this background, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) is showing signs of a revival and may well emerge as a major actor in the political drama.

According to a research document, *Return of the Prodigal Son — Prospects for a revival of the PAC*, Gary van Staden of the Institute of International Affairs at the University of the Witwatersrand, argues that the PAC is showing some signs of revival — both internally and internationally.

However, he says, it is unlikely ever to seriously challenge the "political high ground" of the ANC.

The PAC is one of the three main "liberation" movements operating in exile, the others being the African National Congress (ANC) and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCM).

Only the PAC and the ANC are recognised as "official" South African liberation movements by, among others, the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

Mr Van Staden argues that for most of its almost 30 years in exile, the PAC failed to emerge from the shadow of its "father", the ANC, but that evidence at hand suggests the PAC is showing some signs of revival, both internally and internationally and that, under certain conditions, it could well re-emerge as a major political actor.

The PAC was launched in April 1959 as an Africanist breakaway after years of tension in the ANC. The two organisations differed over political programmes with the PAC arguing that the liberation struggle could take place only under African leadership in African organisations. This excluded the multiracial approach of the charterists.



Gary van Staden

Africanism strived to shake off the inferiority complex colonialism had instilled in black people.

The PAC rose in stature during the demonstrations that led to the Sharpeville shooting in 1960 but ironically this also signalled its decline. The scale and intensity of the state-inspired restrictions coupled with the loss of its leader Robert Sobukwe (who had walked into jail as part of the pass protests in 1960) threw the PAC into disarray.

Leadership crises

The most important consequence of this was the series of leadership crises and the crises of policy which were to dog the PAC for the next two decades and render it "all but useless".

Mr Van Staden talks of a revival of the organisation in the sense of a re-emergence of influence because the PAC has an uninterrupted existence of almost 30 years.

The revival of PAC insurgency over the past few years has been matched by developments on the diplomatic front, he says.

In mid-1986 the PAC made unprecedented progress in bringing its case to the attention of the world community — an area where its ideological rival enjoyed more support.

The PAC believed that its lack of support among Western nations stemmed from a perception of the organisation as being extremely radical and anti-white. In response, the PAC leadership began its first in-depth "explanations" of its attitude towards whites, publicly stating that whites were part of the future in Africa.

Working furiously behind the scenes they eventually established diplomatic contact with the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, Yugoslavia, Pakistan, the Caribbean Island nations, the Soviet Union and a series of African countries which had been previously committed to the ANC.

By the first few months of 1988 the situation had undergone a remarkable transformation and the PAC had expanded its area of diplomatic activity considerably.

Widespread clashes

Arguing that the PAC has always held a special appeal for the more radical elements, Mr Van Staden says the higher the level of repression, the more radical the townships are likely to become.

The cycles of repression and radicalisation feed off each other and the faster the wheels turn the greater the PAC is likely to benefit.

The PAC could erode the political high ground in black politics the ANC enjoys by exploiting its apparent failure to consolidate its position or make any significant impact on the South African Government during the widespread clashes of 1984 to 1986.

Another key element in the growth potential of the PAC calls for a continuing shift in white politics to the right of the political spectrum which could further radicalise black opinion.

If events in South Africa continue along approximately the same path for the next few years as they have followed the previous four, then the ever-increasing levels of black radicalisation could well result in a situation where the ANC is regarded as too moderate by many in its present constituency, it is argued.

It would then depend on the PAC if it succeeded in taking advantage of the situation to improve its own position.

The leadership question is considered crucial because despite the fact that the PAC may be moving into the most favourable period of its history since the early 1960s, it still faces many obstacles.

Its biggest obstacle is the ANC and even under the most favourable conditions the PAC will be hard-pressed to close the gap to become a serious threat to the ANC.

The established structures and organisational mechanisms of the ANC, its long history and the sheer size of its support base place substantial restraints on the PAC's growth potential.

Mr Van Staden concludes that a less ambitious option for the PAC would be to push for unity with the ANC.

IN FOCUS TODAY: REFORM AND THE CLASH BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE

THE tense, uneasy calm — fostered by the emergency — shrouds a disturbing scenario of financial sanctions, civil unrest and increased tension in the country.

Prominent researchers, concerned by several years of political violence, predict that the Government's reform strategy, faced with a mass re-organisation of anti-apartheid groups, may contribute to another more sustained wave of violence.

The future, however, is not entirely cheerless: the researchers have added what they believe may be ways to avoid further conflict. Their views and analysis are probably debatable but their studies indicate invaluable aids towards ending the possibility of a cycle of violence.

They have also provided the first documentation of the anti-apartheid opposition, the state's responses, and the results of the conflicts between the Government and people. Included are detailed statistics concerning guerrilla actions, strikes, stayaways, maps of the conflict regions, rent and transport boycotts, "10 chronologies of conflict" and all the emergency regulations and amendments.

Published by the Centre for Social and Development Studies at the University of Natal, Durban, the comprehensive analysis titled *Political Conflict in South Africa, Data Trends 1984-1988*, was released this week.

At the launch of the book in Johannesburg, Natal university political scientist Dr Ian Phillips said it had become clear recently that a strategic shift had taken place in thinking about methods of control.

"What this has amounted to is a shift from the politics of repression whereby organisations simply were banned, people restricted, and communities and potential leaders wooed through offers of co-option and bargaining, to a strategy premised no longer on counter-insurgency thinking, but a strategy based on counter-revolution.

"This enables the state to adopt a policy of elimination rather than mere containment of opposition.

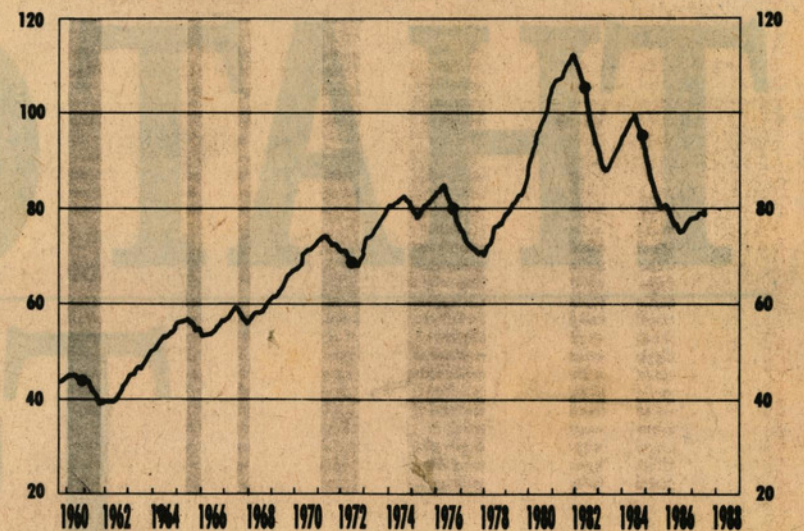
"The death squads that operate in neighbouring states and overseas, the vigilantes, witdoeke, kitkonstabels and municipal police forces, as well as the actions of the Defence Force and the police, are all part of purposeful action."

Dr Phillips said the Delmas treason judgment also needed to be clearly assessed against the background of state strategy.

The judgment, he said, had provided the state with the judicial backing for further action.

THE CO-INCIDENCE OF RECESSION & SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROTEST

The trendline reflects the combined effect of 30 indicators of economic activity as recorded by The Reserve Bank of South Africa. (Recessions are shaded areas)



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Ending the cycle of violence

By
Quraish Patel

"Delmas opens the way for the state to ban the United Democratic Front and other organisations mentioned in the charge sheet. What is different now, and compared with the other organisations like the ANC, is that the state for the first time has a Supreme Court judgment declaring the organisations to be 'subversive' and part of the 'total onslaught'."

"Ultimately, what Delmas represents is this: non-violent opposition to the regime has been criminalised under the guise of treason."

In his contribution *Political Options: Countering Cycles of Violence*, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, director of the Centre for Policy Studies, University of the Witwatersrand, said: "Sudden recessions

affect expenditure and decision-making at the margins quite severely.

"The shift in quality of life and aspirations can create intense frustration for a period lasting long enough to be mobilised into protest."

The part played by the economy in political conflict, according to Professor Schlemmer, is fundamental but quite often overlooked.

"The precise relationship between economic downturn and civil unrest is not adequately understood. That there is a relationship is certain," he said.

Reviewing the period 1960-1988, Professor Schlemmer establishes a trendline showing the co-incidence of recession and unrest which includes Sharpeville, the 1972 Natal strikes, the Soweto uprising, the 1982 schools boycott and the national unrest between 1984-86.

The 1985 emergency weakened the leadership and fabric of the United Democratic

Front and the Azanian People's Organisation, destroying their capacity to impose discipline on the newly-acquired youthful activists and other rank-and-file youth.

Identifying specific Government actions and responses between 1984-1988, Professor Schlemmer said: "It would have been surprising indeed if South Africa had not gone through a period of political violence."

In addition to the economy, he listed other major underlying causes of the violence as corrupt township administration, ill-timed security decisions, overstressed school systems and increased township densities.

"It is under these circumstances that the more aspiring, younger and better-educated members of these communities live and experience on a daily basis a form of proof that the system has to be smashed.

"Obviously there were expatriate organisations with revolutionary goals which in-

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fluenced the situation. As in 1976-77, however, the rise of political violence seemed to precede the utilisation of that violence as a focused strategy. The objective of making the townships ungovernable and of liberating certain areas through their capture by street committees crystallised after the townships had already become widely disrupted.

"The presence of radical organisations probably accounted more for the persistence of confrontation than for its origins."

If another sharp recession coincided with unpopular or controversial constitutional changes, he predicted that a new "semi-latent leadership will be well-poised to remobilise. If the same mistakes are made as in the past, South Africa could well go through another cycle of violence."

Referring to whites' attitudes to the conflict he said his survey results showed that most whites supported coercive measures against political violence. "Even among PFP supporters, four out of 10 appear to approve of the presence of the army in the townships."

A researcher at the Centre for Policy Studies, University of the Witwatersrand, Mark Swiller, said the strategy of repressive reform was an option "developed by the militarised South African state that will not resolve our fundamental problems".

"To this extent, the solutions it is offering are a recipe for further violence, rather than long-term peace."

He said three key contradictions faced the current strategy of "repressive reform":

□ Economists argue that a sustained economic growth rate of between 5 and 7 percent was required to support large-scale state subsidisation of urban infrastructure, which, in turn, would require massive foreign investment or heavy international borrowing.

International isolation and sanctions would make this option unlikely and would probably keep growth down to less than 2 percent. Fiscal restraint, deregulation and privatisation would not stimulate internal economic growth on the required scale.

□ Expensive upgrading projects were all very well, but who would pay for them in the end? It was part of the Government's orderly urbanisation policy to force the poorer sections of the urban population out into controlled squatter settlements and site-and-service schemes located on the metropolitan peripheries.

The inner townships near the white areas would be reserved for the better-off skilled workers and aspiring Africans.

□ The mass-based political organisations

were too deeply rooted in the communities to be eradicated so simply. These organisations had consistently articulated popular demands for better services and full political rights. No matter how the state went about creating the conditions for "good government", as long as the majority could not vote for direct representatives in central government, political conflict would remain endemic.

"What the Government still refuses to accept is that the black majority is not demanding solutions, but quite simply the right to participate democratically in the formulation of solutions. For this to happen, a new constitutional order is required that derives its legitimacy from the fact that it has been negotiated by all parties, including the ANC.

"To this extent, urban upgrading and fundamental political change must be regarded as inseparable," he said.

Paulus Zulu, head of the Morris Webb Race Relations Unit, University of Natal, said "at a popular level, resistance has acted as the main agent in conscientising the masses and mobilising them".

"This has resulted in the formation of grassroots organisations that do not only challenge the existing social order but also endeavour to create a future society.

"The 'alternative' concept has moved from a theoretical stance to a practical programme — the programmes on alternative education, community health and street committees to name a few."

He believed that the concept of "people's justice" as against the conventional legal system needed closer examination.

"Comrades argue," he said, "the legal system is based on the existing power relations and is, therefore, a political tool.

"They cite the numerous convictions for political offences as examples, and contend that the sophisticated trappings do not make that system more acceptable than the people's courts which, in their opinion, reflect the sentiments of the communities.

"Whatever the arguments are in both cases, in the final analysis, questions of method and detail do not enhance a judicial system if its basic premises are non-democratic."

PAM

A DEL 1989 SOWETAN

VOW

Sowetan Reporter

THE newly formed Pan Africanist Movement will not compromise in its struggle for liberation, speakers told more than 1 200 people at the launch yesterday.

'The struggle will continue'

"We will pursue all peaceful methods but we will not compromise," Mr Cullingham

Ngcukana said during the policy speech.

"Our stand is clear on negotiations. We will not enter into them until a system of one-person-

one-vote is instituted in a non-racial community and resources are redistributed."

Messages of support from local and international Christian, communist and anti-apartheid movements were read on the last day of the three-day congress held at Nasrec in Crown Mines.

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PAM launched

● From page 1

Giving a keynote address the Pan Africanist Congress president, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, said PAM arrived at a crucial time.

However, failure to understand this climate will result in misunderstanding issues confronting the Azanian people and consequential tactical blunders, Mothopeng said.

Internationally, the political climate is dominated by Perestroika, Glasnost and rapprochement between East and West. This swing from the confrontation and Cold War of the post-

World War 2 era is misleading and "can easily fool you into believing that the struggle is now expected and possible to be resolved through rapprochement," he said.

"The PAC basic documents are prophetic in that they foresaw this phenomena in 1959 and adopted a policy of positive neutrality in super-power rivalry or rapprochement and we placed emphasis on self-reliance of the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed masses.

"This policy we still uphold till today and I advise PAM to adopt the same," he said.

Traditions keep Africa's women in chains

SOMETAN

A DECEMBER 1989

FOCUS

WHEN Josephine Oniah's husband died her head was shaved, she was confined to a small room for a month-long period of mourning, obliged to sleep on the floor and wear the same clothes she had on when she was widowed.

"There was no way I could not have performed the traditional rites," said Oniah, a lawyer, senior magistrate and a respected female traditional chief, now living in retirement in her home town of Enugu, capital of the Anambra State in eastern Nigeria.

Oniah's experience, now a ten-year-old memory, is mild compared with that of millions of women faced with customary practices in modern Africa, she and her colleagues in the Nigerian section of the International Federation of Women Lawyers told Reuters.

Property

The federation, known by its Spanish acronym FIDA, campaigns against legal practices which dis-

criminate against women.

It says western education and modern civil law have barely begun to protect women against the negative effects of customs which form part

Islam and Christianity both give married women certain status but this is frequently undermined by traditional practices which still hold sway. Few women dare challenge them.

Discrimination and taboos against women are rife in Africa - an issue of growing concern to those trying to mobilise the continent's people to build their future. NAOMI WIMBORNE reports

of an otherwise valuable cultural heritage.

"Only this year a Nigerian court ruled that a woman married under customary law was not only unable to inherit property but that she herself was inheritable property," said Stella Omiyi, President of the Nigerian FIDA.

Concern

Illiterate, malnourished, performing endless, back-breaking labour while raising an average of six children without the benefit of any modern amenities or

health care, the majority of rural African women are denied advancement by a battery of traditions.

Apart from discrimination in inheritance and divorce, they face nutritional taboos which reserve the best food for men and boys, dangerous birth practices, child marriage and female circumcision.

There is growing concern about this among international bodies and African governments trying to mobilise Africa's 500 million people - more than half of them female - to build the continent's future.

Women comprise about 70 percent of Africa's labour force and grow about 70 percent of its food, according to the

Illiterate, malnourished, performing endless, back-breaking labour while raising an average of six children without the benefit of any modern amenities or health care, the majority of rural African women are denied advancement by a battery of traditions.

'Women have to be educated to value their own well-being'.

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) which held a conference on integrating women in development in Nigeria earlier this month.

"Women must be empowered and effectively mobilised," said Adebayo Adedeji, the ECA's executive secretary.

Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida said women were, quite literally, Africa's hewers of wood and drawers of water, its farmhands and traders.

But they were denied education, skills and financial credit, and were burdened by their traditional role.

"No national development will be meaningful or thorough if women are not fully involved," Babangida said.

A team from the Inter-African Committee (IAC) on Traditional Practices Affecting the Health of Women and Children, also in Nigeria this month, said progress was painfully slow.

"All over the world, people prefer sons to daughters," said Malika Ladjali, from Algeria.

"Little girls are weaned earlier, they are less likely to be given scarce protein, and more

of them die."

To ensure virginity in a bride, girls are frequently married at puberty, often into polygamous homes. The result is a high incidence of childhood pregnancies with considerable risk to the still-growing mother.

Ensuring chastity is the reason frequently given for various forms of female circumcision performed on young girls or sometimes pregnant women in parts of virtually every African country, said IAC President Berhane Ras-Work, from Ethiopia.

There are two common forms of the operation. With excision, the clitoris and surrounding tissue are cut away while infibulation also involves sewing up the vulva leaving only a tiny opening.

Frigidity

The practice is often carried out in unhygienic conditions with the risk of tetanus, infection, shock and haemorrhage.

The young woman will be cut open just before her wedding night. Painful intercourse and frigidity often result.

Food taboos which deprive pregnant women of proteins such as eggs, meat and snails when they need them most, ignorance about delivery techniques, and too-frequent births due to social pressure favouring fertility, cause many birth complications, especially in young or circumcised women.

A ruptured uterus with tearing of the rectum or bladder as a result of obstructed labour is common, often turning the victim - if she survives - into a social outcast because of the incontinence which results.

Death

Between two and six of every 1 000 African deliveries result in the death of the mother, compared with one in 10 000 in a prosperous European country such as Denmark, the ECA said.

Ras-Work of the IAC, which works to upgrade the skills of untrained traditional healers and birth attendants, said women tended to accept suffering as their lot in life. They had to be educated to value their own well-being.

"This should be the prime concern for all who talk about integrating women in development," she said. - Sapa-Reuter.

ANC's Mbeki honoured

The New African 4 December 1989 Page 11

IN his first major public address since his restrictions were lifted, African National Congress (ANC) leader Govin Mbeki - who was awarded an honorary doctorate by the University of Western Cape (UWC) last week - spoke about his vision for a new South Africa after the 'ugly heritage' of the past has been undone. Siza Ntshakala reports.

'What the oppressed masses seek is an end to the racist apartheid system of white minority domination, the super-exploitation of the black working people, rule by fascist methods and external aggression and domination,' Mbeki told the UWC audience.

He said the masses wished to see South Africa transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country.

Mbeki said he was convinced that such a transformation was in the interests of the South African majority, both black and white.

'It will serve and advance the political and economic interests of the working class, but immediately, the black section of this class,' said Mbeki.

He said this would favour what he called the 'middle strata, intellectuals and professions, the small and medium business people.'

Mbeki said: 'The view is expressed in some circles that the establishment of genuine democracy would result in the masses descending on the economy like a swarm of rapacious locusts.'

'Some think the masses will eat up everything in their path without regard to the vital question of pursuing an economic policy that would guarantee growth and development,' added Mbeki.

He said this view erred because it assumed that the people were incapable of understanding that life could not be lived only for today - that there was a future and that preparations for a better future had to start today.

In a letter to Professor Jakes Gerwel, Rector of UWC, Dr Nelson Mandela, the President of the ANC said:

'To the best of my knowledge and belief, this is the first time that a South African university has honoured a red-hot-freedom fighter who has spent no less than 25 years in prison, and emerged from that harsh experience with his convictions unscathed.'

Mandela said it was hoped that other local universities would soon join the UWC in this significant pioneering work.

The statement released by the ANC's national secretariat from its headquarters in Lusaka read: 'On behalf of the ANC leadership we offer you our congratulations. All members of the ANC hold your leadership in the past, during your years of incarceration, and at the present time in the highest esteem.'

It added that: 'It is a significant honour to our movement and to your person that our contribution to the struggle has been recognised in this fashion.'

The statement also pointed out that generations of South Africans had benefited from Mbeki's profound political insights and analysis.

'Your contributions to the building of the ANC into a powerful instrument of the oppressed masses, your bravery and heroism in the face of state repression - working both underground and in the creation of Unikhonto weSizwe - are legendary.'

Mbeki told the graduation ceremony audience that to be relevant to the exciting and impending process of the democratic transformation of our country, the university would have to identify itself with national and class forces that stood to benefit from the victory of the democratic revolution.

He explained that the Freedom Charter dictum - 'The doors of learning and culture shall be open to all' - was of fundamental importance in defining that act of identification.

Mbeki continued: 'The more thorough the democratic process, the greater the possibility to realise the genuine aspirations of the masses.'

'The liberation movement, the established vanguard of the millions, must continue to be the unwavering representative of this democratic perspective,' he added.

He warned that the movement should resist any pressures to resort to any practice which would stifle the voice of the people.

Mbeki explained that the owners of capital in South Africa had recruited millions of people, who were not owners of capital themselves, to join the battle as defenders of property interests.

'In a fundamental sense, capital is the principal historic beneficiary of colonialism and apartheid in South Africa,' he said.

'There is a thin layer of black collaborators who, quite simply, are mercenaries who are prepared to accept the extra rand in exchange for any service the paymaster may demand of them.'

'These people do not even have the comfort of a natural ideological standpoint to justify their betrayal.'

Mbeki stressed that 'the oppressed masses must tap the African experiences, so that what we build does not repeat the mistakes that the sister peoples on our continent have made.'

The study and analysis of these world experiences have to be part of the common effort to define the content of the democratic transformation of our country.'

He noted that it was inevitable that the combination of a brutal political system and an equally brutal economic process would evoke the resistance and opposition of the oppressed and exploited.

'In South Africa, to ensure that resistance and opposition does not become an open and victorious rebellion, it is necessary that the victims of the political and economic oligarchy be ruled with an iron hand, and by conscious resort to consistent state terrorism,' he added.

Peace talks breakdown results in more deaths

AFTER Inkatha pulled out of the peace talks with the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) last month, the phrase 'Little Beirut' has echoed through almost every township.

The Black Sash repression monitoring group said in its September/October bulletin 'there is little doubt that the escalation of violence is as a direct result of the breakdown in peace talks.'

According to the bulletin the last two months have been more violent than any of the previous months of 1989, with a total of 103 deaths being recorded in September and October.

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where 29 deaths were recorded in September and 48 in October.

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The bulletin said more disturbing is that in 'some areas such as Umlazi which have been 'quiet' in the past, 19 deaths were recorded during the period monitored.'

Responding to the increased violence, the MDM last week announced a broader initiative to bring about peace in Natal.

Following Inkatha's decision to pull out of talks in October, the UDF/Cosatu has decided to go ahead with a peace initiative 'with or without Inkatha.'

The plan - which has met with some success - was to place greater emphasis on local peace initiatives, instead of attempting to work only through Ulundi.

The spotlight was placed on Mpumalanga where about 20 people died in three weeks after alleged vigilante attacks.

Mpumalanga residents organised a march - attended by a 25 000-strong crowd - to the local KwaZulu police Station to demand the withdrawal of the SAP riot

In the past month there has been an upsurge in violence in Natal townships. Current flashpoints are Mpumalanga and KwaMakhutha where fierce clashes have taken place in the past few weeks.

**Sithembiso Sangweni and
Farouk Chothia report**

unit and kitskonstabels.

They demanded that the policing be left to the KwaZulu Police (ZP).

This led to a lull until the outbreak of violence after the 'imbizo' at Kings Park two weeks ago.

At the same time, the UDF/Cosatu organised a visit for an eminent persons group - comprising the religious, business and diplomatic sectors - to the area to obtain a first hand account of the violence.

Peace marches were also held in Ntuzuma where the main perpetrators of the violence are said to be the vigilantes of bordering Lindelani. The Ntuzuma march was followed by a march last Sunday to the KwaMashu police station to protest against the ZP, regarded as the main cause of the violence.

The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) appointed a one person independent commission of inquiry - consisting of a senior Durban advocate, RS Douglas - to investigate the cause of the violence and to make recommendations on how to end it.

Inkatha march flops

A MARCH by an estimated 200 Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga last Thursday 'flopped.'

The marchers from Unit 1 and Unit 4 converged in the open field diagonally opposite Mpumalanga mayor Rodger Sishi's garage where they milled around for more than an hour before the South African Police (SAP) transported them back to their areas.

The marchers said they were waiting for their leaders who were holding a meeting with industrialists in Hammarsdale to discuss the violence. However, bystanders said they intended to march to the Hammarsdale police station to ask the SAP to remain, but their plans failed, as they could not draw a big crowd.

KwaZulu Police (ZP) stood near the vigilantes but withdrew when the SAP arrived. Following discussions the SAP transported the vigilantes to their areas.



A group of women protest against police brutality. Pic: Aron Mazel

Lawyers allege SAP collaboration with vigilantes in Mpumalanga

THE South African Police (SAP) - already facing a major image crisis since the Hit Squad scandal blew up - have been accused by lawyers and Mpumalanga residents of throwing the law into the waste paper basket in their handling of the Mpumalanga crisis.

While the KwaZulu Police (ZP) appear to have been effectively stripped of their powers in Mpumalanga, there is allegedly close collaboration between vigilantes and the SAP in attacks against United Democratic Front (UDF) supporters in the township.

Durban lawyer Richard Lyster - after visiting Mpumalanga - said in an affidavit 'there appears to be a total breakdown of law and order, and the SAP appears to be involved in the commission of criminal offences, by participation and by omission'.

Lyster said it appeared that the police were determined to undermine and harass people in this area and to force them to leave the township to make way for supporters of Inkatha.

He said the SAP had 'shown themselves to be seriously biased in favour of Inkatha', and that the

SAP's presence in the township was 'contributing to the serious undermining of the maintenance of law and order'.

On Wednesday Lyster and an entourage of Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) representatives, joined by Democratic Party's Roy Anslic, entered the trouble-spot.

Lyster said there were a group of about 100 armed vigilantes standing near a SAP hippo vehicle. They were armed with spears, knobkierries, bushknives, pangas

'I asked him why not, and he refused to give me an answer,' said Lyster. Later, Lyster said Lieutenant Kemp from the Inchanga police station came to the scene 'and drove straight to where the vigilantes were standing and spoke to them quietly'.

Lyster said the vigilantes 'appeared to acknowledge his authority and immediately began to move away'.

Ainslie said ZPs - regarded as relatively neutral in Mpumalanga - told him that last Monday the SAP had transported vigilantes from section 4 to attack section 3 - and had attacked and looted houses with vigilantes.

'I spoke to some ZPs who told me that they were being prevented from taking action by the SAP,' said Ainslie. He added that a Colonel Dube - in charge of the local ZP police station - 'seemed to lack authority in the presence of the SAP.'

* The SAP at Pretoria and KwaZulu Minister Of Police, Gatsha Buthelezi, were asked to respond to the allegations. No response was received at the time of going to press ** Latest - See page 3

and sticks.

Lyster said he had asked a policeman whether he intended to arrest the vigilantes as it appeared they had acted unlawfully. He said the policeman refused to make any arrests.

'I then asked him if he would disarm them, and he said he would not.

'I told him that in terms of several laws it was unlawful for groups of armed men to go walking round the streets. He told me in very emphatic terms that his instructions were not to disarm this particular group of people.

P.T.O

Police open fire

NEW AFRICAN 4 DECEMBER 1989

at Maritzburg rally

By Farouk Chothla

THE South African Police (SAP) and kitskonstabels fired live ammunition - seriously injuring six people - at a rally called by the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) at the Lay Ecumenical Centre in Edendale, Pietermaritzburg, yesterday.

In a stinging attack against the shooting, keynote speaker Winnie Mandela - wife of jailed African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela - told a 6 000-strong crowd: 'We have no violence to renounce. It is the government which must renounce violence. There shall never be peace until the government renounces violence.'

She said the shooting showed that State President FW De Klerk's regime was not ready for negotiations and the so-called reform measures were aimed at appeasing the international community.

At about midday the SAP and kitskonstabels - who dropped to their knees forming a human wall - randomly fired a hail of bullets at a large section of the crowd standing outside the packed hall.

Crying women, children and youths fled for safety behind buildings and cars but six youths failed to escape and were shot.



Part of the 6 000 strong crowd at the Lay Ecumenical Centre in Edendale. Pic: Rafs Mayet

Eyewitnesses said Selby Shezi lay in a pool of blood after being shot in the chest, Mvovo Mbatha was shot in the eye and a youth known as Sibusiso was shot in the temple and jaw.

Details about three other people shot are not known but eyewitnesses said they had sustained frontal wounds.

The rally - already in progress - ground to a halt as organiser stormed out of the hall to handle the crisis.

Panic-stricken women screamed: 'Tell the police to stop shooting.... Get a car. These chaps must be rushed to hospital.'

Police sealed off the entrance to the hall and Reverend Lizo Jafta of the Fed-

eral Theological Seminary began negotiations with police to open the entrance so that the wounded could be rushed to hospital.

But a policeman - who refused to give his identity - adopted a brickwall attitude.

Rev Jafta begged: 'Our people are dying. Open the gate. Let us take them to hospital.'

Police initially refused but after continued negotiations agreed to open the gate.

Clashes erupted, following a police decision to prevent people from attending the rally by putting up a road block

and bundling people into police vans.

On several occasions, emotions running high, people clashed with police and at least on one occasion police opened fire.

Police spokespersons in Pietermaritzburg could not be reached for comment late yesterday.

In her speech, Winnie Mandela referred to ANC leader Chief Albert Luthuli's words to Nelson Mandela following the ANC executive decision on August 4, 1962 to embark on armed struggle.

She quoted Luthuli as saying: 'Mandela, I'm an African. When men attack my kraal, I take my spear and defend my

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family.' To rousing applause she told the crowd: 'That day MK was born.'

In his address Chief Elphas Molefe of Nqutu said he would not relinquish his membership of Contralesa despite being stripped of his chieftainship by Ulundi.

'I come from the ANC,' he said. Molefe's parents belonged to the ANC.

Taking to the podium chanting 'Viva Contralesa... Viva ANC', Maphumulo said Contralesa would work to oppose the 'yoke of oppression and exploitation' and would resist 'cooption and manipulation' into separate and ethnically based government structures.

Natal's spiral of

NEW AFRICAN
4 DECEMBER
1989

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Women mourn deaths at a funeral in one of the Natal townships.

in the bush tried to shoot all of us,' said Solomon Nzama.

He said they left the body of his brother in the open as the KwaZulu Police refused to go back to the spot because they feared for their lives.

When Nzama returned to the spot he found the body beheaded.

Another victim of the renewed violence was a 17-year-old youth from an area known as 19s in KwaMakhutha. He was shot dead during a night raid by heavily armed men.

The distraught mother, Sarafina Mthembu (42), said she was unable to conduct a vigil for her slain child because she felt compelled to join the youths who were on the run because 'we are dying and having sleepless nights'.

She said on November 22 the family was woken by raging flames in the house. A petrol bomb had been thrown inside by a group of men who had surrounded their home.

When she and her two daughters tried to escape, they were ordered back into the house at gunpoint.

'I begged them to let me go. My daughters tried to extinguish the fire with sand. I was afraid that we would be burnt alive'.

She said the men eventually allowed them to get out of the house and ordered them to run.

'I was unaware that my son Siphon, who was a standard seven pupil at Sibusisiwe Secondary in Umbumbulu, had run to our neighbour's house.

'They followed him and shot him and killed him.'

Another person was shot in the leg.

ZP's arrested for Ndlovu murder

TWO members of KwaZulu Police have been arrested in connection with the burning of the Ndlovu family home in the Mkhazeni area bordering the KwaMakhutha township which is being torn by political violence.

The incident occurred on November 25 in broad daylight.

KwaZulu Police spokesperson Lieutenant T.J. Mpanza - who is heading the investigation into the burning of the Ndlovu house - has confirmed that two members of ZP were arrested by members of the SA Defence Force (SADF) after they were found at the scene of the crime.

Lieutenant Mpanza said investigations were continuing.

He said the two policemen were released on Sunday, November 26 after they had been taken to CR Swart Square.

Mpumbe Ndlovu, who witnessed the burning of her home, said she was not living with any young male who might be labelled a 'comrade'.

Ndlovu said the family had gone to help a neighbour find out about her son, a member of the ZP, who had apparently been shot.

She said that as they were walking they came across a group

of heavily armed men who said they were looking for the people who had killed the ZP member.

'When we came back home we saw the same group of men stoning our house.'

She said when the men were asked why they were stoning the house, they ignored the Ndlovu family members and shouted: 'Come, you cowards.'

Ndlovu said the house was set alight and was reduced to ashes before the SADF fire extinguishers arrived.

Ndlovu estimated the damage at R180 000.

In another incident the Nzama family of the 23s area in

KwaMakhutha, has divided into two factions after one of three brothers were killed.

Franco Nzama, a comrade and a member of KwaMakhutha Youth League (KYL), was shot on November 28.

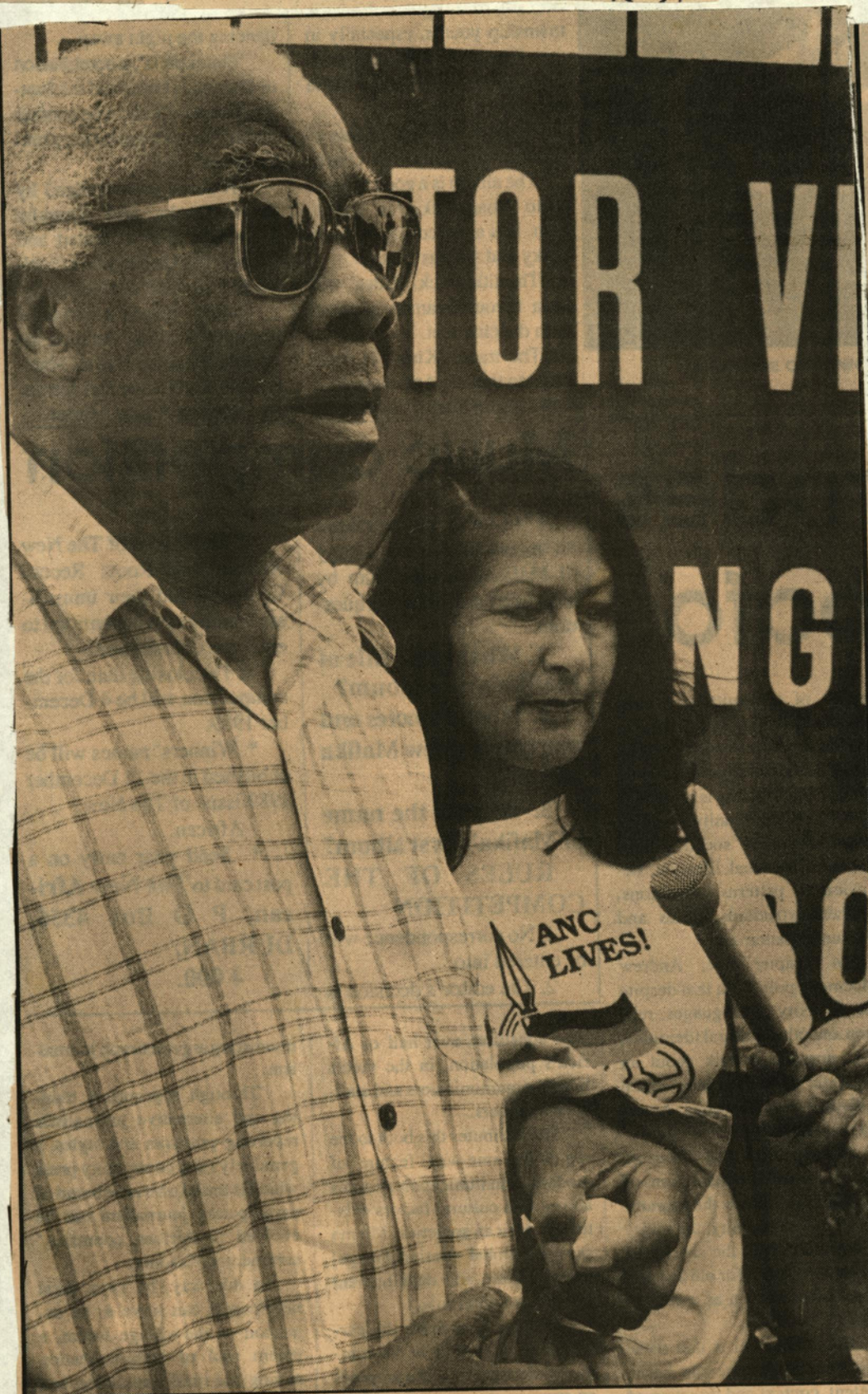
His brother, Solomon Nzama, said a third brother, Jwa, had been chased out of their home by their mother after a row in July. He is believed to be living with a 'warlord'.

'When we went with members of KwaZulu Police to the spot where my young brother's dead body lay, vigilantes hiding

TO PG 2

ANC's Mbeki honoured

The New African 4 December 1989



Govan Mbeki during his recent visit to ANC leader Nelson Mandela at Victor Verster prison. Pic: Eric Miller (Afrapix)

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Umlazi

NEW AFRICAN

council

4 DECEMBER 1989

allegations

By Mbongeni Khuzwayo

A PROMINENT councillor in the suspended Umlazi council has accused KwaZulu's Minister of Interior, Steven Sithebe, of deliberately prolonging the stalemate in the council.

Following a dispute among the councillors, the council is currently inoperative.

The councillor (who declined to be named) revealed that lawyers of the warring parties in Umlazi council would prefer an outside court settlement but Sithebe had not co-operated to break the logjam.

The lawyers are acting on behalf of the Umlazi Resident's Association, the suspended councillors and a former mayor, R.E.S. Mfeka.

Mfeka was recently granted an interdict restraining Umlazi councillors from proceeding with elections in the council.

The councillor who spoke to The New African disclosed that councillors were earning a mere R66 per month.

'We endure all kinds of difficulties, not least the people's lack of faith in the Local Authorities system, only to be paid peanuts.

'Sometimes we have to pay out of our own pockets for the council's activities,' he said.

He attacked Sithebe for a statement he allegedly made at a meeting between the suspended Umlazi councillors and Sithebe on November 13.

He said Sithebe had told them that he attached no significance to the elected councillors as their work was only to collect refuse and maintain sewerage systems.

He claimed Sithebe was biased in favour of the controversial Winnington Sabelo and Mfeka.

'After the minister's temperamental outburst at the meeting we concluded that the minister was not prepared to listen to our side of the story and to protect us as well,' he added.

He dismissed reports in the

Durban-based Zulu newspaper that Mfeka successfully prevented Umlazi councillors from going on with the elections, claiming that these 'misrepresented the facts.'

'The summons delivered in the council chamber from Mfeka's lawyers was brought on the same day as an order from the Minister of Interior suspending the council. Had it not been for the minister's intervention, we the councillors would have fought the order in court,' he said.

He said it was a mystery that the KwaZulu government had not cracked down on racketeers involved in the alleged embezzlement of building sites in the township. He claimed that the racketeers were well-known in the township and in the upper echelons of KZ government.

In response to the allegations, Sithebe said: 'I do not know who you are talking about when you refer to the Umlazi Resident's Association. I have nothing to do with that unknown person or persons. In fact, I am not even interested to know anything about that thing you call Umlazi Resident's Association. I have not been an impediment in any way to the settlement that Mfeka and company wish to arrive at.'

About his alleged prejudice in the meeting he said he had no reason to align himself with any side in the discussions held.

'That is why I reject the allegations with the contempt it deserves,' he added.

He claimed that the importance or non-importance of councillors was not an issue in the deliberations.

On the issue of the building sites he said that 'the KwaZulu government is trying to find those who wrongfully acquired a lion's share of the building sites at Umlazi. So far we have not concluded our investigations.'

He added that his government was against all forms of corruption.

Mpumalanga residents forced to flee

AN Mpumalanga couple were last month forced to flee their home with their nine children after police warned them that Mpumalanga was reserved for Inkatha people, and all others had to leave.

Now the family of 11 - who lived in their Unit 3 home for more than 20 years - is holing up in a one-bedroom home in Unit 4.

But here too they live in fear having seen a youth brutally

chopped to death.

In an affidavit, Gloria Gumede said that early in October Inkatha members looted the furniture and belongings from her home, leaving 'us standing in the clothes we were wearing.'

She said the next day two policemen came to her home.

Translating what the white policeman was saying, his African colleague said that people

with no political affiliations could not stay in Mpumalanga which was reserved for Inkatha people, Gumede said.

The family fled to a friend's home in Unit 3. Gumede said last Monday she saw a youth, Jabulani Sikhosana, shot by police and then attacked by vigilantes.

She said Sikhosana had tried to run away when policemen arrived at his home but 'he was shot

in the leg and he fell to the ground.' As Sikhosana fell to the ground, men armed with sticks and pangas hacked him to death, she said.

'They chopped him in the face so severely that I could not make out his face or head,' she said.

She added that this was done in police presence.

* The woman's name has been changed to protect her from reprisals.