> OwWe' i Ay arrive at definite decisions pendence or, alternatively, with xegai?io the bounda— in what manner they wish nes,powe:§ legislative and to be remoorp_orated back governmental structures of into South Africaâ\200\235.

the states, and to constitute these first before any progress can be made on the setting up of an interim governmentâ\200\235â\200\231.

An $\hat{a}\200\234$ enabling Act $\hat{a}\200\231\hat{a}\200\231$

- would be required, to pro-

v_ide for the formation of

This statement - which is

strongly presented as the

 \hat{a} 200\234only democratic option

available providing {the

right of a people to self-determination and for the recognition of vested rights 204 200 235 - is in obvious, and

ΑP

1 May

â\200\234drive for a popularly elected assembly, whether it be a unicameral constituent assembly as proposed by the ANC, or a bicameral interim parliament as proposed by the South African â\200\230Governmentâ\200\231.

" Running throughout the

document is a deep fear of $200\234$ majoritarian power $200\231$ – in other words, the three lead-

 $\mbox{$\hat{a}$\202$}\mbox{\neg.}$ an ingenious proposal for testing the wishes of

â\200\230electorates

constituent state legislators and governments.

At the core of this reasoning is a renewed insistence that $\hat{a}\geq 00\geq 34$ in the drafting of any future constitution, provisions concerning the

- position of the TBVC states

will need to recognise their

independence, allowing these states to decide for themselves whether they wish to retain their inde-

Buthelezi,

- fundamental, conflict withb

the contention of groups such as the ANC, which hold that the $a\200\234homelandsa\200\231a\200\231$ are cynical inventions of apartheid and should enjoy no such status.

The submission by the Mangope, Gqozo axis is the most comprehensive and firm

rejection to date of the

Τ

ers are mounting a' campaign to ensure that they can exercise influence before the national electorate is tested and pronotinces on which parties enjoy the - most support. Pessimistic

The document also sounds a pessimistic note regarding the possibility of holding timeously a free

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 $3 / _7 , \hat{a} / 200 / 230 iv _/f$

(992,

and fair national election. The implication is that South Africa is $a\200\234$ not ready $a\200\231$ for its first exercise in full democracy.

â\200\234It is (at local, metropolitan and regional/state
government level) that it should be decided what
powers states should be
prepared to devolve to a

 $\tilde{a}\200\235\hat{a}\200\231$ the

document says. Expectations

In the light of high expectations about broadbased agreement on the installation of an interim or transitional government in South Africabefore the end of the year, this authoritative glimpse into the thinking of the three $a\200\234$ homeland $200\231a\200\231$ leaders suggests that caution might be appropriate.

Itis difficult to reconcile this vision with that of the other key actors.

The more conservative $a\200\234$ homeland $200\231$ aleaders have sounded their warning to De Klerk. It remains to be seen whether they have the -power to act upon it, and thereby bend the negotiations process to their will.

```
F ai â\200\231r/ HEp
© RO0000 that Inkatha's
Inkatha is being blamed for all the prol}lemsfacmg
" the townships, their denials glossed over or
\tilde{\ } unheard. But this huge flood of finger-pointing 1s
actually feeding on itself. Far, from helping to solve
the constant violence, it is making it far worse.
One effect of the image of villiany is to create more
villians, writes DENIS BECKETT.
INKATHA as Goldstein. The parallel grows by
the day. In George Orwellâ\200\231s 1984, Goldstein was
a shadowy eminence, the proprietor of all glls;
When water was cut off, bread was lacking,
trains were late, any problem,
Goldstein froth.
In South Africa 1992 we have Inkatha to do
that job. Township rhetoric becomes ever more
simple: Inkatha is wicked, Inkatha is vicious,
Inkatha causes the problems.
" The result is a huge one-way flood of fin-
ger-pointing; which feeds upon itself. Inkathaâ\200\231s
case gets routinely trotted out on TV, in the
-deciplâ\200\230; ierable shateâ\200\224
i resident, but hardly anywhere
e T ok wound becomes branded .
as the wrecker, its people as the barbarians,
and the debate is closed right there. Whoso'eve, x;
argues is labelled an a\200\234Inkatha Vsympathlser
and therefore beyond the pale, so nobody
argues, certainly not in the cl_rcles of a\200\234respecta-
ble thinking\hat{a}200\235 and least of all in the circles of re-
_ form of interminable semi
else. On the ground level it
spectable black thinking.
Personally, I want to say, I donâ\200\231t see m):self
articularly as an â\200\234Inkatha sympathiserâ\200\235.. In
â\200\234fact 1 have about sixty thousand pgrsonal
being the
president once
reasons for failing to sympathise,
e s SR
" ofan avalanche of bandwagon thinking. -
Does Inkatha get a square deal? They say
no, naturally enough, and they have a point.
```

: When a middle-senior ANC character (Sam Ntuli, who by all accounts was genuinely a truly outstanding individual) is murdered on the East Rand, there is quite correctly a tidal wave of public and published outcry, accompanied, perhaps less correctly, by a good deal of

Inkatha-blaming innuendo. When shortly after-

wards an Inkatha deputy branch chairman is murdered nearby (by a grenade which also des* troys the house he was visiting and injures
- children in it) there is silence punctuated solely by a single reference in the 14th paragraph
(literally, I checked) of a single unrest report.
- When the house of an Inkatha Central
Committee member â\200\224 Musa Myeni â\200\224 is razed,
there is a small spate of small reports. If it hap-

pened to an equivalent ANC person. .. you can

 $a\200\234$ imagine. When Inkatha churns out reams of

documentation about targeted assaults on local leadership figures, these for the most part make little, if any, news. When bodies are thrown from trains that is $a\200\224$ justly $a\200\224$ big and very disturbing news but $a\200\224$ less justly $a\200\224$ uni—versally assumed that Inkatha is doing all or nearly all of the throwing. i
. Then, cherry on the top, come the alleged scientific analyses which are based on news reports and which demonstrate that Inkatha

. produces 95% of the aggressors and 5% of the

victims. Inkatha claims that this is compounding injury, since its victims arenâ\200\231t reported in

_ the first place, but Inkathaâ\200\231s claims feature in

paragraph 15 if they feature at all, and the image of villain $a\200\230$ ingrained.

 $/\text{Tnâ}\200\224m$. Wimvess

ay anc

Big Brotherâ\200\231s news machine would announce that . Gold-steinâ\200\231s agents had been sabotaging again and the populace would work itself up into an anti-

becomes ever more deeply

& 11

extracted from me for defamation. o

1 had published an article which originated in The Spectator and which was largely a
crack at the then incipient â\200\224 this was 1987 â\200\224
conventional wisdom which said that all black
thinking was represented by Desmond Tutu
and Winnie Mandela, and that Buthelezi was
largely a stooge to be dismissed from thought.
Buthelezi, said the article, could â\200\234not be
simply wished away no matter how unlikeatgle
you might consider him â\200\224 and indeed, it said,

he was â\200\234nauseatingly pompousâ\200\235 and his Inkatha impis were \hat{a} 200\234among the most thuggish operatorsin South Africaâ\200\235. . Chief Buthelezi promptly sued me and wound up with R12 000 in damages, which was - small in relation to the costs. In the end some deeper pockets than mine saved me from having my house attached by the Deputy Sheriff, a possibility that at one point had loomed large, but to'this day I remain slightly sore and some day I am going to relate the whole bizarre tale â\200\224 Buthelezi in the Supreme Court witness box talking about the size of his hat; a major newspaper inexplicably backing down from the same suit; the extraordinary propensity of " legal procedure to obstruct common sense, the eerie silence of the press establishment which later went delirious over a much lesser suit brought against me by the editor of the Citizen; the lot. ! y ; But wounded feelings aside, . the Inkatha issue now raises broad questions. One of these is the principle of fair play, which ls_now.oftep treated as quaintly antique and as just a nuisance when $a\200\234$ everybody knows $a\200\235$ who the bad guys are, but which for my money 18 something

to be especially zealously protected in the face

One effect of the image of villain is to create more villainy. My own ears have heard one old-time hostel dweller (and second-hand'I am - told this is a common phenomenon) haltingly-explain that he is now too frightened to travel alone, as he always used to. He gets

 $\tilde{\ }$ insulted, he has been spat at, and heâ\200\231s scared.

So he travels now only in convoy. :

1 shudder at the thought of this convoy. As he speaks to me this man comes across as humble and modest and decent. I hate to think what happened when he is one of a convoy of 30 or 100, who may all individually have nothing more in mind than to get home to dinner and bed. Mob psychosis is bound to take over, and mob psychosis is an awful thing at the best of times, let alone when youâ\200\231re labouring under a deep belief that your mob is being derided and marginalised by the people around you.

What happens when this convoy comes across someone who looks as if he, were the numerical tables turned, would be giving them a hard time? One doesnâ\200\231t like to think. Afterwards we have a fresh spate of conspiracy theories, and blame directed at the Inkatha

- leadership. What happens when a sergeant and
_three constables are supposed to disarm this

convoy? The police beat a swift retreat, at best

- steer a force they cannot control into its home
" base. Afterwards we have a spate of allegations

about complicity and duplicity from the police.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ We're in a vicious cycle. I don $\hat{a}\200\231$ t suggest that a change in public rhetoric stands to promptly end it. I do suggest that the general determination to hang the dog with the bad name is doing the opposite of ending the violence.

With acknowledgments to the Sunday Star $\,$

05 â\200\224F2

Inkatha

AT Codesa last week, management committee chairman Mr Pravin Gordhan announced with palpable relief that a \(\frac{2}{200} \) 234breakthrough \(\frac{2}{200} \) 231 \(\frac{2}{231} \) and b een \(\frac{2}{200} \) 234breakthrough \(\frac{2}{2

achieved on the fraught question of the reincorporation of the $a\200\234$ home- &

landsâ\200\235â\200\231 into the future South Africa.

One doesnâ\200\231t begrudge Gordhan his enthusiasm - the poor man has had precious little substantive progress to report from Codesaoflate - butit would be wise to treat this latest statement with a measure of caution.

Agreement

There is principled (for which read abstract) agreement from the leaders of the $\frac{3}{200}\frac{234}{200}^231\frac{200}{231}$ and $\frac{200}{234}$ self-governing $\frac{200}{231}$ states that reincorporation might be the best option for their territories.

More importantly, there is aningenious proposal for testing the wishes of these electorates on the question of reincorporation at the

- same time as they voteé inan all-in national election.

But there is not agreement on how such reincorporation should oc-

cur. Difficult

To get a sense of how difficult a question this is, and will be, one need only consider the contents of a document presented by three \(\frac{200}{234} \) to State President FW de Klerk recently.

When the unlikely grouping of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, President Lucas Mangope and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo

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Sowetan cbrrespondent]

met De Klerk at Tuynhuys, they delivered a blunt message - the echoes of which could reverberate for some time to come in South Africaâ\200\231s negotiating chambers.

Clearly alarmed by the speed at which the transition towards a new central Government is proceeding, the three warned the President that the powers of the peripheries (particularly the â\200\234independentâ\200\231â\200\231 and â\200\234self-governingâ\200\231â\200\231 states) would have to be defined and accepted before the shape of the centre (a new Government for areunified South Africa) could even be discussed.

This is more than just a technical nicety. It is a political platform which, if successfully promoted, could well dictate the pace of political and constitutional change.

Confidential

Inaconfidential 16-page document presented to De Klerk by Buthelezi on behalf of the three leaders, itis argued that the new regional or \$\200\234\state\(^200\231\) boundaries within South Africa should be formalised and constituted before the setting up of an interim government or parliament.

To this end, the three

leaders concur, it might be

necessary to conclude processes of negotnatnon withi

sthese â\200\234statesâ\200\231â\200\231, which would then come together to negotiate a federal arrangement - not the other way around.
Radical
This is a radical proposal. It implies that the redivision of South Africa involving some sort o

patching together into new

units of the myriad extan bas $\tilde{A} \odot$ s of provinces, homelands, developmentregions and the like would take place before all-in elections.

The submission, which is couched in broad terms, does not spell out how such new divisions would be arrived at, save to suggest that this is a matter for negotiation.

In separate discussions, Inkatha Freedom Party officials have given as an example the possibility of unity negotiations between the Bophuthatswana government and authorities in the surrounding (whiterun) regions.

Decisions

The document argues

thatitis now $\hat{a}\200\234$ imperative to

LUCAS MANGOPE

MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZ |

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- Page 10 : SOWETAN M

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Teleplhone (011) 474-0128 /

HE rapid transfer of power to vr\
representative government is the
- only effective way to bury the rotten
corpse of apartheid.

A wave of revelations last week about staggering corruption and convincing new allegations of State complicity in thekilling of activists, shows the National Party government to have compounded its illegitimacy by misrule and venality.

Reasonable people gave President FW de Klerk the benefit of the doubt when he claimed last year that scandals like the activities of the CCB and Inkathagate were a legacy of the $200\234$ total onslaught $200\231\200\231$ era.

He had also firmly dismissed claims of a state-sponsored $a\200\234$ third force $a\200\231$ a as an attempt to besmirch the security forces.

It is clear that the true extent of apartheidâ\200\231s evil and corruption lies unexposed like the submerged section of an iceberg.

How many more scandals can we expect?

What we do know, however, is that we are governed by liars and cheats who cannot be allowed to govern much longer.

This weekâ $\200\231s$ Codesa 2 plenary session, against this backdrop, takes on a new significance.

The Nats, who were hoping to dictate matters at Codesa after a storming referendum victory on March 17, go to the World Trade Centre this week with a limp.

De Klerkâ $\200\231s$ credibility has taken an enormous beating and organisations like the ANC must now push firmly for an interim government and an elected constituent assembly on their terms.

-~ The institution of an interim government now transcends the jockeying for power and inter-party rivalry.

There is an urgent need to bring the present government and the entire state apparatus at its disposal under proper control.

A failure to do so will make it highly unlikely that South Africa will experience a peaceful transition to democracy.

HE writing is on the wall for the I dictatorship of Malawiâ\200\231s Kamuzu Banda. $_$

The disturbances in the African state last week are probably the first real indication that the country $200\231$ s people are fed up with the rule of their ageing president-for-life.

Banda has ruled Malawi with an iron fist since independence in 1964 and in 1971 outlawed all opposition.

The doughty Banda, however, can no longer keep Africaâ\200\231s â\200\234winds of democracyâ\200\231â\200\231 from his land-locked country.

Like Zambia $\hat{a}\200\231s$. Kenneth Kaunda, he should step aside gracefully and save his country from unnecessary strife and bloodshed. $\hat{a}\200\230$

Page 11

State credibil

е

By JOE MDHLELA - LATEST allegations that the Government was involved in the assassination of three activists have given the De Klerk governmentâ\200\231s credibility a big knock.

In an article published last week, the New Nation, claimed that the order to have Cradock Residents Association members Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calataand Mbulelo Goniwe executed was made by General CP van der Westhuizen of the South

â\200\234frican Defence Forceâ\200\231s intelligence unit.

The decision was made by the State Security $a\200\234$ ouncil in 1985, in a meeting attended by Mr FW ie Klerk, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and the

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ ormer State President, Mr PW Botha, the paper claimed. :

 $a\200\234$ The man who signed their death warrant is

- General CP van der Westhuizen, $\hat{a}200\235\hat{a}200\231$ the newspaper. claimed. It published a hand-written document in which the order (to have the three killed) was given. . :

The document was addressed from the Eastern

Province Joint Management Centre to the secretariat of the SCC in Pretoria, the newspaper said.

Inthearticle, the New Nation said it could not get

- De Klerkâ\200\231s response to the exposÃ \odot .

Two weeks after the message was transmitted, Goniwe, Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlauli, were found slain, their bodies strewn on the roadside in the Eastern Cape.

The four had to be eliminated because of their $a\200\234$ importance $a\200\231$ a $200\231$.

The document, which was marked $a\200\234$ extremely secret $a\200\231$ (uiters geheim), was for the personal attention of General Van Rensburg/Brigadier van der Westhuizen.

_ Itreadsinpart: $\hat{a}\200\234...$ itis proposed that the above-mentioned persons are permanently removed from society, as a matter of urgency. .. widespread reaction can be expected, locally as well as nationally, because of the importance of these persons .

The newspaper interpreted the phrase $\hat{a}200\234$ permanently removed from society $\hat{a}200\231\hat{a}200\231$, as calling for their killing.

Both De Klerk and Botha denied the Governmentâ $200\231s$ involvement or approval of the assassination of the four activists.

Said Pik Botha in a television interview on Friday evening: $a\200\234$ I know nothing of this allegation. Icompletely deny any Governmenta $200\231$ s involvement

init.â\200\235â\200\231

The South African Press Association quoted De Klerk as saying: $\hat{a}\200\234$ At no stage was this or similar cases discussed or considered by the Cabinet or the State Security Council.:

 $\arraycolumn{2}{l} 200\234Any insinuation that the Cabinet or the State Security Council any other crime truth. <math display="inline">\arraycolumn{2}{l} 200\235$

He said no stone would be left untu; achieve the full truth. i

 $a\200\234$ The acting Attorney-General of the Eastern

at any stage is devoid of all the

planned or approved murder or

itv on the line

Cape has already instructed the re-opening of the inquest into the deaths of the deceased. Judge jpresident NW Zietsman will preside at the in{ quest,â\200\235â\200\235 De Klerk told Sapa at the weekend. | ColonelJohn Rolt of the SADF said the military ' regretted the fact that New Nation did not see it fit | to provide defence force with the document it is [basing its allegations on. | â\200\234Despite the fact that the Defence Force has not been given an opportunity to study the document, the matter will be investigated as a matter of urgency,â\200\235â\200\235 Rolt said.

He said it was curious that his department is accused of atrocities, yet the very same people who claim tobe in possession of material evidence deny them access to it.

Roltsaid it should be appreciated that the alleged document was said to have been written in 1985.

 $\hat{a}\200\234\mbox{We}$ need to go to our archives before we can come up with acomprehensive response, $\hat{a}\200\235\hat{a}\200\235$ he said.

However the newspaper suggested that Rolt declined to comment $\hat{a}\200\234$ and this was in spite of the fact that the New Nation gave all the details of the document $\hat{a}\200\231\hat{a}\200\231$.

The report did not make it clear whether the newspaper was willing to provide the security force with the document in their possession.

The New Nation went on to suggest that $\hat{a}200\234$ there is little doubt that the SCC, the central command structure of the National Security Management Systems, has been and remains at the cgntre of violent destabilisation inside and outside South Africa. $\hat{a}200\235$

ANCâ\200\231s head of the department of information, Dr Pallo Jordan, said: \hat{a} \200\234This (revelation) supports our long-held belief that the security forces have been behind the killing of our people. The Govern-

Jordan demanded that an independent inquiry be instituted as a matter of urgency to establish the role the security forces are playing in the destabilisation of the black community.

Whether the assurance by De Klerk that he and the Government would do everything to $rev\tilde{A}$ Oal the truth would please him, remains to be seen.

But there can be no doubt that the credibility of the Government has taken a serious knock, and that these new allegations will impact on Codesa and the seriousness of the reform initiatives of the De Klerk Government.

ment has misled us into believing that the covert :

operations have ceased. $\hat{a}\200\235\hat{a}\200\231$

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MONDAY MAY 17 1992 i,
Codesa hop ho pe
Meeting (o Prepare for , plenaty Sesslofl which |
Wil reach agreement, we may hope, on the next
Steps forwarg {0 a new ¢, stitution, ¢ f approveq
by thejr Principajg in the NP, the ANC, Inkatha
ly a
Constitutiona) assembly draft the new
Constitution, ; addition rformin
â\202¬gislative functions of 8overnment i, the interip;
pe I also Iy N guidelifies ¢,
be foâ\200\235ow d in the drafn'ng of the new
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Itis Proposed that the electton of an interim
government wjj] ¢, ke place on 5 basis of Universg)
franchise and propomonal represent hon with a
signi\ddot{u}^201cant-devolution of power o th egions
built into the electors] System, and 1'%
safeguards jp a bill of rights,
Just ag 1mponant will be the â\202¬ proposals to
ensure fajr play in the election, Jt j Proposed tha¢
esa II be asked to set up transmona] multj-
party executive Structureg Which wij | pe given
Statutory powery in the Supervision of the secy security
forces, the State-oontrolled Mmedia apg the
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Cape Tlmes

By HUGH CORDER

Civil Rights League
IT WAS surely not coincidental that the acronym Code-SA (felicitously bilingual Kode-SA) was so energetically propagated to describe the events occurring at the World Trade

the past six months.

For, except for the fascinating verbatim television broadcast of the two-day plenary session just before Christmas 1991, the South African public has had to be satisfied with snippets of press-conferences (more like opportunities for

olitical groups to pour scorn \hat{a} 200\230 fellow participants in Code-

A), cryptic news releases (usually a summary statement of conclusions reached after much political wrangling), bellicose undermining of the whole enterprise by those who 'are not party to the formal power-play (often by their own choice), and what appears to be stubborn obstructionism as a principle of politics (indulged in by Chiefs Buthelezi and Mangope).

Democratic

These proceedings are intended to be steering this country in the direction of a democratic future (as the full version of Code-SA would have us believe). One of the founding pillars ofydemocracy is the accountability of the governors to their subjects. Between popular elections, probably $a\200\231$ hief means through which A untability is sought is through the publicâ\200\231s right to know what kind of people are in government, what powers they exercise, what policies they pursue, etc.

Crucial to the right to know is an openness of approach by the powerful and the duty of the media to inform the public. In a country in which roughly half the adult population cannot read or write and the elec-

tronic media are funded by the public, a special responsibility rests on the SABC's television and radio services.

The SABC treats us to endless interviews with its own political correspondents (some of whom are perceptive and knowledgeable, most of whom are indefatigably long-winded), televised â\200\234news confer-

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Centre in Kempton Park over o

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of rumour

STUBBORN ... Chiefs Buthelezi (left) and Mapgppe, who appear to be pursuing a policy of obstructionism.

encesâ\200\235 (in which much of the visual content consists of images of news-photographers, fellow journalists and camera crews!), and Agenda \hat{a} \200\234discus-sionsâ\200\235 (in which one can be forgiven for believing that several hidden \hat{a} \200\234agendasâ\200\235 are being played out \hat{a} \200\224 old habits die hard).

This morning (May 6), Radio
Today carried an interview
with SABC correspondent Lester Venter, who told us how
difficult it was for the participants themselves, let alone the
Jjournalists, to keep up with de-

velopments!)(

Secrecy

The print media (with singular exceptions) are marginally better, but most reporting is tucked away on the inside pages, and a\200\234analyticala\200\235 pieces are seldom encountered: hard-

ly a fulfilment of their $\operatorname{much}-X$

vaunted independence and public service function.

One appreciates that government in South Africa has long

been characterised by paranoid $a\200\234$ official secrecy $200\231\200\235$ and an

imperious style, where $a\200\234Men$ eer-die-Ministerâ\200\235 knows better and the long-suffering public must obey unquestioningly. One readily acknowledges, too, that political compromise and negotiation can often be achieved more effectively and expeditiously if engaged in behind closed doors. That the public should be fobbed IT with ¢rumbs of tumotr and someé ¢rusts of information from the hegotiating tabl® at this vital time_in_our condtitutional history is _intolerable; a\200\224towever,; -doubly so Whel some of the delegations at Code-SA have loudly proclaimed the virtues of democratic and open government. It helps not to reply: $a\200\2340h$, but tHÃOse are only discussions i¬\201bi¬\201utâ\200\230tâ\200\230fa*ni¬\201nmmâ\200\230arrai¬\202fe-Mmefits, \hat{a} \200\235 Yor the Shape of those plans wil'iave a considerable tional form. Tn addition, Code $a\200\230$ is $a\200\231$ apparently drawing up a : :iï¬\201ï¬\202u'e'ï¬\201ï¬\201é onthe Tinal constitdlist of constitutional principles which will form the building blocks of the fiutute constitution and Bill 6f Rights. It is not $ooi \sqrt{202 \hat{A}} : \hat{a} \sqrt{200} \sqrt{231} = nohgh that$ some clever â\200\230Publi¢ relations agency be called in, once the talking is ovet, tâ\$ 8Ã@ll the final product to the people before an eleétion for 8 constituent assembly, i g ; The foll6WItiE 'quÃ@stions in particular fieed â\202¬larification: ©Â® How were thé 10 'delegations to Code-SA â\200\230SÃ@lectÃ@d? ® Which organisations were not granted patticipation rights?: 0 7 AT \hat{A} ® Who are the d \tilde{A} ©legates and \hat{a} \200\230 advisers to edchâ\200\231organisation, (what are their backgrounds, how were thÃ@y thosen? . $\hat{A} \odot \hat{A} \otimes \hat{A} \otimes$ partii¬\201pating â\200\230h;lâ\200\230thÃ@h of the ' $\hat{a}\200\234$ working groups $\hat{a}\200\235$? ' d

.Howdhg! \hat{a} \200\230 :ea mele ation attempted to inform and con-

sult with its:membÃ@rship and the general publfe? = |

The Civil Right¥ Léagie has been fighting fotrâ\200\234democratic government at all levels sivce 1948. An important part 6f our work has beén publié¢ education. We are distressed by the

nvo the media

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oe - oceur, the finshed product will have little chance of legitithaey in the eyes of the publies (/v O Professor Corder teaches in the Law Faculty at' UCT. â\200\230 b

Only hope is new â\200\234political party

IN an interview on TV2/3 recently, an ANC spokes-man was asked whether he was not concerned that the policies he was advocating would â\200\234â\200\231kill the hen that laid the golden eggsâ\200\235. Scarcely able to control his leering contempt, he corrected the interviewer.

 $a\200\234$ Not the hen, XYZ, the chicken. $a\200\235$

The chicken!

If the Nats cannot be stopped, then as surely as the night follows the day our destinies and those of our children will be in the charge of men such as this.

Most liberal leaders lack the vision to lead us out of the wilderness. They have long since forgotten that liberalism was founded on principles. and now. dismiss men of principle as \(\frac{200}{230\text{\frac{230}{235}}} \) or \(\frac{3}{200}{234\text{\frac{230}{235}}} \).

The old-guard CP leadership are losers who look set to go down with futile whining about forengn in:

"; \hat{a} 200\2347"#9 ERCE v f, \hat{a} 200\234@ \hat{a} \200\230 thq : money power .

Mr

 $\tilde{}$ The - many - nomWh te -

moderates are flounder-ingâ $\200\231$ without a coherent programme, and will go with the Nats for want of an alternative.

It seems to me that our only hope is a new political party that unites the reasonable volkstaters with the huge majority of reasonable Whites, Zulus, other moderates, Coloureds, Asians. and the rural poor.

Their aims should be:

 \hat{A} ® Acceptance of a sov- \hat{a} 200\230ereign volkstaat of modest size.

@ A free society based

on the principle of liberty under law.

® A federal system with the central government responsible for security and security alone.

® Massive reparations to the formerly oppressed funded from wholesale privatisation of all non-military assets.

® Recognition of the need to conserve an environment under attack.

How about it, Koos?
Mr Boshoff?

Time is running out. GRANTLAND BRAY

Houghton

Service, please

I AND million others pay Telkom our monthly accounts for â\200\234servicesâ\200\235. I am unable to bar 087 numbers only, and my account this month is up 72 percent on the units con-

sumed, compared with the last 12 months.

As there is no- competmoqâ\200\230, we have to grin and

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Try and book a trunk

call and dial 0020. I have

waited on the line for up to 20 minutes while a pre-recorded message states, $a\geq 00\geq 34$ Please be patient your call will be answered $200\geq 35$. When, I wonder? Come

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Foreign Service
'MELBOURNE: The Australian media -
magnate and the countryâ\200\231s richest man,
Kelgg'xi?gcker, returned home yester-
egas raid
day after a lightning raid on the Las
Vegas casinos, which netted him R14
million.\hat{a}\200\231 /11 = \hat{A}¥k o
He was accompanied by his 25-year-
old son and heir, Jamie, who was more
of a spectator than a participant, -
Mr Packer is known as one of the
biggest gamblers and also one of the
biggest tippers in Las Vegas and this
\hat{a} \setminus 202 \neg was no exception.
., After his winning run he handed out
\hat{a}\200\230 \hat{a}\200\230\ddot{a}\202gaand gratuities worth R1,2-million
" \tilde{A}©prc:\hat{a}\200\230odpiers and staff. = \tilde{a}
a\200\230Body discovered in sea
THE body of an unidentified Indian
: | man was found floating in the sea at
Beachwood, Durban North, at the ¢
Polic, e\hat{a}\200\2317 said the man, gged ab&ut 38,
had several wounds on his head, throat
and chest and was dressed only in his
underpants. Durban Murder and Rob-
bery Unit detectiveg are investiggting.
â\200\224Crime Reporter
  Race relations worries |
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NEW YORK: In the wake of the Los

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Angeles riots, most Americans are
alarmed at the state of race relations
 in the United States and think the Gov-
ernment isnâ\200\231t doing â\200\230enough for cities, s,a%a \ddot{a}^201o\ddot{a}02 '~ L
[, The New York Times-CBS News poll
| published today found a majority of
those xro; sponsd:nga^200^230 view the riots as a -
| â\200\234warningâ\200\235 â\200\224Sapa-AP
Soccer: two more die
BT ety
e collapse of a temporary grands
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died yesterday, raising the death tol]
from â\200\230,.,esdaasstrasfgtoli¬\201e !
_ Thierry Giampietri and Patrice Rao
å\200\230than 700 injured
when the stand collapsed. \hat{a}200\224Sapa-AP
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African states unlikely to benefit from majority rule here

~ The begging bowls

BMRY NEw ¢

may stay empty

he debate on South Afri-

caâ\200\231s future role in the sub-

continent is too simplistic

and fails to understand the political and economic problems confronting countries in the region, says a prominent African academic.

African states are nursing unrealistic hopes that a democratic South Africa will pull them out of the economic quagmire, says Professor Fantu Cheru, assistant professor of African Development Studies at the American University in Washington, DC, who has just completed a term as a visiting Bradlow Fellow at the SA Institute of International Affairs in Johannesburg.

«rhe SADCC states believe that a democratic South Africa could become the locomotive of economic growth in Southern Africa and beyond by providing the neighbouring countries with capital investment, technol-

ogy, and access to markets, \hat{a} \200\235 says \hat{a} \200\231

Professor Cheru.

But l{: pelieves that the challenges facing majority-ruled South Africa at home will be such that it will have neither the resources nor the political will to be generous to its neighbours.

In an article to appear in the institute $3200\231$ s bulletin, Professor Cheru says these inflated expectations of the republic $3200\231$ s future role are fuelled by the new political mood in Pretoria and within the country $3200\231$ s business community. In reality, he says, both South Africa and African governments in the sub-continent know very little about each other $3200\231$ s strengths and weaknesses.

In fact, he says, South Africa and its neighbours face very similar political and economic challenges of structural reform and adjustment under deteriorating international conditions.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ If one goes by the experience of sub-Saharan Africa over the last decade, fundamental restructuring to L'cieate an enabling economic and po-

11 -05~9%

A visiting American professor believes that the challenges facing a majority-ruled South Africa will be such that it will have neither the resources nor the political will to be generous to its neighbours.

BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI of The â\200\230Daily News Africa Service reports from Johannesburg.

R SR NS

litical environment will prove to be difficult, time-consuming and politically risky in that immediate pay-offs are unlikely.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ South Africans need to know the painful reality that the majority of sub-Saharan African governments are completely broke.

 $\hat{a}\200\234All$ governments in the region have been hard hit by falling terms of trade and a rising international debt burden which is now estimated to be more than \$260 billion. $\hat{a}\200\235$

Professor Cheru says while some countries have improved their short-term trade positions, few have gained

in any of the indicators that measure

real, sustainable development.

 $\hat{a}\200\234Rather,$ most have slid backwards into growing inequality, environmental degradation, de-industrialisation and poverty. $\hat{a}\200\235$

He says by most conventional economic indicators, such as the ratio of debt to GNP, sub-Saharan Africaâ\200\231s debt burden was equivalent to 97 percent of its GNP, compared to 46 percent for Latin America.

The debt burden, he says, has reduced the amount of foreign exchange available to purchase imports, leading to severe import strangulation, hold-

-ing back new investments and even the maintenance of existing capital stocks.

In addition, the major capitalist

wers are losing interest in' the continent as they move to greener pastures in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

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African governments are far from creating an enabling environment conducive to greater intra-regional trade and investnient. Too many unnecessary and bureaucratic barriers, import controls and customs hold-ups hinder the movement of goods and

ple between countries.

â\200\234Policy-makers in South Africa, despite their over-exaggerated optimism, should take note of these problems before jumping on policies that will have very little return in the long-term, â\200\235 Prof Cheru warns.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ African governments must also understand South Africa $\hat{a}\200\231$ s structural social and economic realities. The injustices of apartheid have left the majority of South Africans with poor living standards and insufficient opportunites for employment and housing.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ As apartheid ends, high expectations will demand more social expenditure on education, health and housing. Activists want jobs in the new bureaucracy, peasants want white farmland and trade unions want a minimum wage and $a\200\231$ worker control of some enterprises. $a\200\235$;

A new democratic government will pay more attention to these domestic issues and less to regional concerns.

Professor Cheru says it is difficult to see how the domestic economy, which has been in crisis since the early 1980s, can mobilise the investment funds needed to redress the damage done by apartheid and restore the economy to reasonable growth.

While there will be a post-apartheid dividend, this will be inadequate for the task ahead without a significant injection of foreign capital. -

â\200\234The economy is unlikely to generate any significant surplus to contribute to the development and growth of the rest of Africa. The exclusively white economy will have to be redirected first toward the rehabilitation of the underdeveloped section

of the black majority.

 $\hat{a}\200\234After$ all, charity begins at home. $\hat{a}\200\235$

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Services Minister Adriaan Viok
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Friday that SAP Constable Tha.
* lani Philip Choeni; convicted in
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-and oné of attémpted murder
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pants of a flat near Emipan-
\hat{a}\200\230geni, was released earlier: this
- year after serving 17 months of
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respectively by President PW -
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-.were released \hat{a}200\230in July in terms -
; of President de Klerkâ\200\231s offer of
remission of sentence for i¬\202zst
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COMMENT TR

AIDS at work $\hat{a}\200\224$

suit in the Industrial Court re-.

lated to AIDS has been a long

time in coming, but the sooner the court sets guidelines on the issue the better. Although the rate of increase in the incidence of the disease appears to be slowing in South Africa, following the patterns of Europe and North America, it will nevertheless be with us for many years to come.

As reported last week, a chartered accountant plans to bring an action against a management training company alleging that he was unfairly dismissed after telling his

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ employer he had been diagnosed as HIV positive. The company $\hat{a}\200\231$ s defence will be that the dismissal had to do with financial irregularities and was not linked to any health considerations.

It will be for the court to decide who is telling the truth in this respect. It is a matter of some irony that a company whose function is to train good managers is the respondent, given that the case raises a

~host of complex management and public policy issues. ,

There is no rational reason for individuals to be discriminated against in the workplace purely because they are HIV carriers or have been diagnosed as suffering from AIDS. Medical research has advanced sufficiently to assure us that

THE first unfair labour practice

the chances of AIDS being transmit-

ted to fellow workers, customers or clients, simply through the carrying out of normal employment func-

tions, are so slim as to be virtually nil. As a law journal article on the subject pointed out: â\200\234Yes, you can get AIDS at a restaurant or in a public toilet, but neither is a com-

fortable place to have $sex.a\200\235$

There are possibly some rare exceptions, says a first aid worker, and here the safety of people with whom such a worker would professionally deal would have to be taken into account in determining whether their state of health should affect their right to work. But this is an exception and does not apply to the average white or blue collar employee.

Naturally, once any individual afflicted by AIDS becomes unable, due to the severity of his or her illness, to carry out his work adequately, the employment relationship would have to change. But this should be according to the same standards applied to people suffering from any similarly debilitating disease.:

A more complicated problem would arise if an HIV carrierâ\200\231s colleagues, through ignorance, demand the transfer or dismissal of that individual, threatening a distruption of work if their wishes are not carried out. This would put the employer in an invidious position.

" But that is where AIDS education

comes in. As time passes the value of these education programmes will become increasingly apparent, and the most intelligent employers should start right now if they have not already done so.

- Moral decay

President F W de Klerk and his

Cabinet colleagues fully grasp

the enormity of multiple blows
their credibility suffered over the
past week. The list is breathtaking:
the Trust Feed judgment; the halfhearted inquiry into the cover-up
which characterised the early days
of the investigation into the massacre; the disclosures of the operations of the Development Aid Department headed over time by some
of todayâ\200\231s senior Ministers; and finally the New Nation and Weekly
Mail disclosures about the rot in the
security forces from the apartheid
era to the present.

When, at the time of the Inkathagate scandal last July, De Klerk chose not to make a clean breast of the detail of the dirty tricks that had been carried out in the name of

: IT IS not altogether clear that

state security, he was warned that new disclosures would come back to haunt him at regular intervals. They did so with a vengeance last week. And it is becoming increasingly difficult for him credibly to land the blame on junior officials. The smell of moral decay can be felt at all levels of government.

Judicial inquiries are the proper place for investigations into alleged state-sponsored political murders and government corruption. We trust that, in his mcglliry into the Goniwe case, Judge Zietsman will not be asked to rely purely on De Klerkâ\200\231s denial that the murders were discussed at the State Security Council. He must be given full access to minutes and all other documentation. The public interest demands no less.

- ~ Yviiive oricer sentenced to die for massacre in South Africa
- . By Bill Schiller
 + ;. TORONTO STAR :

JOHANNESBURG $a\200\224'A$ white South African dp $a\200\231$ olice captain was sentenced to death yesterday for his role in the massacre of 11 blacks. - v .

Four other. junior officers, all black, were sentenced to an effective 15 years in the slayings in Trust.Feed settlement, outside Pietermaritzburg, Natal, in December, 1988. ?

The landmark case was the first time a group of police officers has been convicted of a mass killing despite repeated accusations of security force involvement in black township violence.

Judge Andrew Wilson passed

the death sentence on Capt. Brian -

Mitchell before a packed public llery in the:supreme court in ietermaritzburg. @ . â\200\230Â¥ Al_thouï¬\2011; judges are still passing death been carried out since President F.W. de Klerk announced a moratorium on executions two years ago. i 'Mitchell and the team of four were convicted last week on 11 counts of murder.

. The five-month trial revealed a

well-planned police strategxfto wipe out sgrporters of the African National Congress, known at the time as supporters of the' United Democratic Front

- . Testimony indicated a and,
- . \hat{a} \200\230again. that, \hat{A} » nclgkgtehlgd ,meggi ._

sentences, none has

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UDF as the enemy. $a\200\234$ felt as a soldier at that time,

in a civil war, \hat{a} \200\235 he said. \hat{a} \200\234I felt

entitled to kill the UDF. \hat{a} \200\235

On Saturday, Dec. 3, 1988, he planned to do just that.

The day before, the police arrested leading members of the UDF-supporting residentsâ\200\231 association in Trust Feed, declared a night curfew, then burned their houses to the ground.:

The homes of other UDF supporters had been searched and any weapons had been seized.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The aim was to make it ea for Inkatha to wipe out the UD once and for all? $\hat{a}\200\235$ Wilson asked during the trial.

å\200\234Yes, â\200\235 Mitchell

That night, inside

onded.

e home of

.the Sithole family, house TF83,

19 peoFle were attending a funeral vigi

gil.

The service had ended after midnight and all those inside $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 24$ complying with the curfew $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 24$ began to bed down: men in the first room, women and children in the second and third rooms.

- A single candle was kept lit out of respect for the deceased.

Then at 3 a.m. on Saturday, Mitchell arrived in a police pickur truck with four special constables armed with shotguns.

The police moved in firing through both the back windows and front entrance.

A witness who later came upon the massacre scene described a floor caked in blood; one woman

vail, Friday, May 1§1992-

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cember, 1988, believing the resi-
dents to be \hat{a}200\234terrorists\hat{a}200\235 of the anti-\hat{A}\frac{\hat{4}}{3}$
with a shotgun cartridge still
lodged in her nostril; two small -
boys dead, side by side, in the
fetal position.
Eleven people were fatally shot
\hat{a}200\230and el ht wounded. The bodies
of the dead were extensively mu-
tilated.
A police video unit was called
in to film the victims, in a propa-
anda effort to illustrate prob-
Eems with black-on-black vio-
lence.
Relatives were first made to
 . carry the bodies outside, then a
police voice-over described the
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a[)parent black massacre. Mitch-
ell later got a promotion. _
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Front. Judge Wilson said Capt. ~
Mitchell had abused his position
in planning to kill innocent peo--,
ple \hat{a}200\234whose sole fault wassup-
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to which he was opposed.\hat{a}\200\235
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- Page:3 '

THE Pan Africanist Congress, African National Congress and the South African Council of Churches will meet today to discuss a programme for the visiting Organisation of Africa Unity delegation which arrived in the country yesterday.

The delegation, consisting of five ambassadors based at OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa, was welcomed by senior PAC members and includes Chief Segun Olusola of Nigeria, Mr J Bendjama of Algeria, OAU secretary-general Mr Norbert Ngova, Mr Javan Kulary of Uganda and Mr Tranos Makombe of Zimbabwe.

The PAC \hat{a} 200\231s publicity director, Mr Wa-

AU in to probe violence

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ters Toboti, said afterwards that the purpose of the delegation \$\200\231s\$ visit was expressly to monitor the ongoing violence in the country - not to attend the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

He said that PAC national organiser Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani had impressed on the delegation on arrival that the PAC did not link the role of the OAU inmonitoring violence with the OAU inCodesa2 and that the PAC did not condone participation of the OAU in Codesa.

The PAC would discuss the delegation $a \200\231s$ programme today with the ANC and the SACC, Toboti said.

However, the OAU delegationâ\200\231s leader, Chief Olusola, hinted shortly after they arrived that they would like to attend Codesa as observers. - Sapa.

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gimeâ\200\235 and Transnet to quell the violence apqg en-

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ngs,

adequate security be pro. ,

vided and that victims. of attacks pe COmpensate(, While Perpetrators ,re brought to Justice, large Proportion of our security forces, paid Y already over-burdened Mainly-White taxpayers, are ¢ ing to bring control to Black areas â\200\224 why, | â\202¬annot upder. ince thejr efforts are always denigrated! Since "the

the country ypgovernable by Promoting
Violence, | find it rather
ironic that these Same
dies are now calling for
the Protection of â\200\234their
Ppeopleâ\204¢ by the â\200\234apartheid regime â\204¢ and, in addition, are demanding re-

Compense frop, the tax-Payer whose Country they are destabih'sing.

Since they are the original instigators of the patterns of violence, Surely the compensation, as well as the cost of Providing Security, should come

- from their coffers?

If they mely down thejy

have plenty of Tévenue for the above!

If these Organisations truly want the perpetrators behind bars, I woylq

Nearest police Station and Surrender,

JUST DEMANDS Honeydew

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police patrol at 8am yesier-'day. 7,65 mm cartridges at the scene of the crime. 'found next _to the car, The $a\200\230$ charred bodies Of. Ms Nel * the vehicle. Polica: haw m"fpri 2 202d 3 mhâ 2 200 2 24 stantial reward for informaconvzctxo:z of the killers, Mr Pretoring was identi- - . clÃ@â\200\231s nnmber plates According to a relative particularly gruesome ctime . The three are beheved to i da B gavas bullet $4\ \text{holes}$ and . police found Mr Pretorinsâ\200\231s body was - and:Devig were fcm.nd mside '.idled .and one was injured . after being shot in & streetin | Â@ -Nabsonville -nn. i¬\201:hvri¬\202zv st b ton: leading to the arrest and.- - \hat{a} 200\230fied; Uuougli the \hat{a} \200\230utted vcm- . Lhuy wete to v1s!t mmds in Sg gs. \hat{a} 200\230The: car was found km' from Springs and about the same distance RS from Ms Nel's home. _ Anyone with mfozmation ¢an contact the investigating officer, Warrant Officer Fogene Goosen of the East - Rand Murdet and Rob Squad, on (011) 845-2820 or on his® paagger on. (011) 974-8:87 '0 In other violence at the \hat{a} \200\230waakand, at least. four people were killed and four injured in incidÃ@nts of violence in | -Soweto, .and two women were shot dead and several others injured in Tembisa e

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12705 9 92 09:08 :.?;-.Burnt bodles found in car $77\hat{a}\200\230$ gt ou Frida night; ", 'Aâ\200\231police. spokesman =aid 'a susue(,t w3E ar rested. -@ The Reglonal Com:ms . From Page 1 : of -an umdenuï¬\201ed person.. * $^{\sim}$ hearâ\200\231 the main entrance to: the Meadowlands hostel \hat{a} 200\230at the weekend, folrlowmg two explosmns at. the hostel complex. -;. Three people were. mâ\200\224"' Jured by unknown at-- | tackers inâ\200\230a se yarate. m-;â\200\230, 1 cidcnt â\200\230in Orlands \hat{a} 200\230In. Umthambeka \hat{a} \200\230Sec-: tion â\200\230Témbisa, two. : women were â\200\230shot dead -- and five other: people in- \hat{a} 200\230 | jured in seVeral attacks Eist. - after a. \hat{a} 200\230gang known ag 5 q \hat{a} 200\234The T-aaster*" ran nmok, B444 3198 FERE £k sioner of Police in Sowe-- to, Major-Generalâ\200\231 Kobus Malan, expressed con- \hat{a} \200\230cern at the weekend that _politicalâ\200\231 leaders â\200\230were

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not complying with the
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' Ayu.gean stables

roponents of the view that â\200\234Sou Africa is a truly African country have had distressingly ample confirmation of their. claims in the veritable cesspool of corruption and wrongdoing unveiled in recent weeks. Congider the woeful evidence: olice murders of innocent civilians at rust Feed, the evil compounded by at-

: tempts at cover-up which seem to have

been initiated at a verK high level in the force; revelations in the Pickard report that government officials in the late and unlamented Department of Development Aid have stolen or squandered millions, perhaps billions (the exact amounts seem unquantifiable) of taxpayers $\hat{a}\200\231$ money in an orgy of corruption; the appalling and unexplained release of killer cop Shange after serving only nine months of a 27-year sentence; the claim by Transkei leader Bantu Holomisa that no less an authority than the State Security Council sanctioned the assassination of Matthew Goniwe and other Eastern Cape activists in 1985; the alleiation by the Vrye Weekblad that security .

olicemen and ministry of justice officials

ad attempted to influence other judges against Judge Didcott. The list seems end--less, its cumulative effect quite eclipsing such former outrages as the Information scandal or Inkathagate. -]

It is some small compensation, perhaps, that the process of reform has at least allowed these dark secrets to be hauled out into the blindinÃ@nlight of day. But it isâ\200\231 not enough just to know of corruption. It

. now behoves the State President to

cleanse the augean stables by attempting to bring the wrongdoers, not just a few ritual scapegoats, to account for their misdeeds, so that justice is not only restored, but can be seen to have been done. It is also a challenge to him, as well as his negotiating partners at Codesa, to devise machinery to ensure that the stables, once cleansed, remain clean.

University o/

Following its tenure by such eminent figures as professors Deneys Schrei-

ner and Colin Webb, the office of Vice Principal of the University in Pieter-maritzburg can hardly have gained added lustre by the extraordinary resignation last week of Professor Tony Tarr after exactly two days in the job. Professor David Maughan Brown who, presumably, must have been runner-up to Tarr in the short list, is now to take over.

He has long been a left-wing warrior in the correspondence columns of this newspaper. On the daY his appointment was announced we published a heavily sarcastic missive of his on the leader page. Former ties between The Natal Witness and the university have been close, best exemplified,

erhaps, in the person of Professor Mark . estwich who wrote many a scintillating editorial and, for a time, left the university to edit the paper full-time.

It will be interesting to see how Profes-

sor Maughan Brownâ $\200\231s$ elevation to the high-

- est office of the university in this town af-

fects relations between the press and the university. : :

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Witness staffer beaten A s 5 e

by KHABA MKHIZE Assistant Editor

THE stories of terror that have_ been circulating about the 32 Battalion in Imbali ceased to be hearsay for me on Saturday morning.:.

I was subjected to barb_amsm in front of my wife and in full view of my neighbours in Imbali Unit 13 on Saturday when I was harassed, humilated, smacked, pushed around and kicked by young members of 32 Battalion. {

It is about 9 am and my neighbour Nombulelo Sikhosana phones me. $\hat{a}\200\234$ Something terribly wrong has taken place at the Mlotshwas $\hat{a}\200\224$ House 605. The 32 Battalion has driven a huge army payloader with rubble and, off-loaded it on the Mlotshwas $\hat{a}\200\231$ lawn. $\hat{a}\200\231$

The allegation is too absyrd to deserve attention. People are imagining all sorts of bizarre stories about the $a\200\23432$ ". S But, 30 minutes later Robert Mlotshwa knocks at my door. $a\200\234$ I have been asked to alert you that our lawn has been used as a dump by the 32 Battalion. $a\200\235$

I go to 605, about 13 houâ\200\230ses.away. Yes, the story was not a fabncpt.xon.

Nkosenye Mlotshwa, who is a student constable with the South African Police, has reported the matter to the SADF hierarchy.

Battalion arrives to clear the rubblg. Driving back home at 1.45 pm, with my wife and another neighbour, Duduzile Mweli, we find the road

blocked by ti¬\201e army payloader. ,I jump out to try and find out whatâ\200\231s happening from a white SADF soldier standing next to the $a\200\23432a\200\235$. Milotshwa had been persuaded to

stripped as the payloadep'eould not drive through the small gate. -; $\hat{a}\200\234Why$ and what' $\hat{a}\200\231s$ really going on

etting an explanation sinc_e I am gure he understands English, $\hat{a}\200\230$ He looks at me as if I am dumb and says $\hat{a}\200\234$ shame $\hat{a}\200\235$.!

Just before lunch a battery of 32

~allow his six-foot high fence to be

here, \hat{a} 200\235 I ask the soldier, with a hope of

The question is put to him for the

. Second time, with my press card on + display, but he repeats the same * â\200\234shameâ\200\235 response, Then out of the blue I catch sight of Themba Mgabi, a local freelance photographer, I quickly assign him to take a few shots, At about 2 pm a group of roughly 13 â\200\23432sâ\200\235 jump off their truck, in re-Sponse of a command issued in a west African dialect. They cock their automatic rifles and rush for the unarmed Mgabi who'is trying to flee the scene. scuffle ensues and the photographer is dragged towards the bat-

roughing up the camera man. y While an exchange of recriminations proceeds, one young member of the $\hat{a}\200\23432\hat{a}\200\235$ pulls Mgabi by his jacket collar and headbutts him in $\hat{a}\200\230$ the face while his colleague tries to rip the camera from his hand, Mgabi drops the \hat{a} amera a metre away, in the hope that somebody can sneak away with it. On-

open the camera and retrieve. the spool. i $\ensuremath{\mathtt{3}}$

AsIam beginning to write down the

initials of Mlotshwa before noting the

- registration number of the red army bakkie, another young battalion boy pounces on me: \hat{a} 200\234Why are you writing this car \hat{a} 200\231s number? \hat{a} 200\235

â\200\234Iam merely doing my work; I work
with a pen; I represent The Natal Witmess as well as being a member of this

particular community. , ,â\200\235

Before I finish explaining I am

- Pushed backwards and roughed up; my right eardrum clangs instaneously B
- With a smack. As I wonder what has earned me this treatment, another $\frac{3}{200}\frac{23432}{200}^2$ soldier_ unlgashes his right foot

which is aimed at my ribs. S
Anything can happen at this moment in view of the agitated mood of
the community witnessing the scene.
My self defence is followed by the
cocking of a rifle by the kicker, a message I interpret as a' signal that â\200\234you

have no right to protect yourselfâ\200\235,

life is at the mercy of these chaps who ; are looking dazed and crazed. Their eyesare bloodshot,

I back off and it becomes my wifeâ\200\231s turn to face the soldier who kicked me. She demands to know what I did that would overrule communication and sanction terror. $\hat{a}\200\234He$ wrote our number! $\hat{a}\200\235$ is the reasoning.!

Ihadnâ\200\231t written down their number but \hat{a} \200\234crammedâ\200\235 it. Before switching on'the engine, I record the number of my problems: BDR 486 M. :

Today the question that js being . asked by my 10-year-old daughter, Nobuntu (Humaneness), is $a\200\234$ Why did the soldiers beat You up, daddy? $a\200\235$

roots and lacking the skill of communication. When all this $a\200\234$ rubble rabblea\200\235 is Over, probably I will be able to sayto her: $a\200\234$ Where there is no communication terror takes over. $a\200\235$

THE NATAL

MERCURY Ds-9%

A $s/i^201/lke$ in SAâ\200\231s future

N ENCOURAGING develop- ment for the economy is the decision of SAâ $\200\231s$ major trade

unions to invest in the stock market.

When ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa throws his weight behind the scheme, South Africans ought to sit up. SAâ\200\231s leading socialists are investing in the future.

The unions formed the Community -

Growth Fund to invest portions of workersâ\200\231 pension and provident funds in â\200\234socially responsibleâ\200\235 JSE-listed companies. As their invest-ments grow, their interest in the wellbeing of the companies they have shares in must also increase. The ramifications are significant. Unions will use their financial muscle to wrest â\200\234social responsibilityâ\200\235 concessions from public companies. But as their stake in the stock market grows, they are certain to be a lot

more responsible themselves when it | comes to wage demands, industrial

action and consumer boycotts.

The insistence on investing only in socially responsible companies is an established practice elsewhere in the world. The criteria to be used by the new SA fund include support for job-

creation projects, recognition of

trade unions, fair levels of pay, affirmative action programmes and the promotion of health and safety.

Offsetting these criteria will be the condition that workers \hat{a} \200\231 pension money be invested mainly in blue-chip companies with strong capital and earnings growth \hat{a} \200\224 a sound capitalist principle which will earn the unions good profits.

The unions and Mr $\hat{a}\200\230$ Ramaphosa

must be congratulated on their foresight in setting up this unit trust. By becoming full partners in the economy, deprived South Africans can share in its wealth. The more ordinary people can become stakeholders in their country, the greater will be the prospects for prosperity, political stability and peace.

Drought aid

HE GOVERNMENT had no Tchoice but to produce the mas-

sive R4 billion programme to relieve farmers devastated by the worst drought in a century.

The timing of such a colossal scheme could not be worse, given the enormous pressures on the public purse for spending on socio-economic upliftment projects. And it is particularly galling that the agricultural sector should be thrown a further R4 billion after so many decades of gross waste, incompetence and maladministration by a succession of Nationalist governments which pandered to farmers for short-term political gain.

 $Aa\200\231s$ farmers are already indebted to the tune of something like R17 billion, and this latest hand-out will only add to that debt mountain.

But none of this is to say that the farmers must now be abandoned. There are many viable, efficient farms that have been flattened by the drought. They, along with the free-loaders, must simply be carried by the taxpayer so that SAâ\200\231s food-production base is preserved until better times.

75 chiefof staff 1S to appear in court

i Citizen Reporter . : fx \hat{a} 200\230om the South Afnean ' \hat{a} 200\235 \hat{a} \200\230JR'SlPI \hat{a} \200\224HWE_Nyanda,' . "Communist Party gea.. B-hief of siaff- of .the: " Hral \hat{a} 200\224secretary, Mr Chris.

et

. Brookâ\200\231 over the posmon -- gof - MK - .chief of staff

Govt faces tou oh

Ceqie Jvwmey I(. 5,

By ANTHONY JOHNSON Political Correspondent

THE government faces a crisis this week as the growing storm over its alleged role in corruption, violence and footdragging in negotiations comes under the spotlight.

A special snap debate in Parliament tonight will challenge a government reeling under a series of alleged scandals and accusations.

President F W de Klerk and senior cabinet members face a credibility

problem just days before the Codesa II $\hat{a}\200\230\hat{a}\200\234$ negoti 2 showcase is launched.

In the crunch week ahead, the

government will come under growing pressure to $a\200\230\234$ come clean $200\235$ in three key $200\224\200\224$ e e e

areas:

@ On the rampant corruption in the recently-closed i5epartm'enf of Development Aid.

 \hat{A} ® On demands for a polmcal purge

of the former politica ads o e archetypal gran epart-

ment $\hat{a}200\224$ cularly the government $\hat{a}200\231$ s \hat{a} thief negotiator Dr Gerrit Viljoen $\hat{a}200\224$ which grew at the wEeiena amid public outrage at the waste of billions of rands of taxpayers $\hat{a}200\231$ money.

 \hat{A} ® On the unfolding catalogue of charges of state-sponsored political killings \hat{a} \200\224 most recently the apparent assassination of Mr Mathew Goniwe and three other UDF" activists \hat{a} \200\224 and the attempted official cover-up of the

actions of some security force members or their early release when found quilty.

As opposition politicians press with new questions about whether senior

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members of the cabinet and securocrats on the State Security Council knew about or sanctioned state-sponsored hit squads, Transkels s_Major-General Bantu Holomisa is reportedly threatening to release ocuentation on the allege mvo vement of the state in fomenting â\200\234black-on $blacka^200^235$ violence. a^200^235 p Nationalist sources said at the weekend that the, government might try to ride out the latest storm and instead g0 on e o ensâ\200\235lmi¬\201agx. ut thissirategy ckfire as the government has lost much of the high moral 1 ground it has painstaking-Iy been trying to built up through Mr De Klerkâ\200\231s reform initiatives in recent months. As Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer put it lastnightm " Th&governent will find itself on very weak

%round if and when it tries to take a
ough [ine agamst the rest of _us at

odes

th a number of deadlocked Codesa committees meeting today and tomorrow in a bid to prevent Codesa II ending up as a damp squib, Dr De Beer emphasised that the NP now sim-

 $hmâ\200\230rm$ ared to

'}\THJ-.IM JOWET. = 1 pETRT
e failure of Codesa II could have

 $\hat{a}\200\234d$ readful international repercussionz $\hat{a}\200\235$

Key DP strategist Mr Colin Eglin said that if the white system was to

continue the whole scam would simply disappear as in the past, but now that the negotiation process was so advanced it could not. In normal societies the government would have t to

To, page 3

From page 1

resign under this kind of loud; bu ings were different and change was taking place any-Way, with the government a key player. $\hat{a}\200\224$ While pressure is being brought to bear on Mr De Klerkâ $\200\231s$ government by parliamentary groups and others outside, the government is intent on sidestepping and brazening out the crisis over the scandals about corruption and cover-ups.

The refrain that is heard and will be continued is summed up by Regional and Land Afgaxrsv Mllmster ac(ib de Villiers, the only cabinet minister available yesterday to com-

ment. \hat{a} 200\234Apartheid was the roblem and we have

put it behind our backs irrevocably. Itâ\200\231s all in the past and we have come clean and will now tFy to clean it up further 0 prove that we run a $ct\tilde{A}@k\ddot{a}\200\234\200\231\ddot{a}\200\231\ddot{a}$ ai

He sald there was no need for ministerial responsibility because the officials had covered things up and hidden the corruption from the min-1sâ\200\231fâ\202¬rsâ\200\230Ã@oncerne He refuse elieve that State Affairs Minister Dr

Viljoen and NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe had acknowledged that they knew of the corruption and tried to clean it up.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ That $\hat{a}\200\231$ s what you say. You cannot pick on ministers and expect them to -know exactly every detail that is going on in their departments. That is why they employ officials, $\hat{a}\200\235$ he said.

Asked why he, as the most recent Development Aid Minister, had retained as directorgeneral Mr Leon van Gass, whom Mr Justice Pickard found to be covering up investigations and implicated in corruption, he said he needed someone to wind up the department. $\hat{a}\200\234$ It is alsounfair to suspend or fire someone without giving them the details of allegations against them. \hat{a} \200\235

He said he did not want the report released, even to departmental staff, for fear that it might hamper the legal investigation.

Instead, what happened was that the government abolished the department, without stating the broad findings of the Pickard report, and transferred officials to other departments.

Frustrated ANC_negotiators_who failed to make progress in re t bilateral taIEs"\Vï¬\201ï¬\2011xlIe government on a formula for power-ghanng, a() the weekend accuse the government of dig-

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ ging in its heels. negotiator

ey Mr Mohammed Valli |

Moosa said: â\200\234The next few days will indicate to us whether the govern-

ment is prepared to cross the Rubicon and make the process irre-.yersible.â\200\235 i

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PAGE rd raten ck 2-/. PAGE U delegation arrives in SA

JOHA NESBURG â\200\224 An advance party for the OAU violence monitoring group arrived at Jan

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is here to prepare for the unrest monitoring group, led by Nigerian Foreign Minister Major-General Ike Nwachukwu, due in | South Africa on Wednesday.

B Nigerian ambassador to the

OAU Mr Segun Olusola, spokesman for the advance party, said

its aim was to accelerate the] Smuts Airport yesterday $200\224$ the democratic process. r OAU delegation Vet

visit Sou ca. X ' â\202 $^-$ seven-me r delegation

lHe saxd the grou would meet
a W]
fole to play in South Africa s democratisation.

 $\hat{a}\200\230Mr$ Olusola said the group was coming at the invitation of the ANC and PAC, but noted that the South African government had also pledged its full support.

The wltor%gg team will investxga causes 0 est, ;n is ex-

ANC and the SA Council of Churches are to meet today to discuss a programme for the OAU delegation.

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