THE CITIZEN COMMENT

New climate

IT is interesting that Mr Nelson Mandela is on a six-nation African tour at the same time as the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, is on a

nine-nation tour of Europe.

Mr Mandela is briefing African leaders on the talks in Cape Town and other matters; Mr De Klerk is briefing European leaders and heads of state on his reform policy and other developments.

There has been a tendency to put the two on a par — the State President and a State President-in-waiting.

It is far-fetched.

Mr De Klerk is the man who holds power; Mr Mandela is the deputy president of an organisation that has sought and failed to overthrow that power.

The ANC, in fact, has to change from being a "liberation" force to being a political organi-

sation.

It has to abandon the "armed struggle" and seek to establish itself in a peaceful role.

That, at least, is what should happen. Whether the ANC will meet its undertaking to engage in peaceful negotiations by ending the "armed struggle" remains to be seen.

Certainly it will be a betrayal of the spirit of the Groote Schuur accord if it does not do so. Of the two tours, Mr De Klerk's is by far the

most significant.

Whereas Mr Mandela talks to Black African leaders who are still committed to the ANC's cause, Mr De Klerk is talking to the leaders of nine countries, most of which have in the past shunned such top-level contact with South Africa.

Mr Mandela can gain nothing from his trip that he hasn't been assured of already; Mr De Klerk, on the other hand, has much to

gain.

He can get acceptance as a true reformist; he can create an atmosphere in which the governments of the countries he visits will want to see his earnest efforts to create a new South Africa are successful.

Without pleading for an easing of, or end to, sanctions, he can leave behind the conviction that South Africa should no longer be punished.

His tour, in other words, can become — and we are certain it will become — a great diplomatic and public relations success.

The climate overseas is changing.

The ANC is no longer able to claim that it is forced to engage in the "armed struggle" because it is outlawed.

It is unbanned. There is no need for violence. The actions of the ANC are now measured against the government's commitment to

achieve a peaceful settlement.

The ANC's hard line on maintaining the "armed struggle" and on nationalisation have changed its image; the "liberators" are in danger of becoming the spoilers, the people who do not want to lay down their arms and negotiate a constitution acceptable to all.

As a result, the ANC is losing sympathy and

support.

It tried to extend sanctions, but not even its best friends like Sweden would go along with it.

It has been forced to make it clear that the only sanctions it wants are the present ones. But even then it is beginning to lose support.

Denmark is to open an embassy in Pretoria. Spain is to resume cargo flights. The Netherlands is proposing a six-stage ending of sanctions by the European Community.

Other countries, sensing that embargoes are beginning to lift, will not want to be the last to end sanctions and to engage in remunera-

tive trade.

And so this easing of sanctions will snowball. The ANC is unable now to influence overseas governments against South Africa, with the result that these governments no longer want to punish South Africa or prescribe to it, and will end sanctions sooner than the ANC wishes.

This does not mean that Mr De Klerk is any nearer to resolving his problems at home, but a favourable climate abroad will certainly help him to create a favourable climate at home for his reforms and for negotiations.

South Africa is coming in from the cold, and nothing the ANC says or does can stop this.

Not the last word of the PW?

Former President Botha broke his own code by attacking his s u c c e s s o r.

PATRICK LAURENCE gives an historical perspective and discusses the implications.

Politicians have short memories, judging by PW Botha's outburst last weekend when he accused President de Klerk and his lieutenants of pursuing a policy of "abdication".

Mr Botha, as Volksblad editor Hennie van Deventer points out in an open letter to the former president, felt deeply aggrieved when predecessor John Vorster emerged from retirement to fire verbal shots at him.

Yet Mr Botha has now embarked on the same course as Mr Vorster, except that his attack has been more direct and damaging.

Mr Vorster, in a speech in March 1983 at the University of Pretoria, emphatically rejected "power-sharing", a policy which Mr Botha endorsed after he came to power in 1978 to motivate the proposed tricameral Parliament.

Mr Vorster's criticism may have been partly motivated by personal rancour. He was widely reported to have been embittered by the way in which he was forced to relinquish the presidency in 1979 after being implicated in the Information scandal.

Mr Vorster warned that to give coloureds and Indians a place in Parliament was tantamount to conceding a strategic foothold to forces favouring a unitary state based on one man, one vote. He argued that universal adult suffrage in a united South Africa was fatal to the survival of whites.

Mr Vorster did not endorse the policies of any particular political party. His approach, however, was consistent with that of the newly formed Conservative Party.

While the attack did not stop Mr Botha from obtaining an endorsement from whites for the new constitution in the referendum held that year, it did not help Mr Botha either.

Mr Botha's foray into the political arena from his retirement home in the Wilderness was a jugular attack. He accused Mr de Klerk of embarking on a course of "abdication" and of committing a fatal error of judgment by talking to communists.

Signalled

Mr Botha signalled the depth of his opposition by withdrawing from the National Party after 54 years.

Mr Botha's blunt repudiation of President de Klerk may also have been motivated by personal animosity.

It followed tension between the two after Mr de Klerk took over as NP leader last February.

Their political quarrel attained the proportions of a feud in Mr Botha's bitter valedictory address last August after he had been isolated within the Cabinet over Mr de Klerk's planned talks with President Kaunda of Zambia.

It is too early to assess the full implications of Mr Botha's attack. But, given the growing bellicosity of the Right wing, it will compound Mr de Klerk's problems.

Mr Botha showed he had lost none of his shrewdness as a political fighter by focusing on the presence of SA Communist Party boss Joe Slovo in the negotiating team.

Mr de Klerk's Cabinet was nervous about Mr Slovo's inclusion in the ANC negotiating team. According to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, the Government sent an emissary asking him not to include Mr Slovo.

Mr Botha's intervention has left a vital question unanswered: has he fired the only bolt in his crossbow or does he have another, potentially more deadly one, at hand?

There have been reports that Mr Botha is in possession of a tape recording of the explosive Cabinet meeting which preceded his decision to resign last August which could embarrass Mr de Klerk.

If those reports are true, Mr de Klerk had better brace himself to deflect or block a second bolt.

Azapo women told they should demand their rights

By Thabo Leshilo

Sexism is the root of oppression and, unless eradicated, will continue to encourage discrimination and economic exploitation, Thandeka Mgoduso of the University of South Africa's health psychology unit said in Soweto at the weekend.

Ms Mgoduso was the keynote speaker at the first national congress at Jabavu of the Imbeleko Women's Organisation, the women's wing of the Azanian People's Organisation, attended by more than 500 delegates.

She said the economic and social oppression of women was part of a social system that had enriched the few at the expense of the many.

Women were denied access to

accurate information about themselves and the nature of their oppression, she said.

She said women should refuse to be made helpless and dependent.

The abuse of women was so entrenched it had become hard to imagine an environment in which criticism and rejection of women was replaced by encouragement, appreciation and respect.

She said oppression came in two forms: external oppression, whereby laws, institutions and other social structures reinforced inequality; and internal oppression, whereby women had come to believe in their own inferiority, worthlessness and powerlessness.

Negotiating with ANC isn't all plain sailing

The STAR BUREAU

LONDON - Negotiations between the South African Government and the ANC are as delicate and complicated "as putting a man on the moon", according to Finance Minister Barend du Plessis.

In an interview with John Carlin of The Independent, Mr du Plessis said he saw reason for optimism in the good faith with which the two parties were seeking a solution to the country's problems.

"From our experience, certainly around the table, not a single one of them (the ANC delegation) gave me or us any reason to doubt their integrity and to doubt their total commitment to finding a solution.

"But don't forget, negotiations like these are very similar to putting a man on the

moon. You must manage your commitment right until you've got the guy there and brought him back again ... there are a thousand little things that can go wrong in every little move."

Mr du Plessis conceded that success in the negotiations was vital if each side wanted to retain its constituency. "Mr Mandela has to build and affirm and consolidate his power-base and we have to retain ours. We have put it on risk ... so yes, there is a mutuality in that kind of risk.'

Neither side must be seen to be leaving its supporters behind. "If you change your portfolio, then you have to do it quickly and you have to educate and you have to re-adjust, and this is exactly what leadership in this country has to do, all leadership. This is the challenge."

Mr du Plessis said the inevitability of conciliation was penetrating the minds of many people who previously thought it could be shunted aside. "The urgency of the matter ... is, through a process of osmosis, helping us a lot.'

Mr du Plessis outlined the response he said was needed from the international community: "We need an international rugby or cricket or soccer tour. And we need more than a symbolic lifting of sanctions: We need access .. to (international) banks ... and the IMF.

"The outside world must now put their money where their mouth is and I think this is President de Klerk's mission (on hiscurrent tour of foreign capitals)."



Two young pupils at King's College, Brits, go about their lessons while the CP-controlled town decides what should be done to close down the "black" school.

—The Star—Time for all to be counted

cy. Hence, too, its refusal to heed a reported request from Government to exclude the SACP secretary-general, Joe Slovo, from its delegation at the Cape Town talks last week.

But the ANC's loyalty to its ally should not stretch to helping it conceal its membership from the public. People, including some whites, who are considering the option of supporting the ANC because of its nonracial commitment have the right to know which of its leaders are SACP members and the strength of the SACP in the ANC-SACP axis. Those who vote for communism should do so out of conviction, not by mistake.

The same arguments logically apply to the National Party and the secret Broederbond. The claim that the Afrikaner Broederbond is a "cultural organisation" is fatuous. Its members must declare themselves too, particularly now that the Bond has shifted to centre stage under Mr de Klerk's administration. Voters are entitled to know where the National Party ends and where the Broederbond begins, and to what extent the two overlap.

The age of secrecy, and hidden agendas, must come to an end. Disclosures about the sinister machinations of the secret Civil Co-operation Bureau underline the need for open government and, in a broader sense, for an open society.

THE ANC is poised to launch a major recruitment drive, its initial target 2 million cardcarrying members. This membership campaign signals the end of a 30-year phase in the ANC's long history, during which it existed as a clandestine underground organisation; conversely, it marks the start of a new phase, in which it will function openly as a political party. These developments are welcome. The hallmark of democracy is open competition for the support of the people. The essential case against banning any organisation is that it obscures public opinion.

The ANC's long-standing ally, the South African Communist Party, should open up too. It had to survive as a subterranean organisation and did so with great skill for four decades. But now, after President de Klerk's surprise decision to unban the SACP, it too must enter the public arena as an overt political grouping, and compete for the popular vote.

The time for communists to declare themselves has arrived. It is consistent with the doctrines of perestroika and glasnost, to which the SACP has declared its loyalty.

The ANC and the SACP have, of course, been allies for a long time. Hence the ANC's refusal to jettison its loyal partner as demanded by Mr P W Botha during his presiden-

Cosatu unions step up drive on Barlows

SHOP-STEWARDS representing 80 000 workers from eight Cosatu unions are to meet this weekend to discuss the long-threatened campaign against industrial colossus Barlow Rand.

The issue is also on the agenda of Cosatu's weekend campaign conference.

Sources see the flurry of activity as a sign that the Barlows campaign so far conducted at the

OWN CORRESPONDENT

level of propaganda - may be getting off the ground.

A Cosatu statement added that consideration would be given to drawing the ANC into the campaign.

Meeting

At a meeting last month, unionists presented Barlows management with a memorandum outlining their problems with the group.

It covered the issues of

centralised bargaining, job security, deregulation, the Labour Relations Act, strike dismissals, social benefits and economic restructuring in a post-apartheid South Africa.

The Cosatu statement complained that Barlows had failed to respond to the memorandum by the agreed date of May 3.

A key union gripe has been that it is group policy to undermine central bargaining forums such as industrial councils. Barlows denies this. 16/1/11

Contralesa to help build ANC

THE Natal region of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa) has pledged to help the ANC establish branches, especially in the rural areas of the region.

This was resolved at the organisation's regional conference in Durban the weekend.

Contralesa also resolved to set up labour, legal, health, education and religion committees.

"The decision to form a labour committee is particularly significant in the light of bantustan leader [Gatsha] Buthelezi's attack on Cosatu, said newly-elected regional publicity officer Siphiwe Thusi.

"Presently people from the villages are being used by the apartheid system with help from the kwaZulu bantustan to divide the oppressed masses. When there are strikes, village people are brought into the cities as scab labour."

The conference also decided to hold seminars to clarify Buthelezi's claims that he was the leader of six million Zulu people.

"Buthelezi is the chief in Mahlabathini of the Buthelezi clan," said Thusi. "The status he got didn't come from the chiefs in Natal. It was imposed on them by the Pretoria government."

Newly-elected regional office bearers are: Senior Prince Mcwayizeni Zulu as honorary chairperson, chief Elphas Molefe as chairperson, chief Zibusise Mlaba as secretary, chief Albert Shozi as treasurer, Sipho Khumalo as assistant treasurer and Prince Mduduzi Zulu and Alfred Ndlovu as regional organisers.

 Meanwhile, the focus of violence in Natal has shifted to Greytown in the Midlands, where attacks on the community have escalated in the past week.

This follows an ANC meeting which, according to local sources, was far better attended than any Inkatha meetings in the area.

The assassination of the president of the Pietermaritz-burg Council of Churches, Reverend Victor Afrikander, and the attempted assassination of Cosatu and Imbali Civic Association activist Sponiso Madondo in the past week, has shocked the Pietermaritzburg community.

Preparations for Afrikander's funeral have also been disrupted by death threats to the organisers. The church leader is due to be buried near Buthelezi's home territory of Mahlabathini this weekend.

Madondo is still in a serious condition in hospital, having lost a kidney and damaged his liver and spleen.

In Mphophomeni near Howick, 4 000 local residents held a march in the township on Saturday in protest against ongoing attacks on the area.

Azapo slams Venda pact

THE agreement this between week MDM and Venda's Council for National Unity that a committee was to be set up to define political prisoners in Venda was a tacit recognition of the "independence" of the Azapo bantustans, said yesterday.

Reacting to the meeting held on Tuesday at Thohoyandou, Azapo

By MATHATHA TSEDU

regional publicity director for the northern Transvaal, Mr Khangale Makhado, said the committee agreed upon between FW de Klerk and the ANC in Cape Town last week should cover prisoners in Venda, "unless the MDM has decided to recognise Venda as a sovereign state".

He said the MDM meeting and another be-

tween the council and the ANC in Lusaka demonstrated not only "the present state of political confusion" within the two organisations and their grassroots supporters, but also "bore the seeds of the betrayal of the revolution and wishes of the majority of the people in Venda.

Citing the recent forced resignation from the council of headman Thivhulawi Makumbane, an ANC supporter, by members of the ANC supporting Youth Congress, Azapo said the meetings did not have the blessing of revolutionaries in the area.

"How do they justify such connivance when the military junta has banned trade unions and beat up youths protesting against such action," the statement added.

Another agreement reached between the MDM and the CNU was that ways had to be found by the joint working committee for the speedy lifting of the state of emergency.

Qwaqwa workers want salaries rise

Soweram By ALI MPHAKI
WHILE the Qwaqwa government is gearing for elections in September, there is growing discontent among

the more than 3 000 public servants in the homeland.

A petition with several demands has already been submitted to Chief Minister Kenneth Mopeli, whose response was described as "unsatisfactory" by the workers.

They are demanding, among others, a living wage of R600 a month for the least paid workers and the abolishment of posts for whites while there are blacks qualified for the posts.

Negotiate

A spokesman for the Qwaqwa Public Servants Association said they were also demanding the termination of the service of Dr BJ Tucker, the homeland's secretary of health.

Tucker was one of the district surgeons who treated Black Consciouness leader Steve Biko during his last days in detention in 1977.

He said they will hold a report-back meeting on Thursday.

This different SA amazes Benson

DANIEL FELDMAN

EXILED author, ANC supporter and an early sanctions proponent, Mary Benson has returned to find a different SA to the one she left in 1966. "I was amazed at the integration in cine-

mas and other parts of the city. I was so excited to have my books published here. "What struck me most in returning was seeing the disastrous effects of Bantu education. The government must keep pouring

money into education to compensate. "And I still become so depressed seeing the appalling township conditions such as KTC in Cape Town. It's such a monstrosity to see sprawling suburbs such as Sandton nudging up against Alexandra. It's still hard for me to imagine how residents cope with daily life in the townships. Life there

just suffocates human dignity," she said.
After 24 years in exile in Britain, she remains optimistic about SA's future.

"It is so important to remain positive. While it will be a very difficult transition for the ANC to switch from an exile movement to a more administrative one in SA, I am confident they can do it well.

"The generosity of many SA blacks is quite amazing. I found far more bitter race relations in the US than here. An extraordinary goodwill still remains here," she said.

Asked about the ANC's commitment to the armed struggle, she replied: "It hasn't been much of an armed struggle, just a lot of rhetoric and a few isolated acts of sabotage. And when that is compared with the violence of the state over the decades, it seems minimal.

"But the armed struggle is part of what is being discussed and hammered out now, anyway. I agree it's time for constructive and creative thinking and planning for the future."

As the first South African to testify before the UN Committee on Apartheid in 1963, she was an early proponent of sanctions. She still believes they work effectively, and credits the withdrawal of US banks from SA with having a major impact



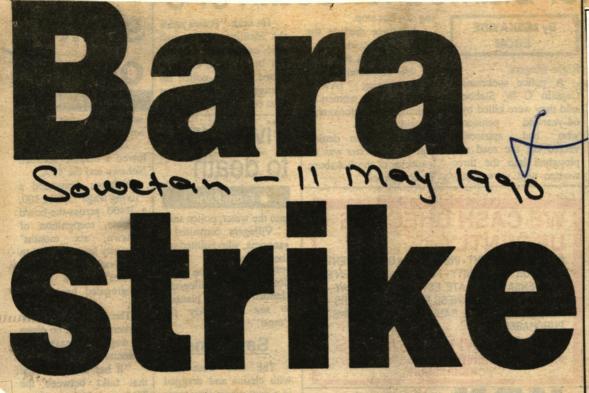
BENSON . . . back home. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

on today's political situation. Benson was born and educated in Pretoria. She first met Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu in the early 1950s, and in 1957 she became the Treason Trial Defence Fund secretary in Johannesburg. She began work as a freelance writer in 1958, and published her first book, a biography of Tshekedi Khama, in 1960. Her second book, The African Patriots, was the first history of the ANC.

She returned to SA in 1965 to report on the Eastern Cape political trials, but was banned and placed under house arrest. She left SA in 1966 and now lives in London. She has written biographies of Nelson Mandela and Albert Luthuli and is working on another novel, concerning her experiences in the US in the late 1960s.

Her latest book, the autobiography, A Far Cry: The Making of a South African was launched this week in SA by Penguin Books.

are in operation, employ



encis

THE hospital strike that crippled 16 Transvaal hospitals has ended.

An agreement to end the strike, which started at Baragwanath Hospital on May 1, was signed yesterday by National Education Health and Allied Workers' Union national organiser Mr Monde Mditshwa and Transvaal Provincial Administration director general Mr Andre Cornelius in Cape Town.

The union has undertaken that

By PHANGISILE MTSHALI

about 11 000 striking non-medical workers will return to work by today.

Returning workers would not be disciplined. They will be allowed to use their leave as credit for the days they did not work, or "the days they did not work shall be dealt with on the basis of leave without pay".

They should apply for the leave concession by 7.30am tomorrow.

In a de facto recognition of the union, the TPA agreed to set up

joint working committees as channels of communication between the two parties.

"The agreement is a major victory for all hospital workers," Nehawu general secretary Mr Sisa Njikelana said.

"It is an important step forward in that it guarantees basic trade union rights. If the TPA had agreed to negotiate from the beginning, we would not have ended up in this crises."

Negotiations to resolve the is-

To Page 2

Bara strike over

• From Page 1

sues will start within seven days.

The hospital crisis followed a dispute between Nehawu and the TPA.

Nehawu demanded a "living wage" of R1 100, a R400 across-the-board increase, recognition of Nehawu, six months' maternity leave, an end to the privatisation of health services and a single, desegregated health system.

The TPA said the workers will not be given a wage increase this financial year.

"It has to be stressed that talks between the TPA and Nehawu have been positive throughout and occurred in a good spirit, a TPA statement said.

The agreement, which binds only the 16 hospitals, includes:

* The appointment of an impartial arbitrator to deal with issues arising from the agreements;

* Steps to be taken by the TPA to have the name of the pension funds in which employees are referred to 'temporary' changed. This will only be used in respect of people employed for less than three months;

The affected hospitals are: Baragwanath, Hillbrow, Johannesburg, Natalspruit, Willem Cruywagen, Boksburg-Benoni, HF Verwoerd, Lynville, Tshepong in Klerksdorp, Pietersburg, JG Strijdom, Rietfontein, Tembisa, Middleburg, Sebokeng and the Far East Rand.

11 May 1990

Bara Strike ends



At a Press conference yesterday to announce the decision reached between the National Education Health Workers' Union and the Transvaal Provincial Administration are the union's president Mr Bheki Mkhize, Mr Sisa Njikelana (general secretary), Mr Jay Naidoo (general secretary of Cosatu) and Dr Aslam Dasoo. Group rights
NATAL WITNESS 11-05-1990
The Conservative Party's apparent
support for the Government in its
quest for the protection of group

quest for the protection of group rights is a disturbing sign that envisaged reforms might again be a smokescreen for ensuring white interests. What does the Government mean by "group rights"? What does it understand by the term "group"? At present no satisfactory attempt has been made to define this word precisely, although it is widely appointed to be though it is widely suspected to be a new synonym for "race", a concept which the new Nationalists are desperately trying to bury. People are fully aware of the semantic gymnastics of the National Party. One of the most notorious examples was the Extension of University Education Act of 1959 which, instead of increasing, actually restricted the entrance of people of colour to the open "white" universities, and established the so-called "tribal" universities.

Despite its fears of an electoral backlash from some of its more bigoted supporters, the present Government will have to discard the concept of "groups" and "group rights". It must instead embrace a policy of a broad South African citizenship based on the rights of the individual. The country, and the world, will not accept a solution that smacks too much of the past.

IMPENDULO ESHISAYO

KACOSATU



Umuzi kaComrade Vilane sewuyinxiwa

Inkulumo kaNdunankulu wesabelo sakwaZulu, uButhelezi, engaphansi kwesihioko esithi, USHIYE ANGALAZI UBUTHELEZI, yamjabhisa kakhulu uCOSATU waze waphoqeka ukwenza into angayijwayele yokuvikisana ngamaphephandaba.

Esitatimendini esikhishelwe amaphephandaba ehlukene

"Inkulumo kaButhelezi abheca ngayo uCOSATU ngazo zonke izinto ezingenabufakazi ikhombisa ukuziphatha budedengu ngendiela eyisimangaliso ngalesikhathi abantu bakithi befa eNatal. Lolulimi alusebenzisayo ludala isinto lapho amalungu kaCOSATU ezonombolwa

uCOSATU uthe:

ophakimpi namaphoyisa aKwaZulu njengabantu abazohlaselwa.

Ngokujwayelekile asingaze singalunaka uhlaselo olumuncu lukaButhelezi ahlale elubhekisa kithina, ngoba akusizi muntu ukwethukana emaphepheni. Kulamasonto ambalwa edlule amalungu kaCOSATU nawe-UDF ahlukunyezwe ngohlaselo lobugebengu botheleweni. Ubulakazi obushicilelwe bukhombisile ukuthi udlame lwaseMgungundlovu kulamasonto ambalwa edlule lwadalwa uhlaselo lwamabutho ahlomile eNkatha ehlasela izindawo ezingenabo abantu beNkatha.

NgeSonto kwahlaselwa uJeffrey Vilane, ongusihlalo kaCOSATU eNorthern Natal, kwashiswa umuzi wakhe waphela. Wasinda ngenhlahla edutshulwe kathathu. UComrade Vilane enjalo-nje uyilungu lekomiti elizama ukuxoxisana neNkatha. futhi wayekade ebonene namalungu esishayamthetho ngalo lelolanga.

Abahlaseli basuka lapho baya emzini kaMdletshe owesula eNkatheni wajoyina i-ANC emva kokukhululwa kwayo. Wahlaselwa wafa. Bobabili babesohlwini lwephepha elasakazwa elalinamagama namakheli abantu

ababezobulawa kanye namanye amalungu amane kaCOSATU namabili eSAYCO.

Ngomhla ka-9 April, abantu abayisikhombisa KwaSithebe babulawa amaZP, abayishumi nanhlanu kwembulwa kwembeswa. Lombhubhiso wamaZP wenzeka ngosuku lwestayaway lokukhononda ngokubulawa kwabantu eMgungundlovu."

Isitatimenti sighubeka sinxuse iNkatha ukuba ingande amaZP, futhi ipheze ukwenza izitatimenti ezixabanisayo ezifana nalesiya sikaButhelezi, ngoba lesosenzo sighubezela phambili isimo esivele sisebucayini. Sinxusa amalungu eNkatha amsulwa ukuba angakuvumeli ukusetshenziswa njengabantu abalungele ukufela empini kulempi yobuwula, Akukho muntu oyozuza utho kulokunggubuzana. ikakhulukazi abantu abamsulwa-nje baseNatal. Isitatimenti sithi mababoshwe ophakimpi ababulalayo nabashisa imizi eNatal, bese sinxusa vonke imiphakathi namagembu ezwana nenhlalakahle kumazwe ngamazwe nangaphakathi ekhava ukuba acindezele iNkatha ukuba ithathe izinyathelo ezibonakalayo zokugeda udlame eNatal.

SEBEGALE PHANSI ABABULALI

Ubudlova bobulwane bokubulala abantu bakithi busaqhubeka. Kusukela embizweni okanye "emthandazweni" weNkatha wangomhla ka-25 April ubudlova benaba baze bafika enhla eMandini naseMpangeni. Ukushiswa komuzi kaComrade Vilane nokuzama ukumbulala kuyingxenye yalenkohlakalo yokuzama ukubhubhusa bonke abantu abaneqhaza ezinhlanganweni ezilwela amalungelo abantu. Kuzwakala ukuthi ngomhla ka-8

ku-April amaphoyisa aKwaZulu

ayehamba etshela abantu ukuthi mabaqale ukulungiselela imingcwabo yemindeni yabo ngoba ayezoyibulala. Ngakusasa kuzwakala ukuthi adala ukuhlasela umphakathi waKwaSithebe lapho kwafa khona abantu abayishumi ubuncinane babo kwathi inqwaba yagcwala ezibhedlela abanye abaziwa ukuthi bashonaphi.

Ngomhia ka-15 April emuva kokuhlasela umuzi kaVilane, onguSihlalo weRegion kaCOSATU noyilungu leJoint Working Committee, okuyikomiti elididiyele uCOSATU ne-UDF elizama ukuxoxisana ngokuthula neNkatha, lababulali badlulela kwanokhesheni emzini kaComrade Sibusiso Mdletshe bafika bambulala ngesihluku esinyantisa igazi.

UComrade Mdletshe
wayeyilungu leNkatha iminyaka
eyishumi emva kokudonsa
isigwebo seminyaka emihlanu
eRobben Island ngamacala
obulunga be-ANC. Yanele

Iqhubeka ekhasini 4

COSATU Regional News Page 3

16/1/11

Sachs speaks on torture

ANC constitutional expert Albie Sachs told a gathering at the University of Cape Town this week that, as far as he knew, nobody had been detained for disagreeing with the organisation's policies.

At the same time, he confirmed that ANC members had been detained and some were still being held, adding that claims of ill-treatment were "not necessarily lies".

He was addressing the gathering on recent allegations of torture and detentions by the ANC.

Sachs qualified the ANC's position on the treatment of detainees and said that the organisation's view was that even people sent to kill ANC members had certain basic human rights.

Sachs told the meeting that, as far back as 1984, ANC president Oliver Tambo had summoned him and others to draft a set of guidelines to deal with violations of the organisation's rules.

Their brief was to draft regulations to deal with members stealing from each other as well as with government agents sent to assassinate ANC leaders.

"It was clear that Oliver Tambo was deeply concerned with finding appropriate standards consistent with the traditions of the ANC. The fact that he was the person destined for assassination in no way affected the objectivity with which he instructed us.

"ANC members made the point over and over that the movement was fighting for justice and freedom and it could not use the methods used by the enemy."



Albie Sachs

He said he found during an inquiry into detentions that conditions at detention centres were not as bad as he had feared. Prisoners were being well fed, had not complained of any physical abuse and their medical care was adequate, he said.

But the detentions still had a painful impact on him. "It just took me back to my own detention.

"Yet I knew that these hit squads had sent persons in to kill us. Detention is detention... It was painful. It was a side of our existence in exile that I'd rather not know about.

"The hardest cases, and these are cases which we have to face up to now, are those against whom there is strong suspicion and yet not strong enough for a conviction," he said.

Sentences of life

FN1 11/5/90



Mary Benson, authorphy of Nelson Mandela and a history of the ANC, last month returned to visit SA after living in England for 24 years since her banning in 1965. Her

autobiography was recently launched in SA (see Books)

FM: One reviewer has described your autobiography as innocent of ideology, which seems odd in view of your ANC connection.

Benson: I wrote in the introduction to the original book on the history of the ANC, The African Patriots, that I ended up (after research, travel around the country, and having been secretary to the Treason Trial Defence Fund), with a strong sense of involvement and very sympathetic to the ANC. But I've never really been a joiner. My white friends were in both the Communist and the Liberal parties and others were simply artists. That's just the way it's always been. I think in the discussions I had with Bram Fischer that comes out - a vague philosophical belief in the human spirit. I do find dogma very difficult to deal with, whether religious or political.

Do you have misgivings about ANC ideology, specifically its nationalisation policy?

No. As I understand it, the nationalisation issue has been thrown in quite strongly in order to provoke a rethinking and people to consider what lies behind that statement and how much historical inequality has to be made up for. Clearly, it's going to be an extremely complicated process. But I imagine the talks on May 23 will be another contribution.

What about Mandela's own ideology?

Mandela's outlook is an absolute passion to unite people. I think all those talks he had in Victor Verster were aimed at that. It shows tremendous wisdom and generosity.

On the Island he told people that there were two sides to the struggle: the confrontation, but also the need for negotiation; and he's been saying that for years. That meant learning the language of your opponent and

ess of the first biogra- all bearing fruit now, as is his passion for education.

> Can Mandela unite a significant proportion of the people behind the ANC?

> I would certainly think so -- together with the UDF. When you think of what the UDF was in 1984, before the clampdown, the states of emergency, and of the marches that have been allowed and how well they went - if that had been the case in the early Eighties, there wouldn't have been that terrible backlash. I'm sure that he would have the greatest following. But as he said to the press recently, the ANC doesn't claim to be the only organisation and they welcome others to the conference table.

Would he make a good president?

I think wonderful. When he was young he had a hot temper and wasn't a reflective man at all. He has always had great authority. From all I've heard and seen, he's developed wonderful communication generally. And as Raymond Mhlaba has said, he really listens to people and has a lot of patience. These are wonderful qualities.

Do you have any sympathy with ensuring group or white minority rights in a new constitution, or would a Bill of Rights suffice?

I don't really know enough about those sorts of structures. But I gather that there's thought at the moment of two houses, with a senate or upper house maintaining some sort of restraint. But certainly for white fears (there has to be) something - but not group rights. That term should be dropped by the government because it's like the other forms of slogans and rhetoric that cause a block to things moving forward.

When people are anxious about the ANC and whether it's capable of the administrative functions of governing or being part of a government, they should look at all the allies it has won over the years (not just the UDF and trade unions), but in groups like Idasa, in universities and in business. There's a wide range of talent to draw on if it has to. You've been here during an historic time. What were your reactions, after long exile?

At first there was a tremendous complexity of impressions and images and meetings. I went back to my hometown, Pretoria,

reading his literature as well. I think that's which I found had become a physically dreadful city but I found that our little house was still standing there right next to the prison on Potgieter Street. How this little 1920 house had survived I don't know, but it's looking very shabby.

> I felt excited by purely physical things, and since I was lucky enough to stay with friends in Johannesburg's northern suburbs, the fresh air in the morning, the light and the birds. But when in Cape Town I visited KTC and saw the real horror of those shacks going on forever. That left one speechless. And then going to Cradock and seeing the graves of Matthew Goniwe and the others, but still the death squads haven't been dealt with. The women's leaders in Kwazekele living in great poverty and one really felt very depressed at times.

People had all warned that when I came back I would find Johannesburg a black city and blacks in all the banks, and so on. That didn't surprise me. Except one thought how absolutely ludicrous that they don't have the vote, when you see the people whose country this is. There's so much swept under the carpet. White consciousness has absolutely no real awareness that this is basically the Africans' country.

I was really very delighted to be back and that at last my books are unbanned. And to be here just at the time of those talks is amazing: history in the making, there on TV. Are you optimistic?

Yes. Ever since De Klerk made his February 2 statement it seemed to me from a distance that there was no turning back, whatever the confusion and the danger with the AWB, death squads, and so on. The crucial thing is that ordinary people living in poverty and squalor must be feeling: "When will we see any change?"

The very important thing is to remain positive, no matter what, and not to get carried away by slogans and rhetoric.

Any fears about the next few years?

I suppose one is that the youth may feel that things aren't going fast or far enough. The right wing is a very obvious physical threat. Somehow, very soon, real change must happen in the lives of enough people for them to feel confident in their daily lives.

While there has been general sympathy with the strikers' grievances, most people question the morality of health workers abandoning patients, let alone forcing nurses to join in.

Strike organisers are encouraging the maintenance of emergency services at some major hospitals and volunteers have helped to keep things going. But there appears to be a lack of overall co-ordination — some hospitals remain in crisis while at others committees have directed protest action.

A union representative says members were reluctant to take strike action but wary of being told that the authorities were willing to talk.

☐ Only the Commission for Administration may recognise a staff association and a commission representative was present at negotiations early in the week.

INDEMNITY BILL

Thorny issues

Government has, for the first time, formally accepted the concept of political offences committed by members of the ANC and similar groups in trying to achieve their aims.

This was confirmed during this week's parliamentary debate on the Indemnity Bill by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee. He agreed with the CP's Frank le Roux that the NP will participate in talks with the ANC and other groups to define what is a political offender. Le Roux argued it was a term that had up to now been rejected with contempt by the NP. Coetsee acknowledged it was a new concept.

Up to now, government argued that people jailed for politically motivated offences (such as Nelson Mandela and his ANC colleagues) were security prisoners. It also argued that even if crimes were politically motivated they had to be regarded as criminal and not political.

Coetsee said though no existing statute provided for "purely political offences," certain actions could now be considered as such in terms of the Bill. "Certain offences may be recognised as purely political, for instance treason directed solely against the State and not involving a common crime such as murder. In certain circumstances a common law crime, yes, even murder, may be a political offence."

He added that one of the principle factors to be considered in common law crime, "even a very serious crime," was the motive of the offender.

The Bill, supported by all parties in parliament except the CP, allows the president to grant a pardon or temporary immunity to people convicted of political offences, standing trial or awaiting trial for such offences, or suspected of such offences. It means members of the ANC and other groups can either be released from prison or return to SA without fear of prosecution to participate in

talks to "remove obstacles" to further nego-

It also allows for the granting of indemnity against civil actions. Government has consequently made provision in the Bill for exgratia payments to people who may have been in a position to make civil claims against people granted indemnity.

Coetsee says an acceptable definition of political offences and political offenders will be agreed by a working group comprising members of government, the ANC and other interested parties.

The Bill provides for both temporary and permanent immunity, including immunity against civil or criminal action in any court, as well as against detention in terms of any law. People granted immunity will still be subject to other laws.

A more permanent arrangement on how to deal with alleged offenders outside SA, as well as members of organisations serving prison terms for "political" offences and the possibility of a general amnesty, will be negotiated but is unlikely to be implemented for some time.

The Bill is simply an interim measure aimed at promoting the current peace talks between government and the ANC.

LABOUR LAW

Rules of the game

Manpower Minister Eli Louw will go into discussions with employers' body Saccola and union federations Cosatu and Nactu, once he has studied their landmark agreement on "proposed interim changes to the Labour Relations Act." Louw expects to refer the proposals to the National Manpower Commission by early June.

In a joint statement, Saccola, Cosatu and Nactu said the goal of their two years of discussions on the 1988 Act was to achieve law that enjoyed the confidence of all major actors. The proposals are the first tangible result of compromise by the three parties. If incorporated into the Act, the changes "will represent a major step towards broadly supported 'rules of the game'."

The proposals restore the definition of unfair labour practice that existed before the 1988 Act. They remove union liability for damages in illegal strikes; extend or abolish

Cosatu's Jay Naidoo and Saccola's Godsell ... happy day



the time limit regarding dispute declaration; take race out of the registration process; and mirror ILO convention on dismissal and retrenchment. They also aim to scrap the Industrial Court's power to interdict legal strikes and lockouts; and revise secrecy provisions of the court's judgments. Basic worker rights include the right to strike and bargain collectively.

NEGOTIATIONS

Smiles for now

President FW de Klerk set off on his grand tour of Europe this week against a background of increasing co-operation between government and the ANC. He will be hoping for a more sympathetic understanding of the process of change.

There is little doubt that last week's Groote Schuur meeting exceeded expectations. One government delegate said afterwards that both sides now have "far more confidence in each other than we expected to achieve."

Nelson Mandela significantly moderated the ANC's stance on the "armed struggle" by saying its future would be seriously reconsidered by the ANC's National Executive Committee. He also softened his stance on sanctions by saying he would not call for any new measures as long as the talks progress at their current pace. He has previously called for an intensification of sanctions.

Mandela's attitude on both issues was a pleasant surprise for government delegates. One said Mandela went much further at the press conference than he had in either formal or informal discussions during the talks.

There are now indications that a joint ANC-government working group set up to look at the most pressing problems — the definition of political offences, the release of political offenders, and immunity — will form the core of a more permanent committee to examine issues and "obstacles." The group is due to report back by May 21.

The ANC's international affairs chief Thabo Mbeki said there was a need for a joint working group of some sort in the coming months "to resolve problems as they arise." He suggested that unilateral action recently taken by government to curb unrest in Natal was an example of what should not be happening. In reality, both government and the ANC are already moving towards co-operation across a wide spectrum.

At grassroots level as well, government and ANC-orientated organisations are talking peace. In what was regarded as a significant breakthrough in Uitenhage earlier this month, Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and leaders of the local MDM network agreed on methods to end violence, build trust between the SAP and the community and open channels of communication directly between Vlok and the community.

A similar agreement was reached between Vlok and community leaders in Thabong



De Klerk, Viljoen, Mandela . .

near Welkom in the OFS. They travelled to Cape Town to complain about the detention of some residents. Vlok agreed to release them if they helped restore order in the township and stopped a consumer boycott of Welkom shops. It worked, though the consumer boycott has resumed in the face of growing militancy by white extremists.

Government sources believe similar agreements are possible in many areas, particularly if they are formalised at a higher level between government and the ANC. Deals being considered include the lifting of the State of Emergency in all areas except Natal, in return for a conditional suspension of the armed struggle. It has also been suggested that the ANC could ease its stand on sanctions, in return for a scrapping of certain security laws and the release of "political" prisoners.

Government is hoping to involve the ANC in more decisions, particularly on issues affecting blacks. It's all part of De Klerk's consultative style. The ANC wants the added legitimacy such consultation can give it. After all, an informal working arrangement is only one step away from a formal arrangement, which in turn is not far removed from a joint interim government — which is what the organisation is hoping for at some future date.

Bgt the ANC also faces the very real danger of co-option. Power sharing in P W Botha's tricameral system destroyed Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party because it led to coloured politicians enforcing their people's subjugation. Though De Klerk is a far cry from the manipulative Botha, Mandela will have to be careful not to be perceived to be falling into the same trap.

THE STOMPIE TRIAL

Quiet companion

Where was Winnie Mandela on the night of December 29 1988?

She says she was away from her Diepkloof Extension home. Kenneth Kgase says she was not only at home but beat him and three others — including Stompie Moeketsi Sei-

pei, the 14-year-old activist who died a few days later, allegedly at the hands of Jerry Richardson, coach of the so-called Mandela football club

Kgase and Barend Thabiso Mono testified before Judge Bryan O'Donovan at Richardson's trial in the Rand Supreme Court that they were kidnapped, along with Stompic and Gabriel Pelo Mekgwe, from a Methodist Church home in Soweto on December 29 by Richardson and members of the team, which acted as Mandela's bodyguard.

They said they were taken to the plush Mandela home where they were accused of having had sex with the Rev Paul Verryn, the white Methodist minister who ran the church home. Stompie was also accused of being a police informer, Kgase testified.

Richardson is accused of killing Stompie and dumping his body in the veld near Soweto where police found it on January 7 1989. He has pleaded not guilty to murder and charges of kidnapping, grievous assault and attempted murder.

Early last year Richardson told a Johannesburg newspaper that he did assault the four but Winnie Mandela didn't know anything about it. "I gave them a few smacks to make them tell the truth," he told City Press. He also claimed that Stompie ran away from Winnie's house and he never saw him again.

Winnie Mandela figured prominently in the first week of the trial though she has not been charged with any crime and did not testify.

HIEMSTRA COMMISSION

In the know

Sasol, the SABC and Post Office were sucked into the Johannesburg City Council spy network investigation when a former spy alleged they exchanged information with the military in weekly sessions.

During testimony at the Hiemstra Commission of Inquiry into alleged irregularities in the city's security department, Anthony Bennett said the three organisations (among other State-controlled sectors he did not name) co-operated with the SADF, possibly passing along information on stayaways and strikes.

In what it termed a prudent move in the light of its vulnerability to sabotage. Sasol confirmed this week that it did indeed participate in information-gathering with the SADF to protect facilities and employees. Sasol says in the past 10 years its installations have suffered four major attacks with weapons ranging from limpet mines to large calibre rockets.

Sasol spokesman Jan Krynauw says: "Only standard sources such as the information routinely supplied to national keypoints by the security services is used in this process."

Officials at the Post Office and SABC were not available for comment.

Not with their favour

The scheme decised by George businessman from Botha, a friend of former President P.W. Botha, to involve two overseas investment companies and one of SA's leading banks in a bogus company to give Military Intelligence (MI) as foothold in the international business community (Current Affairs April 27) was a pipe dream.

Botha's plan — which he submitted to MI in 1986 — was drawn up without the knowledge or authorisation of the two foreign companies, Jessup & Lamont (London) and Cramer et Cie (Geneva), or of Volkskas.

Swiss broker Jean-Antoine Cramer and London businessman George Kantsouris (formerly of Jessup & Lamont) this week angrily denied any involvement in Botha's scheme.

Volkskas group MD Danie Cronje also told the FM Volkskas had never been involved and was never aware of Botha's plan, Projek Witblits, which Pretoria attorney Ernest Penzhorn turned down on behalf of MI. Cronje is upset that his bank's name was used in this manner by Botha.

According to the proposals, Jessup & Lamont, Cramer et Cie and Volkskas (together with MI) would have been linked to a company, Credit International, which was to have involved itself in developments such as:

The Pande gas project in Mozambique;

- ☐ The Pande gas project in Mozambique
 ☐ The Cassava project in Transkei;
- ☐ The Sua Soda potassium development project in Botswana; and
- ☐ An electronic computer project in Mauri-

The arrangement was put by Botha to former MI brigadier Johan Deyzel — who later acted as an MI front-man at Jalc, a contracting company whose involvement in neighbouring countries came under discussion at the first Harms Commission of Inqui-

Kantsouris told the FM he met Botha socially in Cape Town in 1984. "Our firm had been involved with SA since 1982. Later I got a call from Botha in London during which he asked us (Jessup & Lamont) to get involved with the Pande gas project in Mozambique.

"Botha said things had changed in Mozambique and asked me whether we could assist in bringing an international contractor to build a gas plant in that country and a jetty to ship the ammonia to Richard's Bay

Bay.
"We, as a corporate financing house, agreed to find the contractor.

"I then approached Cramer et Cie, which is a very reputable investment firm in Switzerland. We first had a meeting with a US company and the Mozambicans but the Americans were not interested. Jean-Antoine Cramer then told me he would contact an Italian consortium. We then visited Manual

"Through our meetings it transpired that

Mozambique was still politically unstable and the government of that country could give us no guarantee. The key was with the SA government. However, after talks with Sentrachem the scheme fell flat and no agreements were reached. As far as the other projects of Projek Witblits are concerned we only knew about the Sua project in Botswana.

"Botha's structure, with our so-called involvement, was wholly unauthorised."

Kantsouris said the first time he met Jale's Chris van Rensburg was at the time of their meeting with the Italian contractors. He later saw Van Rensburg again in the company of Botha at the Sandton Sun, and also met Van Rensburg's co-director at Jale, John Strong, once. Botha told him that Jale worked in neighbouring states.

During the initial discussions of the Pande project, Kantsouris had talks with Volkskas Merchant Bank's Bill Pienaar and Peter Jagger. Toni Botha mentioned to him that he had also spoken to Pienaar, who later suggested he wasn't interested in the scheme, Kantsouris says. "During 1985, I saw Botha again in London but it was not business-related. I never got to know Deyzel, however."

Cramer also responded this week by saying he travelled at his own expense to SA to investigate the Pande project. That was the first time he met Botha. Cramer said he would never have involved himself with such a scheme: "I have done my utmost to defend SA. I would never get involved with an internal political plot."

He adds he has a great deal of respect for P W Botha, whom he hosted in Geneva during the president's visit to Europe for the funeral of former Bavarian PM Franz-Joseph Strauss. "I want to be presented as a friend and admirer of SA and I want to be known in political and business circles as such and that I had nothing to do with Toni Botha and that scheme."

Botha admitted this week to the FM that the two foreign companies and Volkskas had not been involved in his scheme. "This has embarrassed us all," he said. "It was really just one of a thousand ideas which had been weighed up to help P W Botha during a time when our country was in a sorry mess (verknorsing)."

He admits, however, to the existence of the document which he had drawn up and which was later submitted to MI. "I said that this was the sort of thing (the scheme) which could work," Botha concedes.

NEW CONSTITUTION

ANC's outline

A step-by-step framework within which the African National Congress (ANC) envisages constitutional change in SA was spelt

out by its international affairs chief. Thato Mbeki, in an address to the Cape Town Press Club last week:

Remove obstacles to negotiation. This first step has already been taken with last week's meeting between the ANC and government at Groote Schuur and is progressing well.

Determine who should be party to constitutional negotiations. All interested parties should be involved in broad discussions which should aim at achieving consensus on how best to achieve representation at the negotiating table.

The ANC's view is that a constituent assembly, similar to that which drew up Namibia's constitution, would be the best way. It would be elected by all South Africans:

Agree on the supervision of elections for a constituent assembly. The ANC believes it would be unfair for government, being a party to the negotiations, to supervise elections.

Another authority would have to be created to implement whatever agreements are reached during the broad discussions between the various parties;

☐ Form an interim government. The ANC believes this is the best way of implementing agreements in a manner that doesn't benefit or prejudice any party; and

☐ Establish the impartiality of the SABC. The ANC believes the SABC will play a



whites fear Mbeki changes

crucial role in disseminating information during elections and negotiations and cannot be controlled by a party to the negotiations as is currently the case.

Mbeki says the ANC remains opposed to a group-based system, but not to a consensus system within a democratically elected body.

He says it's difficult to understand why President F W de Klerk is opposed to an interim government, which the ANC doesn't expect to be established immediately but at some future date. It will try to convince De Klerk of this need during negotiations.

According to Mbeki, the principal danger to the success of negotiations in the coming months is the fear of change among whites.

FARM LABOUR

Hot potato

A combination of Labour Party pressure and President F W de Klerk's new political vision is behind government's long-delayed move to bring farm workers under the protection of

labour law. Manpower Minister Eli Louw announced in parliament last month that amendments to the Basic Conditions of Employment Act and the Unemployment Insurance Act will be tabled next year.

He has asked the National Manpower Commission to investigate the Wage Act and Labour Relations Act as they affect farm workers and to report within 12 months. The commission has also been asked to investigate whether the rights of domestic workers should be protected by law.

Louw says the "unique circumstances" of domestic workers means labour legislation

can't be applied in its present form.

It has taken government nearly five years to agree to extend labour law reforms to farm workers after being given a report on the matter by the commission in July 1985. The report has never been made public but it is reliably understood to have recommended the moves Louw has now announced.

Government repeatedly claimed delay in releasing the report was due to the wideranging nature of consultations that were necessary before any action could be taken.

The real reason was, however, apparently the unacceptablity of the recommendations within the conservative farming community. But there were strong indications late last year that organised agriculture was moving towards the acceptance of a better deal for workers (Current Affairs October 27 1989).

Government came under pressure this year when the Labour Party refused to discuss labour or agricultural legislation in Standing Committees as a protest against government's reluctance to reform farm labour measures. In reaction to Louw's announcement, the LP has agreed to co-operate

The CP's Frank le Roux warned it was dangerous to extend labour laws to farm workers because it could lead to rationalisation of the labour force and increased urbanisation. He added there were about 1,5m workers on farms and another 6m people depended on their earnings.

Yesterday in Parliament

Nat tells Goyt, ANC, Inkatha to team up

By Ormande Pollok Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—The new South Africa would be built on at least three pillars — the National Party, the ANC and Inkatha, Dr Johan Steenkamp, NP MP for Umhlatuzana, said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking during the Constitutional Affairs budget debate, he said others might also be present at the negotiations but these three had already said they would be there.

'Not one of these three can ensure peace and progress without the other two. By teaming together we will eventually lead our followers on a new and better road,' he urged.

The NP was not spineless and would not hand over its voters to domination and if Mr Nelson Mandela and the ANC thought it would accept domination they were

Earlier he said the new constitution would have to provide protection against ethnic domination and the tyranny of the majority.

South Africa should not ignore the strength and persistency of ethni-

city.

However, the challenge facing the country was to build a new South Africa which would be one country with equitable place for each of its diverse people.

'Let us, therefore, leave once and for all behind us the racial discrimination of the past. That way we shall leave apartheid behind us,' he said

The NP had realised a long time ago that it would have to reach an understanding with the ANC which had the greatest influence among Xhosas, had structures in most of the black urban areas and had considerable influence in Natal in spite of Inkatha.

Resolve

But the party had not been paralysed by fear at the prospect of speaking to the ANC or the S A Communist Party.

'We took each other on militarily and the ANC/SACP lost. However, it did not resolve the problem,' he said.

'Apart from the internal impasse — and also as a result of it — we faced increasing isolation, sanctions and disinvestment and there were plans to intensify these measures.

'The situation was deteriorating.'

He said the country had not wanted to go on like that and had had to break out of the spiral of violence and economic stagnation.

'Who wants a destructive power struggle nobody can win?' he asked.

Merenry

11-05-1990

French leaders accept assurances of changes being 'irreversible'

Triumph for FW at Paris meeting

ALAN DUNN and PETER FABRICIUS Special Correspondents

PARIS: President F.W. de Klerk is set to conquer Europe after a resounding diplomatic success in talks with French President Francois Mitterrand.

His hour with Mr Mitterrand at the Palais d' Elysée yesterday clearly hastened an imminent, joint European relaxation of sanctions against South Africa.

Emerging smiling and reporting a "very positive" meeting, he signalled a "dramatic" improvement in relations with France.

He hinted strongly at France being on the verge of at least partly easing sanctions.

Mr de Klerk said that if South Africa implemented its reform plans — as it intended to do — "great strides" would be made towards normalising South Africa's relations with Europe . . . within months.

Relations had already improved dramatically: "and it is my impression that they are about to improve again in a short time."

Sources say the European Community is about to lift some sanctions and boycotts — and that a tour of South Africa by the French rugby team may be in the offing.

Mr de Klerk noted afterwards that he had "made a very particular request" of Mr Mitterrand to drop a ban on sports and rugby links between the countries.

He said further it was clear to him that France and Europe "stand ready to make a total re-evaluation of the situation in His im

South Africa."

There was no question that within months great strides would be made to

normalise relations.

As the South African Foundation's Paris director, Mr Desmond Colborne, said: if Mr de Klerk could crack the tough nut of France, Europe would probably follow.

While yesterday's talks were held in Mr Mitterrand's office, French diplomats said outside that a 30-minute meeting was normal. Between 35 and 40 minutes was exceptional, they said.

Mr de Klerk emerged an hour later, smiling.

He later told an international press conference that he had been received in a "most friendly manner" and had been impressed by the warmth of the meetings with Mr Mitterrand and Prime Minister Mr Michel Rocard. His impression was that France — after historically taking a strong stance against South Africa — now realised that South Africa had changed totally.

Both leaders accepted his assurances that the changes were irreversible.

Mr de Klerk said he had not directly raised the question of sanctions. He had not come "cap in hand" with a list of sanctions he wanted lifted.

"And I am not leaving with prizes," he added.

However sanctions were raised and discussed. Both sides gave their views in full.

See page 2

LANG NEWS

11-88-1990

Partial lifting of the emergency on cards: FV

ALAN DUNN and PETER FABRICIUS

Special Correspondents

PARIS. President F.W. de Klerk has disclosed that the Government is considering a partial lifting of the state of emergency.

He was speaking at an international Press conference here after meeting French President Francois Mitterrand and Prime Minister Michel Rocard.

Mr de Klerk was asked why the Government could not lift the state of emergency in those areas where the violence had subsided and leave it in place only in areas such as Natal where the violence was bad.

He said the Government was constantly reviewing the emergency and a partial lifting was an option that the Government was consider-

He said, however, that Natal was not the only place where the level of violence was high.

When the situation allowed, the Government would make its decisions and announce them.

Mr de Klerk said that the state of emergency had formed part of the discussions between the Government and the ANC last week.

A very specific point of view had been taken in the Groote Schuur minutes that had been agreed to at the meeting.

This was that the South African Government had re-iterated its commitment to lift the emergency as soon as possible.

But in the same breath the ANC had committed itself to help reduce vio-lence "so I will be able to lift the emergency."



PRESIDENT F.W. de Klerk reviews the guard of honour at the Elysée Palace in Paris. He also met President Francois Mitterrand for an hour.

Anti-apartheid demos in Paris pick wrong motorcade as Press hurtle past

PARIS: Anti-apartheld demonstrators outside the South African Embassy here had their balloon popped when they mistook a motorcade for President de Klerk's.

About 80 protesters, holding banners aloft, released a barrage of helium-filled balloons as stretch limousines with police outriders and blaring sirens drove along the Quai d'Orsay on the left bank of the Seine.

The convoy, carrying South African reporters to the swish George V Hatel to cover Mr de Klerk's news senference, sped by as the demonstrators made their gesture opposite the embas-

Officials, long the target of anti-apartheid venom, giggled in delight at the error: the protes-ters had blown it: believ-

Special Correspondents

ing that they had successfully "ambushed" Mr de Klerk as he headed for the hotel.

The incident happened as the Press motorcade was heading, in 5.30pm traffic, from Mr de Klerk's meeting with Prime Minister Michel Rocard at his residence, the Hotel Matignon, to the news conference venue.

Mr de Klerk followed, after an hour with Mr Rocard, only 30 minutes later.

The feeling among some South African newsmen following Mr de Klerk was that their motorcade, certainly bigger and arguably more impressive than the State President's, may have been used as a decoy yesterday.

Six highly-polished

black and dark blue Mercedes, eight-seaters, have been at the disposal of the 19-member Press corps during their two days in Paris.

They were whisked from Orly Airport at breakneck speed to Mr de Klerk's hotel in central Paris on Wednesday. and again had French outriders slicing through traffic snarls yesterday at a stomach-churning

The helmeted escort thundered bravely through red traffic lights with one rider gesturing crossing traffic — with both gloved hands at once - to stop.

They were like Boswell-Wilkie trick riders, careering along, jinking, swerving, accelerating, braking, and gesturing With expansive Gallie waves that ears in the way should move over.

-> Page

Daily News 11-05-90

President de Klerk dines with top people in France

PARIS: President de Klerk has been enjoying the of France's finest cuisine in the bentany of

some of its try beopie.

On Wednesday Cheming, He supped at the Restaurant Laurent with Mr Jean-Marie Rausck, French Minister of External Trade.

Other diners included Mr Jean Lorgeoux, socialist leader in the French National Assembly chel Vauzelle, escialist member 24 the Assembly and chairling 34 its foreign affairs committee and Mi Jean-Christophe Mitteranu, son of President Mitterand and his adviser on Africa.

Interspersed among them at the

Special Correspondents

table were Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Foreign Affairs Director-General Nell vall Heerden, Bresi-Jential Section Fauth African of Houx, and senior South African of-

Mr de Klerk's meeting with Mr Rausch interested the French press: "What did you obtain from hat discussion", they asked him at

Mr de Klerk said he did Hat discuss sanctions with the minister. They had merely met at a social function and had spoken generally.

The two men had met for the first time in Windhoek in March, during the Namibian independence celebrations.

Yesterday Mr de Kierk lunshed with leading French industrialists, an event hosted in its private din-ing room by GEC Alsthom, a French giant dealing with power and railway equipment.

Also there were Societé Generale, the fourth largest French Bank and 20th in the world in terms of deposits, Air Liquide, a world leader in industrial gas and Vallourec, a pipe manufacturer.

Today, however, it's pre-cooked breakfast for Mr de Klerk as he jets to Athens.

THE 96-year-old Natal Indian Congress, which was founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1894, is to disband "in the near future" after prolonged discussions between its members.

NIC leaders say their organisation will be phased out once its role of mobilising the Indian community into African National Congress structures is completed.

NIC vice-president Mr Mewa Ramgobin, who was instrumental in reviving the organisation in 1971, said yesterday that the NIC had almost fulfilled its role of rallying the Indian community against apartheid and its manifestations.

"In order to lead the Indian community into a non-racial and democratic society, it is essential to have unity in action - in this case, direct participation

Natal Indian Congress to disband

NICOLA CUNNINGHAM-BROWN Political Reporter

through membership of the ANC."

He said it was "no secret" that the NIC had always acted under ANC leadership and consulted that organisation before formalising its policies.

The ANC had regarded the NIC as an ally from Gandhian days and also as a result of the Dadoo/Naicker pact in 1947. Both organisations held "basically the

same policies".

"There will be no need in the future, especially after the ANC's first general conference later this year, to conformations."

However, he conceded that the NIC had to be realistic and could not take it for granted that they would be able to recruit every Indian into the ANC. He said the political situation

was volatile and the Indian community in Natal had been affected by the continuing violence, where the ANC had been painted as "the bad guys" responsible for the trouble.

Mr Ramgobin said he was not aware of any internal opposition towards disbanding the NIC.

The NIC's general secretary, Dr Farouk Meer, confirmed that the NIC was to be disbanded "at a future date".

He said in the Leader newspaper that without the NIC it would be difficult to mobilise the Indian community into the ANC camp.

Dr Meer said there was a need for the ANC to open branches in Indian areas and it was the NIC's task to act as organiser and facilitator. Once that task was completed the NIC could be phased out.

UBUTHELEZI USHIYE

ANGALAZI

OnguNdunankulu wesabelo saKwaZulu, uButhelezi, ukhwele wazehlela kuCOSATU ngesikhathi ethula inkulumomgomo kwisishayamthetho saKwaZulu. "Uma ngiyifunda ivaliwe ngibona ukuthi sisazobona umgodoyi onguCOSATU udla umnikaziwo oyi-ANC umnikiza njengesilwane esikhohlakele esingumbulali woqobo," kusho uButhelezi. Ngokwephephandaba lesiLungu. iNatal Mercury yangomhla ka-18, April nonyaka, uButhelezi uthi izinyonyana zimomsebenzi ofanele zona kanti ngokufanayo namagembu abantu abannyama ezombusazwe anomsebenzi wawo. Ngakhoke unxusa uNkulunkulu ukuba "asize iSouth Africa engozini engabakhona uma singazehlukanisi lezinto zozimbili."

Uthi indlela uCOSATU
athuthuka ngayo yenza kucace
ukuthi uphokophelele ukuba
be nguhulumeni yena qobo
lengamele iSouth Africa
aphansi kukaCOSATU.

"Angisoze ngakunyamezelela ukugxambukela kwezinyonyana kwipolitiki yami." usho kanje. Uthi uCOSATU uyishaya ngapha nangapha ngoba "uzama ukusebenzisa abasebenzi ngenhloso yokuzuza isimo sezombusazwe emkhakheni kazwelonke kanti ngakolunye uhlangothi uCOSATU uzama ukuthi iqhaza lomuntu ongumsebenzi ukuthuthukisa isimo sezomnotho waseSouth Africa.

UButhelezi uthi akayiboni kahle indaba yokuthi iNkatha ingahlala kanjani ezingxoxweni zokuthula noCOSATU uma uCOSATU esaqhubeka nokumbukela phansi kanti futhi neNkatha uCOSATU uyithatha njengenhlangano eyize leze.

Uyigoqa inkulumo yakhe ngokuthi into edala loku ngukuthi akakaze ayithumele iNkatha ukuba iyohlasela ishanele. Ufunga uNkulunkulu uthi uma engahle athi "yebo. asishone khona siyoshanela lawamanyala kungabonwa isimanga samandla obulwane bokushanela bonke



lobabulongwe sibukhiphe buphele esifundeni saseMgungundlovu namaphethelo."

Hhayi-ke, uphetha ngokuthi kulonyaka iNkatha izokuba nomfutho omusha. Uthi izoqala ukuzuza izindawo ezintsha ezingumthombo wezombusazwe, negalelo elisha lobambiswano olusha nezivumelwano ezintsha eziyohlala zandisa amaziko oxhaso lwezombusazwe wempucuko nobulungiswa.

BENZA SENGATHI BAYAHOLA NGOKUBULALA

SATU Regional News
nana noComrade Jeffrey
e emva kwenhlekelele
velela. UComrade Vilane
Sihlalo kaCOSATU
thern Natal wasibalisela
ie:

iuyisimanga kwakona ukuthi igisaphila. Ngathi ngilele ebusuku bangeSonto langomhla ka-15 ngezikhathi zabohalf past ten kuya ku-11, ngezwa kuqhuma isibhamu ekameleni lami nelezingane. Ngathi ngibuyisa umqondo ngabona ukuthi sekuyasha ekameleni lezingane. Ngagijima ngashona ephasishini kodwa ngezwa kuqhuma ibhomu likaphethilomu ekameleni lami.

"Ngabaleka ngashona ekhishini. Ngathi ngiyavula ngazithela kumuntu ekanise emnyango. Ngathi ngisathi ngivala umnyango wasekhishini, yaqhuma inganono ngasefasiteleni lasekhishini.

"Izinhlamvu ezimbili zangishaya ehiombe langakwesokudla, kwathi eyodwa yabhajwa entanyeni ngezansi kwendlebe yangakwesokudla.

"Njengoba indlu yabe seyingamalangabi, sekugcwele intuthu endlini, ngabhaca ngaphansi kwetafula lasekhishini,

"Ngiyabona ukuthi beneliseka ukuthi njengoba basebengenembile ngangingasenakuvuka - sengiyoqedelwa amalangabi ayesegcwele yonke indlu.

"Basuka lapho babaleka bajikela ngaphambi kwendlu, ngabe sengithola ithuba lokuphuma ngomnyango wangaseniva, ngabalekela kwamakhelwane.
Ngafika lapho kwashayelwa
amaZP kodwa aze afika
sekuphele imizuzu engu-30 yize
isiteshi sawo siqhelelene nomuzi
wami ngo-two and a hali
kilometres.

"Iqabane engisebenza nalo lazama ukushayela abacishi bomlilo kodwa benqaba bathi sekuhlwile. Kodwa noma babefikile babengenakusiza ngalutho ngoba kwasekushe yonke into esendlini.

"Wabhubha kanjaloke umuzi wami nako konke enganginako, ngaphandle kwesikhindi sephijama engangilele ngaso. Izingane zami zasindiswa ukuthi zazingekho zivakashile." kuphetha uComrade Vilane esho elusizi.

Buthelezi's stance clearly defined

Sir - It is not easy to understand how Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha survive the devastating attacks by the ANC and UDF parties.

These parties, especially the UDF, have even deviated from the course

BUTHELEZI

of the struggle in order to denigrate Inkatha and its leadership.

They do not care how much damage is caused by the senseless strategy of violence in our struggle.

I believe God is on Buthelezi's side, and we are praying for him to carry on doing the right thing for the future of our land and people.

His stand is clearly defined and every sane person can understand it:

*One party state system will not work in South Africa.

*If ANC/UDF say sanctions against South Africa should be intensified, they must tell us first where do they get funds.

These leaders must stop playing with people.

They live in posh houses and drive expensive cars.

Their children are studying overseas while the so-called leaders are disrupting the education system here.

I want them to know that although poverty is part of our life, we do not enjoy it. They must stop abusing us.

After all, it is natural to malign the righteous ones and honour the wicked ones.

PA Gumede Estcourt

INDEPENDENT IMAY 1990 SA commits itself to majority rule

GERRIT VILJOEN, the acting president of South Africa in the absence abroad of FW de Klerk. has spelt out more persuasively and in more detail than ever before the government's determination to renounce apartheid and to put in its place a political system of qualified, but in the essential details democratic, majority rule.

The constitutional model envisaged by Mr Viljoen, the cabinet minister appointed by Mr de Klerk to spearhead the government's strategy in negotiations with black leaders, went a long way towards removing widespread suspicions that what the government has in mind for the future is "neo-apartheid". In fact, the decades-old demand of Nelson Mandela's African National Congress for, as the slogan goes, "a non-racial, democratic and united

From John Carlin in Johannesburg

South Africa" was amply satisfied by Mr Vilioen, not least because the qualifications he placed on majority rule were, he explained. not "a permanent principle".

So far, indeed, did Mr Vilioen go in responding to the ANC's bedrock demands that the suspicion likely to spread now in political circles is that the government and the ANC have already, in advance of formal negotiations. struck a deal.

In a speech before parliament on Wednesday, Mr Viljoen began: The biggest challenge facing the government and the National Party is to make our 'group concept' acceptable and marketable against the suspicion that it is ad-

vanced merely as a disguise for continuing the disparities and injustices of apartheid." "Group" has long been the ruling National Party's favourite euphemism for "race", and "protection for minorities" - meaning "whites" has been, more recently, the party's favourite coded slogan.

Mr Viljoen, accordingly, went on: "This suspicion is of course due to the albatross of apartheid and discrimination hanging around the neck of the historic group concept." But, as he indicated, the transformation in the National Party had gone hand in hand with a transformation of its

"Minorities requiring protection will have to be defined on the basis of freedom of association and in terms such as language, culture, ethnicity" - and, he sug-

gested later in the speech, "communities". He added: "The unaccentable group definitions in racial terms and with statutory prescriptiveness (as good a description of apartheid as anyl will have to be abandoned." Thus, the ANC's demand for a "non-racial" system was addressed.

As to democracy, at three different points in the speech he said: "It is of course not onestioned that the majority must rule"; "the will of the majority must remain an essential prerecuisite for decision-making"; and "minority protection is needed for the very reason that the majority

Minority protection, Mr. rule, but a qualification of it". Reof white South Africans - that the country, under black rule, will go the undemocratic way of most of Africa - he emphasised: "The majority does not totally monopolise power."

As to the ANC's "unitary" - as opposed to the currently partisioned - South Africa, Mr Viljoen was unequivocal: "In the new context the former almost exclusive emphasis on differences and on separate groups in the population will be replaced by the acceptance of one undivided South Africa and emphasis on one common nationhood . . . we accept a nationalism embracing all South Africans irrespective of race."

Mr Vilioen, it is worth remarking, held various meetings with Mr Mandela last year while the latte: was still in prison.

De Klerk in France, page 10

Army dumps rubble in Imbali yards

by KHABA MKHIZE

WHILE city residents stayed away from work to convince authorities that they wanted 32 Battalion, the riot unit and Kwa-Zulu Police to get out of Imbali, the 32 Battalion was busy dumping rubble in the yards of Imbali residents.

SADF and SAP officials told The Natal Witness this weekend that the incidents will be investigated. A commander of the 32 Battalion said yesterday the dumping of rubble in people's yards was a "big mistake" which is to be looked into.

Already, at a house in Unit 13 where rubble was dumped by an army payloader on Saturday, gangs from the "32" have been ordered to go back and clear it away.

Representatives from the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, as well as John Jef

Representatives from the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, as well as John Jeffrey, a city attorney representing the ANC, and Pietermaritzburg North MP Mike Tarr, toured the affected homes with the Witness yesterday. After inspecting the affected premises, they speculated that the action of the battalion was probably "vindictive".

They said it could have been that the battalion was confusing barricades with grassed soil dunes which were then deposited in the yards "to teach the people not to stay away and place barricades on the streets".

At a house in Nkwazi Road the rubble was collected on Thursday and placed outside the fence, then on Friday it was pushed by payloader against the wire fence, causing it to partially collapse.

The 70-year-old resident commented during the tour: "This is not a new South Africa who's going to fix this problem?"

A policeman who came to take photographs of one of the affected homes yesterday said people who have rubble problems caused by the 32 Battalion must notify the SAP individually so that something can be done.

Cleric denies sex charge in Stompie case

JOHANNESBURG—A Soweto Methodist priest, the Rev Paul Verryn, yesterday de-nied any knowledge of sexual misconduct between himself and three of the four youths kid-napped from the church and kept 'prisoner' at Winnie Mandela's

Mr Verryn gave his evidence-in-chief in the trial of Jerry Richard-son, 41, who has pleaded not guilty to the murder of 'Stompie' Moeketsi Seipei, the attempted murder of Andrew Ikaneng, four kidnapping charges and five of assault.

Mr Verryn testified al-though he had heard reports of the sexual mis-conduct, he had no knowledge of the allegations.

He had also heard reports that Stompie had been an informer, but he denied he had any knowledge of this.

It had emerged in court that Barend Mono, 20, Gabriel Mekgwe, 21, and Kenneth Kgase, 31, had been accused by Mrs Mandela and members of the so-called Mandela United Football Club of sexual misconduct with Mr Verryn.

Stompie had been accused of 'selling out' four comrades to police. The four had been shot dead at Parys. dead at Parys.

Mr Verryn told the court: 'After the (informer) allegations about Stompie a meeting was held, and my feeling was that a 14-year-old can-not be held responsible for the decisions of adults. We decided that Stompie should stay in the (church) house.'

He did not clarify with whom he had met.

He also said that in December 1988 he had accommodated between 15 and 20 people — aged between 14 and 37 — at the church manse.

'These people were afraid of vigilante actions in the townships. Some were psycologically traumatised, while others did not have homes.

Mr Verryn told the Court they had asked to be accommodated at the church.

Mr Kgase, who had been working at the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg, had intimated he wished to stay at the Soweto church, Mr Verryn said.

Mr Mekgwe had been traumatised by detention before he came to the Soweto church, and Stompie had been brought by (lawyer) Matthew Chaskalson to the church.

There had been some misunderstanding among the people stay-ing there about the cleaning of the house, Mr Verryn told the Court. 'You can imagine a house accommodating 15 people.

Mr Verryn said he had not stayed regularly at the church and on Janu-ary 7 he had received a ary, 7 he had received a telephone call from the pastor of the Central Methodist Church, Mr Alan Ching, telling him Mr Kgase had escaped from the Mandela home and was with him

'His eyes were black and blue and swollen and he told me his head and knees were sore. Twenty wounds on his back were beginning to heal.'

Confused

Mr Verryn told the Court Mr Kgase had tried to relate his story to him, but it had been confused.

to do two things — the first was to take him (Kgase) to a doctor and a lawyer.'

Mr Verryn testified he had also taken Mr Mono and Mr Mekgwe, after they had been removed from the Mandela house, to a doctor for treatment.

'Kgase told me he did not believe Stompie was still alive.

Mr Verryn testified that the last time he had seen Stompie alive was on December 28 at the manse. — (Sapa)

11-05-1990

THE NATAL

EVENTS OF THE past few weeks show that in the great constitutional debate that began in February, the process of concession and compromise is already under way. Among the more obvious signs are that the sharp edge is wearing off Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, has said the Government's concept of group or minority protection is not a permanent principle, more a transitional aid.

A modest shift, perhaps, in what were seen as earlier entrenchments but nevertheless meaningful progress.

In the case of nationalisation the ANC, recognising the debris of African economies about us, has possibly been sobered by the warnings from the International Monetary Fund, the United States and others that unless Africa turns to sound economic policies, of which nationalisation is not one, there will be no more of the generous handouts of the past.

We'd also surmise that hostile reaction from the business world has convinced many within the ANC leadership that if they persist in policies that have all but destroyed Eastern European economies, they would see a similar flight of entrepreneurs as that which left Zimbabwe a shadow of its once prosperous self.

In the case of the Government, we'd hazard it was not simply Mr Nelson Man-. dela's weekend 'warning' that President de Klerk should not bring group rights 'to any conference the corner.

with the ANC' that persuaded Dr Viljoen to be a little more forthcoming.

It was surely the knowledge that, in the end result, whatever new constitution is negotiated, minorities will have to accept that whatever protection is agreed for group or individual human rights it must enjoy — as the Government already concedes is the case with the total peace package it seeks — the support of the majority of all 'groups.'

The ANC, too, is likely to have to make concessions on the protection of minorities if it wants to realise its hopes of a fair share in Government.

And it might start demonstrating a little more reason by acknowledging that the protection whites seek is not simply a manoeuvre to maintain domination. Other minorities share white concern.

As Dr J N Reddy, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, said on Wednesday, his party (Solidarity) also stood for protection of minorities.

Only those who did not want to see 'denied the reality of trampled minority rights around the world'.

The United Nations had not had the guts to stand up against the injustices to minorities in countries such as Fiji, Ceylon and most African countries.

As Dr Viljoen has said, the protection of rights will probably be the most difficult issue at peace talks. And as we said earlier this week, unless the ANC recognises and accommodates the legitimate concerns of minorities there could well be no peace talks around

mper

NATAL's timber industry is a negative effect on wet-expanding so rapidly that it lands and water reserves,