### THE ARGUS 27-04-1993

# Nats astounded by IFP jibe of 'cosy' alliance with ANC

JOHANNESBURG. — The government has lashed out at the Inkatha Freedom Party for its accusation that President De Klerk's administration is in cahoots with the African National Congress in the training of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

In a statement circulated yesterday to participants in the negotiating council at the World Trade Centre near Johannesburg, the IFP said it was deeply disturbed by "the cosy relationship between the ANC and the government".

"We know the government and the ANC have a cosy

"We know the government and the ANC have a cosy agreement on MK being permitted to train its cadres and we know they are being trained overseas and in Africa as well as Transkei.

"There may be no formal

agreement between the government and the ANC to this effect, but we also know these cadres are being deployed in Natal/Kwazulu and that they are coming into the region with hit lists of IFP leaders; that they are importing large quantities of arms and ammunition; and, crucially, that the government is fully aware of this," IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said in a statement.

In response at a Press conference last night, Minister of Constitutional Development and Communications Mr Roelf Meyer said the IFP comments were "unfortunate and premature".

Cape National Party leader Dr Dawie de Villiers said his party was "astounded" by the statement

"We were astounded by the harshness and the inflammatory nature of the statement."

The NP found it strange the IFP had not made the accusations when Mr De Klerk met IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi recently.

Mr Meyer said the government would give a more detailed response when it confronted the IFP at the negotiating council meeting on Friday.

At another Press conference, the Pan Africanist Congress also expressed dismay at the IFP statement.

PAC general-secretary Mr Benny Alexander deplored the sniping between the ANC and the IFP. — Sapa. TONY CARNIE visits the "secret meeting place of the elephants"

# Mgungundlovu rises from the dust of the ages

GUNGUNDLOVU—
"the secret meeting place of the elephants"— is rising up from the dust of Zululand once more.

Established in 1829 as the headquarters of the Zulu monarch Dingaan, it was burned to the ground in 1838 by the king himself, as he fled to Swaziland to escape the wrath of Voortrekker commandos seeking revenge for the murder of their leader, Piet Retief, and 68 other trekkers.

Dingaan escaped them, only to be put to death a few days later by the Nyawo tribe, supported by the Swazis.

The location of his capital, in the sacred emaKhosini valley of Zululand, has never been forgotten. But archaeological remnants of his original hut were only uncovered in 1990, and Natal Provincial Museum workers have been busy since 1992 restoring the hut and his capital to near original condition.

According to Frans Roodt, curator of the site, Dingaan's hut had a diameter of nearly 10m, making it probably the largest hut ever to be built in traditional Zulu manner.

Other evidence which also proves the identity of the hut, is

the charcoal remains of the 22 supporting posts documented by Piet Retief and the reverends Champion and Owen.

According to historical reports, the supporting posts were covered in glass beads, the molten remains of which were also recovered.

The extraordinary six-pointed hearth is also an indication of the status of the king, as this shape is not repeated in any of the other huts.

Historians estimate the military settlement was more or less oval, with about 1 500 huts capable of accomodating between 5 000 and 7 000 people.

Mr Roodt says there was a sense of grandeur about Dingaan and his court which many kings lacked and a style which was unique among the rulers of the day.

"He was not the same warrior king as his predecessor Shaka, but spent most of his time in his isigodlo (royal area) being entertained with song and dance."

Rejoice Mchunu, a guide at Mgungundlovu, takes great delight in telling tourists that Dingaan had a total of 500 wives and mistresses.

Dingaan (meaning "the needy one") has been variously de-

scribed as "charming, intelligent, shrewd and artistic" and also as "cruel beyond belief and treacherous".

Born between the years 1793 and 1798 in the homestead of his father Senzagakhona, Dingaan grew up to be the most handsome and sturdiest of his age group, but was apparently quite sullen and reserved.

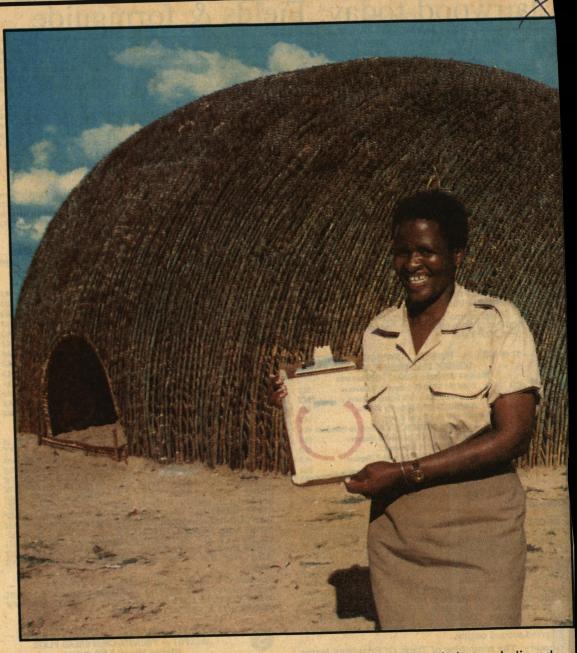
He took over as King of the Zulus after assassinating his half-brother Shaka in 1828, in concert with Mhlangana.

The framework of his famous hut, burnt to the ground in 1838, was only completed late last year, and temporary workers are about to start thatching it.

There are also plans to replace the original beadwork on the supporting poles and reconstruct the original floor, now covered with river sand to prevent damage by tourists.

However, the pace of restoration is being severely hampered by a shortage of money, and no date has been set for the grand opening ceremony.

• Mgungundlovu, only a few hundred metres from the murder site of Piet Retief, is located just of the main Melmoth-Vryheid road, near the Ulundi turnoff



Rejoice Mchunu welcomes vistors to Mgungundlovu. Dingaan's hut — believed to be the largest ever built in traditional Zulu fashion — stands half-completed behind her.

Picture by TONY CARNIE

DANIEL SILKE looks at TV 'after Hani'

# The changing face of TV in a 'new SA'

UST four years ago, Cliff Saunders would have been busy. During times of political unrest, Saunders represented the worst of state-controlled television. Hatchet jobs, selective use of film footage and blatant pro-National Party propaganda were the staple diet for millions of SABC-TV viewers.

The Chris Hani assassination has changed all this.

Gone are the days where the political and moral high ground was monopolised by the NP. The last few weeks have altered the face of South African television permanently, with both positive and negative consequences.

Even in the "new South Africa", state-run television was firmly in white control. This legacy had its roots in direct state interference from John Vorster and, later, PW Botha.

#### The last few days have altered the face of SA television permanently

Botha, in particular, had used television for his own personal and party ends by simply demanding an appearance to present his, and *only* his, side of the story.

The night of the assassination, things changed. For the first time ever, Nelson Mandela addressed South Africa in a live broadcast on TV1. This was an event of some magnitude in that this was securely a privilege of the State President alone. With his appearance, a shift in authority was clearly discernible. Mandela was the person calming the nation. He was instructing South Africa in the appropriate response to the crime and appealing for calm. Mandela had taken

Prior to the day of protest, the Wednesday following Hani's death, Mandela addressed the nation yet again on national television. This time, he enjoyed prime, headline coverage on both CCV and TV1. In a presidential style delivery, he appealed for calm and discipline and gave a brief eulogy to Hani. Mandela appeared with the backdrop of a study and wore a conservative, dark suit. His sombre address was broadcast at the beginning of both evening newscasts as if he was the commander-in-chief. Mandela, clearly, was regarded as the man of the moment. Only he could diffuse and hopefully stabilise the volatile situation that existed. Mandela was still in charge.

How unfortunate therefore, that the editing of his message that evening on TV1 brought a degree of political interference from the ANC reminiscent of the worst of the PW Botha era. The ANC had objected to Mandela's eight-minute speech being reduced to only four minutes on the 8pm TV1 newscast and had pressurised the SABC into re-broadcasting the message in its entirety. The SABC buckled under and presented the un-edited version at 11pm.

Such direct intervention from a party-political source has brought condemnation from the head of the Campaign for Independence in Broadcasting, Raymond Louw, as an indication of "what the public may expect of the ANC if it was in power". With Mandela firmly in charge via the electronic media, the ANC seemed to overplay its hand and presented the nation with an ugly reminder of what political interference may result in.

Talk show guests referred to Hani's "ceaseless struggle against apartheid" and one commentator referred to him as "South Africa's greatest revolutionary". Coming from employees of state-run television, one is tempted to recall the likes of Chris Rencken and Red Metrovitch doing much the same for the NP during the '60s and '70s in the "Top Level" and "Comment" radio programmes.

The five-hour broadcast of the Hani funeral was nothing less than a watershed in the television history of South Africa. Not since the funerals of presidents Diederichs or Vorster have South Africans been witness to such a spectacle played out live in their homes.

Again, the tables have turned. Whereas state funerals were once the sole domain of the government, the ANC had taken charge. Viewers were treated to hours of speeches and eulogies filmed through the silhouette of a huge hammer and sickle which adorned the canopy covering Hani's coffin. Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres were seen marching in goosestep fashion and shouts of Joe Slovo's rallying cry, "Viva SACP" must have echoed into every viewer's living room. For the majority of whites, these scenes must come as quite a shock. Television has given the country a glimpse of the post-NP South Africa with all its advantages and potential pitfalls.

#### THE NATAL Mercury 27/04/93

On a positive note, the demonisation of the ANC and the SACP in the past has been replaced by a legitimisation of the liberation movements as truly patriotic South African political actors. Never before has the state-run media so presented the African Nationalist cause with so much vigour and unbridled support.

The live transmission of the funeral has also allowed whites to share in the genuine

The ANC has used the electronic media for its own ends

grievances of blacks and have enabled them to witness, at first hand, a moving burial ceremony noteworthy for speeches of considerable dignity and symbols honoured rather than outlawed.

rather than outlawed.

Perhaps most importantly, the once dreaded communists and "terrorists" of the ANC were portrayed to whites as normal human beings with very fair and egalitarian demands for this country. Significantly, their "struggle" was depicted by the SABC as just and necessary against the admitted, and now recognised, evil of apartheid.

However, the sycophantic treatment of the National Party of yesterday seems to have been replaced by a similar attitude towards the ANC—and they are yet to hold office. The ANC has used the electronic media for its own ends—to engender sympathy and promote itself in advance of the country's first democratic election. While we can all applaud the SABC for shedding its pro-government bias, the question remaining is whether a post-apartheid South Africa will still enjoy media freedom, or will the dominant factor simply be a change of political ideology and governing party that continues to demand its way with this all-powerful medium?

Daniel Silke is research assistant for Robert Schrire's Institute for the Study of Public Policy at UCT.

# Sanco threat to n mass action

**CLIVE SAWYER Municipal Reporter** 

THE SA National Civics Association will join the ANCalliance rolling mass action unless its demands on local government are met by the end of the month.

Sanco has deamnded of Minister of Local Government Dr **Tertius Delport:** 

 Abolition of all racially-based local authorities, including white municipalities, by June;

• Replacement of councils by interim non-racial authorities appointed by the Local Government Negotiating Fo-

 Abolition of all local government laws by June;

 Writing off of all rent and service arrears owed by black, Indian and coloured people;

 An end to privatisation of community services;

 Replacement of provincial administrations by non-racial interim regional authorities.

The Local Government Reform Bill announced by Dr Delport on Thursday was a National Party attempt to take power at local level in advance of national elections, Sanco national general secretary Mr Dan Sandi said.

Dr Delport said the Bill would provide for consolidation of all local government legislation, removal of racial connotations from the ordinances which would imply abolishing management committees creation of metropolitan councils, and offering ward councils as an option.

The Bill would replace the Interim Measures for Local Government Act and set dead-lines for "local option" arrangements to be negotiated.

Municipal elections could be held before national elections, Dr Delport said.

Mr Sandi said the Bill had not taken account of the majority of the people.

He said local government elections should be held after the first non-racial parliamentary elections.



TIME TO VOTE: An ANC protestor stands at the gate of the venue of the multi-party talks which resumed yesterday at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park. There was a strong police presence, with razor wire encircling the grounds.

"The regime's aim is to frustrate multi-party negotiations and it should be remembered that Dr Delport is the man who caused a deadlock in Codesa last year."

Sanco rejected Dr Delport's proposal of separate voter's rolls for property owners and others as apartheid in disguise.

Proposed different types of councils for urban and rural areas would confuse people.

Ward councils would promote apartheid, because they would remain racially-based in a new South Africa, he said.

The NATAL MERCURY 27-04-93

### After the marches...

SIR — After reading the numerous letters this morning (April 21) re the marches, to put al, etc, the letter that has prompted me to paper is one from "R M Lyster". Who letter they have pointed out that they were letter they have pointed out that they were part of the marches and that only a percent part of the windows were broken, one motor like set alight, etc.

Has this person stopped and thought for moment what this, damage could have one moment what this, damage could have one moment what this, damage could have owner of that motorbike, a decent person who is struggling against the onds of the economy and trying to run a small business. Now that his "bread and butter" has been the Now that his "bread and butter" has been the family's table? I doubt it.

I noticed that when the Midlands leader.

family's table? I doubt it.

I noticed that when the Hadebe, none of was assassinated, Reggie Hadebe, none ithis nonsense developed. Is this because it was blacks that killed him and a white person killed Chris Hani or was he not important enough?

enough?
I hope the ANC will assist or reimburse the people who have suffered losses through these marches they have organised, (supposedly under control), as they are in Germiston by repairing the graves that were destroyed during the funeral destroyed and live together peacefully.

C L GLOUSTER enough?

#### CHURTON COLLINS assesses Winnie Mandela

## Getting away with high treason?

INNIE Mandela has honed treason-intransition to a fine art. Over the years she has pushed the authority of the State to the limit, and now she is not prepared to let Chris Hani's death go without one last shot.

Treason, as quaintly remembered from the "PW era", constituted an unlawful attempt to destroy or weaken the authority of the State. Calls to arms to dethrone the white regime were typically greeted with the predawn visitations from the police, and followed up with a charge of treason.

In the mid-1980s a young man received 24 years for treason for placing a limpet mine on a bridge and then removing it when he got cold feet.

All States fiercely guard their authority which is exercised in terms of a constitution. All civilised constitutions provide mechanisms for the handing over of power to another party usually by way of democratic elections.

In South Africa there is no mechanism for the handing of power to the black majority. Until fairly recently the attainment of power could only be gained by revolution.

Mrs Mandela's box-of-matches speech in the mid 1980s was made in a powerfully revolutionary climate. She was also a hero in the eyes of young blacks and a saint in the eyes of the rest of the world. She knew she could get away with it, although her reputation as a saint certainly suffered.

Now in Cape Town she calls on the youth of South Africa to arm and drive the white fascists from power. Not only is this statement high treason, but it also constitutes one of the most cynical manipulations of the death of hero-comrade that one can imagine.

Like it or not, Mr de Klerk is still the headmaster with the right and duty to make rules and issue punishment. Everyone recognises that the rotten old system has to go. Mrs Mandela represents that group that is still hell-bent on revolution irrespective of whether the old principal has agreed to stand down.

She is well aware that her arrest on a charge of high treason would greatly further her cause. Perhaps she dreams of this eventuality. Mr de Klerk might also dream of arresting her, but he is obviously aware that to do so would be to play into her hands.

We are left in cloud-cuckoo land where reality is distorted and right and wrong are blurred.

The law in South Africa has lost its moral authority. The

State might have the laws and the police have got the guns, but criminals and revolutionaries are running amok.

The question of law enforcement under a transitional system raises fascinating possibilities. Mr Mandela is likely to be the headmaster and it will be his unenviable task to discipline the class bullies. He will also have to tackle the murderers and bandits. Lawlessness will be an attack on his authority. The law of the jungle which prevails today will have to be forcefully confronted.

Mrs Mandela's treasonable outbursts must be seen in this context. The law is an ailing mule that can hardly pursue her and her comrades. We shall all have to make do with a patch-up job until the elections usher in an effective authority. Until then a lot of people are going to get away with murder.

ONDON - The year was 1960. Sharpeville had just exploded and South Africa was in turmoil. I met Oliver Tambo, then deputy president of the ANC, in Cape Town.

Tambo invited my opinion on whether the Unlawful Organisations Act, of which the Government had given notice, signified that this was how far the Verwoerd Government would go for the time being.

I suggested that the Act contained little that was not already available in the Suppression of Communism Act and

that the Bill's main purpose, therefore, was to embarrass the United Party opposition. The conclusion I drew from this was that further measures against the ANC could be expected. Tambo returned immediately to Johannesburg, and, on the instructions of the ANC leadership, left the country to establish the organisation in exile.

A few days later, the Government declared a state of emergency and took almost 2 000 leaders and activists into detention. If Tambo had been present he would have been one of the detainees. The Unlawful Organisations Act was passed and both the ANC and PAC were banned.

In a tape recorded interview in London on July 31 1983, Tambo — who lived in Muswell Hill not far from my house in Highgate - recalled with a chuckle my contribution to his de-

# Tambo's great sacrifice

TOLERANT GUIDANCE He literally

#### worked himself to death during exile:

parture for exile. The acknowledgement gave me little pleasure. In 30 years of exile. Tambo literally worked himself to death.

When Sharpeville exploded, many prominent South Africans, business leaders in particular, but also some Dutch Reformed Church ministers, implored the Government to modify its policies.

The fanatical Verwoerd brushed them aside. Twenty-five years later, after the 1984 unrest, the same organisations were still making the same appeals. It took South Africa 30 years after Sharpeville to come to its senses.

I shall never forget that interview with Tambo, as he regretfully shook his head, and said: "I think South Africa is lucky to have an organisation like the ANC. I really think they are. It will be a nonracial force ... the majority of people in South Africa will have to come round, and they will be looking for a new kind of society, and not a polarisation. "The bitterness of the struggle will diminish support for the regime. I think it must."

Tambo, of course, be-

longed to the old school of ANC leaders, which includes Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu - remarkable men in their wise and tolerant guidance.

White South Africans indeed can count themselves lucky, not only that men such as these held the reins of power for so long but that they have been able to rear a new generation of ANC leaders trained in the

violent regime in South Africa," said Tambo, "but we stuck to our non-violence. As the years went by, the violence increased. We saw more and more of armed police — armed with pistols at first and then armed with Sten guns. "Then the tanks came on. The whole situation was becoming very militarised." Even after Sharpeville, the ANC decided to continue with non-violence. It called for a national convention to write a new constitution and in 1961

embarked on civil disobedience, beginning with a national strike. The Government then mobilised the army "on a scale not seen since World War 2 ... the army had left its barracks and we knew then that the army had reached the end of the road of non-violence. We couldn't take it further than that, if the army was now involved. Police were no longer sufficient... It was then that we decided to embrace violence as a method of struggle."

same tradition of tolerance. If white South Africans really want to know what race strife can be like, they should wait until Winnie and Peter Mokaba start their ritual fire dance. In my lengthy interview with Tambo, he stressed the

same point again and again: that the ANC pursued non-violence for as long as it possibly could. For 12 years, from the National Party's accession to power in 1948, it doggedly refused to resort to violence. "Never had there been a more

By Bronwyn Wilkinson Clyde Johnson and Own Correspondent

### 'Mokaba chant may be linked to murders'

Two farmers and a plot owner were killed in seemingly motiveless murders in the Free State and Transvaal on Sunday.

Police are investigating the possibility that ANC Youth League (ANCYL) members have taken seriously a recent chant by leader Peter Mokaba to "kill the Boer, kill the farmer".

Donkerhoek, Pretoria, plot owner Aardt Schenkel (24) died early vesterday of bullet wounds sustained in an attack on his home on Sunday night.

Schenkel, his wife Marian and their three young children were ambushed by four men just inside their property at about 8.30 pm.

Police spokesman Lieutenant Evan Johnson said several AK-47 bullets hit Schenkel. He died early yesHospital.

His wife is in a serious condition.

A neighbour, who did not want to be named, said she had heard people chanting "kill the Boer, kill the farmer" in the area on Friday night.

"I do not know whether this is related to last night's shooting but the atmosphere

terday in the HF Verwoerd here is very tense," she said.

In another attack on Sunday, a farmer was shot dead on his Blesbokspruit farm near Piet Retief.

Eastern Transvaal police said Flip van Rooyen (39) and labourer Swazi Shabangu (63) were in the dairy at 4 pm when two men armed with an AK-47 and a 9 mm pistol entered through different doors.

Shabangu grabbed the one with the rifle. When Van Rooven went to help him, the second gunman opened fire, hitting the farmer.

Taking nothing, the pair fled to a waiting car occupied by three other men.

Van Rooyen was certified dead on arrival at the Piet Retief Hospital.

Free State police launched a huge air and ground search vesterday for the murderers of a farmer who was stabbed to death near Senekal on Sunday.

Gemie Blom (70) and his wife Betty (69) were attacked after coming home from church at 11.30 am.

The attackers did not steal anything, police said.

A spokesman for SAP public relations headquarters in Pretoria, Captain Nina Barkhuizen, said yesterday police

were investigating the possibility that ANCYL supporters had taken Mokaba's recent chant "kill the Boer, kill the farmer" seriously, particularly since the chant had been heard in Donkerhoek on Friday night.

Free State Agricultural Union president Dr Pieter Gous said yesterday the call by Mokaba and other leaders had found "fertile soil" among radical followers.

He appealed to farmers to be more vigilant on weekends since this was when attacks seemed to occur.

# GOWANG. BOWLIE F.

THE government and the African National Congress have lashed out at the Inkatha Freedom Party for its accusations that State President De Klerk's administration is in cahoots with the African National Congress in permitting the training of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

The IFP said in a state-

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#### THE CITIZEN, TUESDAY 27 APRIL 1993

## Govt, ANC row with IFP

#### FROM PAGE 1

arms and ammunition; and, crucially, that the government is fully aware of this," IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said in a statement.

In response at a Press conference last night, Minister of Constitutional Development and Communications, Mr Roelf Meyer said the IFP comments were "unfortunate and premature".

Cape National Party leader, Dr Dawie de Villiers, said his party was "astounded by the harshness and the inflammatory nature of the state-

ment".

The NP found it strange the IFP had not made the accusations when Mr De Klerk met IFP leader, chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, recently.

Mr Meyer said the government would give a more detailed response when it confronted the IFP at the negotiating council meeting on Friday.

The question of violence was an integral part of the agenda of the entire negotiating structure, he added

At another Press conference, the Pan Africanist Congress also expressed dismay at the IFP statement.

PAC general secretary,
Mr Benny Alexander,
said his organisation
feared the current pollucal sniping between the
ANC and the IFP might
overshadow real progress
made in negotiations.

"The IFP is trying to wreck negotiations,"
ANC secretary-general,
Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, said after the day's proceedings, and class to the mr Ramaphosa, South

Mr Ramaphosa, South African Communist Party

national chairman, Mr Joe Slovo, and senior ANC negotiator, Mr Mac Maharaj, addressed a joint Press conference yesterday evening.

show soon whether they are serious about negotiations," Mr Slovo said.

"Those parties, including the IFP, who are not prepared to go along with the process will find themselves outside it," he warned.

"This process must move forward with speed," Mr Maharaj said, adding that the IFP was impeding negotiations.

Mr Ramaphosa reiterated the ANC position, shared by the government, that the next six weeks were crucial to negotiations.

As far as the government and ANC were concerned, the end of May had become the deadline for substantial progress on the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council for the period before the country's first non-racial elections.

"We are not going to be put in a position where we have to accept parties which delay or frustrate the process," Mr Ramaphosa said.

"There comes a time when those parties which want to wreck the process will expose themselves. The public will see who the wreckers are.

"Negotiations should not be held hostage to party political squabbling."

The ANC would respond to the IFP document "in due time", Mr Ramaphosa said, adding the ANC believed the issue belonged outside negotiations."

The "ANC would" not,"

The ANC would not, however, call off their

talks with the IFP or plans to hold a summit between the ANC president Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Buthelezi.

Mr Ramaphosa said the IFP document and resolution could best be handled bilaterally.

The Inkatha Freedom Party surprised other delegates at the resumption of multiparty negotiations yesterday when it submitted a resolution on violence calling for all private armies to be disbanded immediately.

"Private armies not only serve absolutely no useful purpose whatso-ever, but as instruments of violence are the most serious threat to the potential success of these multi-party talks," Dr Mdlalose said.

Due to procedural hiccups, such as a lack of time for delegates to study documentation, the forum did not discuss the issue of violence yesterday as had been planned.

Discussion was postponed to Friday after the forum agreed to adjourn without having tackled "substantive issues" on the agenda.

"I intend still reading the document and recolution to the negotiating council," Dr Mdlalose said yesterday afternoon.

"Violence, and the participation of negotiation parties in the generation of the idiom of violence, and worse their participation in acts of violence, should now be curbed in every possible way," the IFP resolution stated.

"We demand that this forum immediately set up a commission supported by military and technical experts, to organise and supervise the disbandment of private armies, the identification and

control of arms caches, measures to prevent any turther training of citizens abroad, and the rehabilitation of former members of private armies," Dr Molalose sald in his prepared address.

The IFP resolution proposed specifically that the negotiating council call on the African National Congress "to accept the need" that its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, disband.

"We believe all private armies must be disbanded forthwith," Dr Mdlalose

said.

"Apla, MK, AWB or Wit Wolwe members wishing to join the future defence force can do so, providing they satisfy whatever minimum criteria are in place."

While the IFP did not know when South Africa's first non-race elections would be held, "we envisage the entire negotiations, transitional and electoral processes being finalised by the end of next year at which stage the first democratic government... can take of nee".

"But we must also be quite frank in admitting that there are major problems with our timetable if the violence directed against us is permitted to continue unchecked," Dr Mdlalose said.

The IFP was not prepared to accept a general election based on "die politics of victory at all" costs, backed up by private armies devastating communities and sowing fear and mayhem".

fear and mayhem".

The IFP delegation to the talks issued a "Death List" of 275 IFP officer bearers and party-leaders who had been assassinated since 1985. — Sapa.

The state of the s

# Thousands

By Fred de Lange and Sapa

THOUSANDS of people are expected to attend the funeral of the late leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, in Pretoria today.

The general secretary | Africa because of a lack of the party, Dr Lem Theron, said in Pretoria yestorday it was initially felt that CP supporters should hold memorial services in different towns throughout South

of space at the original venue.

But with the venue having been changed to the Bosman Street NG

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#### THE CITIZEN, TUESDAY 27 APRIL 1993

#### Dr T's funera

Church, which is close to Church Square, and which has loudspeaker facilities, It was decided to encourage people to attend the funeral.

The South African Government has indicated that Dr Dawie de Villiers, Minister of Enterprises, Public would be the official

the House of Assembly would be represented by Mr Helgard van Rensburg, while a number of leaders of other political groupings also indicated that they would attend. A full list was not available by late yesterday.

The church service is due to start at 11 am, and Dr Theron stressed that no political speeches would be made at any stage of the proceed-

ings.
"It will be a norman funeral, with Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg paying tri-bute to Dr Treurnicht in the church," he said.

After the service, the procession will move to the Church Street cemetery, where the burial service will take place at a grave about 15 m away from that of the former Prime Minister, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd.

Yesterday, members of the Sonop boarding house of the University of Pretoria, worked in shifts from 7 am to 1 pm to dig the grave.

The secretary of Sonop, Mr Willie Spies, said it was a house tradition since 1958 for So-

FHOM PAGE 1 / nop to dig the graves of

The first such service was performed for Mr J G Strydom and the second in 1966 for Dr Verwoord.

"The aim of the project is to give Sonoppers of all political loyalties to pay tribute to an important leader of South Africa," Mr Spies said.

Conservative The Party has arranged to grounds as a parking area, with a shuttle service of buses to get people to the church and cemetery.

The Transvaal Provincial Council announced yesterday that all personnel who wanted to attend the funeral would be allowed to do so, while the South African Iron, Steel and Allied Industrial Union, called on all employers to attend.

Minoworkers The Union also said that other big employers such as Iscor, Eskom and the Atomic Energy Board had , indicated that they would be prepared to give employers time off for the funeral.

The Director General of the TPA, Mr Len Dekker, said the management of the TPA had decided to give personnel who wanted to attend the service in or else-Pretoria where in the Transvaal, time off to do so.

Mr Dekker offered condolences to Mrs Engela Treuroicht and other family members of Dr Treumicht.

SABC's TVI is to broadcast the funeral live.

SABC spokesman

Percy van Rooijen said all acheduled programmes could be suspended between 11 nm and 12.30 pm today to broadcast the funeral service. Scheduled programmes will resome at 12.30 pm.

On Sunday SABC. TV will also broadcast highlights of the funeral of African National Congress national chairman Oliver Tambo.

Dotaile on this broad-cast will be announced later.

The coffin bearing Dr Treumicht's body, draped in a South African flag, arrived from Cape Town at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday afternoon, Conservative Party spokesman Pieter Mulder said.

Dr Mulder and CP acting leader Ferdi Hartzenberg and other party officials carried the coffin to a hearse on the airport's tarmac.

MPs, Cabinet Minis-Parliamentary ters. staff, friends and followers gathered to pay their last respects to Dr Treumicht in a solemn memorial service in Cape Town's Groote Kerk yesterday.

Paying tribute to Di Treurnicht, a tearful Mr Jan Hoon, CP chairman in the Cape, said he had been a man everybody could look up to.

He had been a strong and inspiring political, cultural and church leader.

Minister for National Health and Welfare, Dr Rina Venter, and Minister of Correctional Services, Mr Adriaan Vlok, came to the service as representatives of government.

#### 58 journalists attacked in SA this year By Tracy Melass, Vivian Warby and Sapa

FIFTY-eight journalists have been attacked in South Africa since the start of the year, 43 of them since the April 19 funeral of slain South African Communist Party secretarygeneral, Mr Chris Hani, according to the South African Union of Journalists.

These include murdered CCV reporter Mr Cal-.i. Thurse and SAR television cameraman Mr Dudley Saunders, who was seriously injured in an attack in Sharpeville last week.

According to the SAUJ statistics released yesterday, three journalists have been killed since 1000.

In 1990, SABC journalists Mr Thomas Sibiya and his son were murdered outside their home in Natal, and their house ransacked and set alight.

SABC cameraman Mr Hertor Nkwanyana was killed last year when a mini-bus travelling at high speed ran him down while he was filming events relating to a stayaway in

The Pietermaritzburg. third was Mr Thusago.

The SAUJ and the Media Workers Association of South Africa lust night announced a march through Sharpeville to take place today in support of Press freedom in the townships.

Transport to Sharpeville will be leaving from the Mwasa offices at Lck ton House, comer wanderers and Plain streets. at 10 am and the march is scheduled to start at 11.15 am.

The two unions urged all journalists to join the march and urged employers to be sympathetic to requests for time off.

The SAUJ's general secretary Ms Karen Stander said the attacks were continuing despite a pledge of commitment to promote the safe conduct and unhindered work of journalists signed by six shortly after the mass burial of victims of the Boipatong massacre last year in which six journalists were attacked.

The IFP said it viewed with growing alarm and concern the increasing number of attacks on journalists.

If this was a sign of things to come, the concept of Press freedom in the country was at cities.

In a statement the IFP said political organisations that cherish the concept of Press freedom had to work hard and co-operate to ensure that journalists were not hindered in performing their duties and that the free flow of information was not obstructed in any way.

The PAC's Azanyu said it strongly condemned the harassment of journalists and had arranged a summit for political parties and church groups for Friday.

The National Party said attacks on journalists were "a very worrying sign". It was a sign of "erosion of the basic principle of freedom of expression and therefore freedom of the Press on which a new South Africa should be based", media wagis townships - Sapa

director Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk said.

The National Council of Trade Unions yester. day called on communities to accord support and respect for journalists on assignment.

Editors and media managements spend time and money protecting journalists on assignment in danger zones, Democratic Party Dene Smuts said yesterday.

In a statement Ms Smuts said the media's role was crucial to free and fair elections.

Ms Smuts called on media managements to carefully maintain vehicles used by their staff and to equip the cars with radio telephones or twoway radios and first aid

The free flow of information was vital to society dud attacks on journalists seriously impeded this, the Campaign for Open Media said.

COM spokesman Jeanette Minnie said in a statement any limit on the flow of information "would give a free hand to forces of anarchy to act as they pleased ...

Ms Minnie expressed COM's concern about warnings by journalists that they would no longer. be prepared to enter certain areas should their safety not be guaranteed.

The ANC said it would train special marshalls to render assistance to journalists, while the PAC has undertaken to ensure their safety in Vaal Tri-

LARGORD COSCIA

#### THE CITIZEN, TUESDAY 27 APRIL 1993

- ALEXTON CONTRACTOR

### COMMENT

#### **Journalists**

THE murder of an SABC newsman, Mr Calvin Thusago, at the weekend has shooked journalists, both foreign and local.

It was a senseless murder, symptomatic of the violence that wracks this country.

We would like to think that journalists and photographers are recognised as people who are not to be touched in any way as they go about their work.

But the mere sight of journalists or cameramen seems to single them out for attack.

In this case, Mr Thusago and cameraman, Mr Dudley Saunders, were attacked when they went to Sharpeville to film desecrated graves.

Mr Saunders was saved by a police patrol which saw the attack and went to his rescue, but Mr Thusago, blood spurting from his gashed wrist, apparently stumbled away and died in a nearby clinic without the SABC, which was worried at his disappearance, knowing he was dead.

The ANC scoured the township before detaining three suspects and handing them over to the police.

We commend this action of the ANC, which showed great public spiritedness.

Unforunately, though all groups and organisations accept that journalists should not be hampered in their work or assaulted, some seem to pay lip service to the freedom of the Press.

For example, while the PAC has offered to protect SABC journalists in the townships, it has threatened to boycott a Sunday newspaper.

And three Port Elizabeth newspapers were boycotted by the ANC.

Boycotts are not acceptable if Press freedom is to mean anything.

If a newspaper does not give a fair and balanced account of what is going on, it will be rejected by many of its readers.

And if it publishes wild or untrue reports, it can be held to account by the community it serves or the courts.

It is, however, the general state of intolerance in which journalists operate that worries us most.

Journalists on Black newspapers have been threatened by one side or another over their reports.

Journalists were attacked at the memorial service for South African Communist Party secretary-general, Mr Chris Hani.

Granted the attacks were made by youths outside the FNB Stadium, but emotions, already high over the assassination, were not dampened in any way by statements made by ANC officials prior to the funeral or by speakers at the memorial service.

With anger and hatred rife, it should have been an occasion for words of reconciliation rather than emotive language.

Thus, while we acknowledge the sense of outrage felt by the PAC, the ANC, Azapo and other Black organisations over Mr Thusago's murder, if they lowered their rhetoric they would not endanger journalists or anyone else.

Mr Hani's assassination was a flashpoint, but journalists had been under attack long before that, for example, six were assaulted at the Boipatong massacre memorial service.

So far this year, 58 journalists have been attacked, 43 of them since the funeral of Mr Hani, according to the South African Union of Journalists.

Three journalists have been killed since 1990. These casualties are outrageous and an end must be put to the attacks that cause them.

Yes, it is absolutely essential that journalists be free to record the events, good and bad, that give newspaper readers, radio listeners or television viewers news of what is going

In this period of transition, it is even more essential that the public be kept fully informed about developments that concern the country as it is and is likely to be.

We therefore appeal to all organisations and parties to let journalists go about their work without interference, undue pressure, threats or violence.

A free Press is a bastion of democracy and it can only be free if it is able to operate freely.

The state of the s

#### Bid to make voting age 16

Citizen Reporter

THE PAC's Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu) yesterday announced a campaign to change the legal voting age from 18 to 16 as part of its programme of action.

Other goals were the disruption of the multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre should dates not be announced soon for the setting up of a constituent assembly, and an anti-violence campaign which would question the usefulness of the international observers in South Africa.

Azanyu national organiser, Mr Thabiso Mofokotsi, said yesterday these aims would be discussed at a national workshop to be held in the Eastern Cape from May 29 to 31.

"We will bring our proposals to the workshop because we need our membership to agree," he said.

"The youth form the majority of the PAC membership and many are 16 years of age. If they can join the PAC and understand its policy then why can't they vote?" Azanyu national chairman, Mr Mosotho Pethane, said vesterday.

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#### THE CITIZEN, TUESDAY 27 APRIL 1993

# Attack on CP offices Two Wits Students Citizen Reporter and Sapa THE police yesterday

THE police yesterday announced the arrest of two University of the Witwatersrand students — who are both members of the ANC's Youth League — inconnection with the

hand-grenade attack on the Conservative Party's offices in Roodepoort on April 19. West Rand Police spokesman. Major Henriette Bester, said the two students were being held in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act in terms of which they car be held for 10 days for questioning before being charged or released, and which may be extended.

She declined to identify the two suspects, who

TO PAGE 2

#### Two Wits students are held

#### FROM PAGE 1

were, however, later identified at a Wits Student Representatives' Council Press conference as an MBA Social Work student, Mr Tefo Kelebo-ours student, Mr Heinrich Bohmke, 22.

The two men were arrested last week, one of them on campus and the other in central Johannesburg, according to Maj Bester.

At a Press conference

yesterday, the Wits SRC and the Congress of South. African Students Congress (SASCO) demanded that the two either be released or charged.

cerned for the safety of the two men, because of the "disappearance from prison of a number of prisoners in the past few weeks".

A statement was read out at the Press conference expressed the "strongest objection" of the university's administration over the alleged failure of policemen who carried out the campus arrest to identify themselves by university staff.

Police have denied claims by student bodies and the administration of Wits that police were true and rough desired the arrest of the two suspects.

West Rand police liaison officer Maj Bester refuted claims by the university's administration, the SRC Sasco that police refused to identify themselves, pushed staff mem-

bers and threw one to the ground.

Maj Bester also denied a policeman pointed a firearm at another Wits statter.

"Police members accempanied a suspect teta room where they were confronted by an unknown man who requested them to identify themselves after he tried to interfere with the investigations. They ignored him and closed the door in his face at the living quarters of the suspect.

"In fact, this unknown person could have been arrested for interfering in the police investigations, but at that stage the cases that were being investigated were more important to the police," Maj Bester said.

In a statement yesterday, the university auth-

orities said they were seeking legal advice about

the matter.

Maj Bester said two handgrenades of Russian origin exploded at the CP offices in Van Wyk Street at about 3.30 am on April 19.

The students, one studying for his BA Honours and the other a BA in Sociology, were 22 and 25 years old respectively. Maj Bester said.

Section 29 allows 10 days' detention without trial, renewable under special conditions.

#### BUSINESS DAY, TUESDAY 27 APRIL 1993

#### Violent youths

HE ANC's appeal to youths to keep Oliver Tambo's funeral peaceful is its third move in a week to rein in its militant left wing. While the ANC must deal with its own political problems, there has to be a wider responsibility for efforts to turn frustrated youngsters away from violence.

sters away from violence.

The ANC leadership has stated that when Tambo is buried on Sunday, it wants no repetition of the vandalism and violence which marred Chris Hant's funeral. Last week ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa more or less ordered Youth League president Peter Mokaba to cease his war talk. And the ANC issued a statement opposing demonstrations at white schools threatened by its allies in the educa-

tion sector

As John Kane-Berman pointed out on this page last Friday, the undirected militancy that the ANC is now struggling to contain is the product of the forms of politics used to fight apartheid in the '80s. And it is not yet certain that it can be contained.

It certainly will not be if the job is left to the ANC alone, and its efforts need to be assisted creatively. Required in the educational field, for example, is a willingness by government to accept the establishment of an education forum where solutions to the crisis can be debated. Similarly, attempts to address the problem of the Tost generation need to be put at the top of the agenda. South Africa's future depends on it.

# 330 000 housing units needed a timated 330 000 able housing had to be built live to eliminate Year: Govt

An estimated 330 000 affordable housing units had to be built annually to eliminate the backlog within 10 years and overcome the housing crisis, the Minister of National Housing, Mr Sam de Beer, said yesterday.

Introducing the debate on his Budget Vote, he said for any housing policy and strategy to be effective, the housing environment would first have to be normalised.

Mr De Beer announced that the interest subsidy of 33,3 percent to Black first-time home-buyers would also apply to exist ing houses from May 1.

The amount of R99,3 million available in the 1993/94 financial year for the purposes of this

scheme illustrated the imbortance the government attached to enabling more families to own their own homes.

An Astimated 24 000 additional home-buyers could be subsidised from this amount.

The extension of the scheme would contribute

towards the renewal of residential areas.

It was not realistic to expect political leaders to shoulder the total burden for reconstruction and the provision of all social needs.

Individuals and organisations outside the political arena have to share the responsibility for moving South Africa forward. For as long as the government is expected to provide the means to meet all social needs, we have little hope of rebuilding our economy."

An additional R200 million had been made available to a proposed joint interim initiative by the Department of Local Government and National Housing and the National Housing Forum.

This amount would be agumented by a further amount of at least R200 million through the redirection of funds not yet committed.

Mr De Beer said he was confident that, given the existing goodwill and cooperation between his department and the Forum, it was possible to thrash out proposals for a generally acceptable new housing policy and stratecy for South Africa by the end of the year.

#### New negotiations bogged down by row

THE first day of "realsubstantive negotiations"-failed-to-realle-expectations of a move beyond procedural mitters as members of the Concerned South Africans Group took advantage of in administralive hitch to stall the process.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and AIC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa expressel "deep disappointment" at the lac: of progress and said a sense of urgency hid to te injected into the talks. But Inkathi's Joe Mathews said: "I am not impressed by talk of urgency it leaves me stone old."

Ramaphosa told a news briefing there were ways of "lighting a fire under those who are slone-cold and injecting them with a sense of urgency". The ANC was working to a six-week deadline to achieve the establishment of a transitional executive authority and secure an election date. "At the end of that period those parties who are serious about negotiations will have to consider options to isolate those parties."

Mathews said his party was not intent on delaying the process but it refused to be "dragged into a unitary state" by government and the ANC, who he said were trying to steamfeller the process.

The problem arose when the consolidated document of Codesa reports-failed to reach deligates until yesterday morning.

BILLY PADDOCK

Members of the Concerned South Africans Group said they needed more time to sudy the reports and proposed a postponement to Priday. This was accepted.

Pamaphosa said a detailed document and summary of all Codesa agreements hadbeen given to delegates on April 1 the consolidated document merely crystallisel these.

"We need deadlines as millions are relying on us and we canrol go on with this morkey business. Each member lere should know those reports and their contents by heart."

#### over administrative hitch

It was clear that the members of the group would not accept the recommendation that six technical committees formulate draft legislation for discussion by the negotiating council until the form of state hid been dealt with. Ramaphosa sait Inkitha hid agreed on April 1 to technical committees being set up; to reject this now

Meye: suggested that while parties be gven until Friday to discuss the recomnendations, the planning committee slould at the same time present recomnendations on the other substantive consitutional issues. This was accepted

"We vant to keep to the timeframes set

in November and we believe that if the planning committee prepares properly so that substance of constitutional issues as well as the process is clear before us, then those who still object will have to make their position clear," Meyer said.

A document circulated to the media by Inkatha on violence, alleging ARC and govneant is aim was "to delay the process". It ernment collusion to commit violence on Inkatha members, also drew sharp reaction. Ramaphosa said the appropriate place to deal with these maters was in bilateral discussions, while Neyer critileised Inkatha for ignoring the structures set up to deal with violence.

Picture: Page 3



Political Analysis by Shann Johnson

If this was urgency, the new South Africa will not arrive until the millennium. If this was the response to three weeks of grave political crisis, it is difficult to imagine what events could possibly spur our political negotiators on to a timeous settlement.

Yesterday the 26-delegation Negotiating Council met at the World Trade Centre, amid high expectations that recent dramatic developments would inject the necessary urgency into proceedings, so that a worried nation could be given tangible signs

### New South Africa? Where's the rush?

of forward movement.

Instead, for the morning session and well into the afternoon, bickering and pernicketiness prevailed. No possible point of order was passed up, no potential amendment held back, no procedural brake-pedal left unpressed.

They argued about whether Chris Hani's death was being too heavily emphasised. They argued whether the matter of an election date should be placed at section 6.3 of the agenda, or sec-

tion 6.1. They argued about when they had received the necessary documentation. They argued whether speakers should have five minutes, seven minutes, or as long as they liked. They even suggested that the meeting, having achieved so pitifully little, should be adjourned until Friday.

When the meeting reconvened after lunch, no agreement had been reached on the name of the meeting. Thirteen delegations wanted Codesa retained, nine want-

ed the "South African Constltutional Forum", some wanted a "combination of Codesa with some other acronym".

It became obvious, during a session in which the Government and National Party representatives said very little and the ANC and its allies tried to fight off a barrage of blocking mechanisms, that the Concerned South Africans Group remains poles apart from the rest on procedural issues, let alone the substantive matters of the transition.

Cosag - which brings to gether some homeland leaders and right-wing white parties -- stopped proceedings in their tracks. Exasperated chairman Pravin Gordhan said early on that the direction of the discussions was "quite debilitating".

Pleas from some delegates for a recognition of the high expectations outside the negotiating hall came to naught. The Conservative Party complained that it was not famillar with Codesa's founding documents; it was not pointed out that the CP and others had slayed out of Codesa by choice.

At the moment it is clear to everyone watching proceedings at Kempton Park, that there is not anything like the kind of positive, constructive spirit which is essential if the transition timetable is to be adhered to.

If that spirit of trust and common purpose cannot be established soon, then three options will emerge: the major parties will have to

move to the next step - the transitional executive council - with or without all their negotiating partners; the process will become endless, thus creating further disillusionment among the public; or it will grind to a halt.

All the participants said yesterday they understood the need for urgency. What was missing was proof that they are serious about starting the transition to democracy. South Africa was crying out for cross-party leadership, and not getting it from Kempton Park.

• Negotiating nit-picking - Page 3

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### COSAG brushed aside as election train set to roll

Saturday Star July 3 1993

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ESTHER WAUGH and CHRIS WHITFIELD

THE African National Congress and the Government vesterday bit the bullet and forced real movement towards a new order, bypassing vigorous opposition from the Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG).

The day ended with a symbolic walkout from the Negotiating Forum by the Inkatha Freedom Party, the KwaZulu government and the Conservative Party over a decision to fix the election date for April 27 but all are expected back in the process soon.

Progress !

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The rejection by some COSAG members of the "sufficient consensus" basis on which' the agreement was struck followed significant progress and studious attempts by other parties to avoid confrontation that could damage the process.

Besides the election date, overwhelming agreement was reached among the 26 parties at the World Trade Centre on the process to be followed in arriving at a democratic order, including the drafting of legislation for a transitional executive council the principles

that would be binding on the same. a constitution-making. body and how to tackle the violence sweeping

the country. A draft constitution could be tabled in two weeks, and Governm

negotiations chief Roelf, Meyer and his ANC counterpart, Cyril Ramaphosa, are confident it could be adopted and ready to pass through Parliament in August.

The election date was always going to be the crunch issue, and it was evident that the IFP and KwaZulu delegations

had returned from an overnight consultation with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi with attitudes hardened.

TA lengthy argument broke out in the forum - which ratifies negotiating council agreements - over whether enough parties had supported the issue to provide for "sufficient consensus". A break of nearly two hours for meet-- lings on the issue failed to provide a solution, deaspite the tabling of sevperal compromise resoluatibns.

'It is understood that IFP delegates told negotlators that their instruc-"tions from Ulundi were not to discuss any compromise.

However, IFP delegation leader Joe Matthews told journalists the IFP would be back when negotiations resume in two weeks, but its conparticipation Moued would depend on a draft constitution interim being compiled by a negotiations technical

& committee. - CP negotiator Thomas Langley said a decision on when to return to the talks would be made in consultation with party leader Dr Ferdi Hart-

zenberg. Escaptially, however, was marked by considerable progress in several areas, notably:

• Fixing the election date for April 27 next year, or earlier if possible. It was noted that adoption of a transitional constitution and other agreements would have to be reached before

elections. • How the transition process should run, including the transitional executive council, simultaneous elections for both central and regional government and the delimitation of boundaries for regions before

elections. An independent media commission and an independent electoral commission will also be established, while discriminatory legislation will

· be scrapped. A range of principles that will be binding on a constitution-making

body. These make provision for a proportional representation election, a multiparty democracy, a bill of rights, three-tier government with democratic representation and "adequate legislative and executive powers" at each level.

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• Steps to end violence, including a national peacekeeping force, moves toward unified security forces and the

ending of hostilities. Ramaphosa said: "The democracy train is on track to its ultimate destination. This is one train that will not and cannot be derailed."

#### THE STAR, TUESDAY 27 APRIL 1993

# Equality is the ideal disturbations in the ideal disturbation disturbation disturbation disturbation disturbations in the ideal disturbation disturbatio

Three draft Bills on women's rights have been published and could become law this year. But, women are increasingly asking, are they relevant in a country which is poised for change? WINNIE GRAHAM reports.

HE debate on women's rights — and their protection under the law — has been going on in South Africa for years. Sexism has come to be regarded as akin to racism but, despite years of public pressure, little was done by the Government to improve the status quo.

Now, as the country prepares for constitutional change, three important draft Bills have been published: the Promotion of Equal Opportunities Draft Bill, the Prevention of Domestic Violence Draft Bill and the

Abolition of Discrimination Against Women Draft Bill.

The intention of the Bills is good — but not all women believe they address the needs (or rights) of women, and they have reservations about their relevance. In the minds of many, the draft Bills appear to concentrate on the rights of white women. How carefully, they are asking, have the draft Bills been thought through and how widely have women of all races been consulted?

Do the proposals genuinely address women's rights — or are the Bills being rushed along because a vision of equality for all South Africans (including the female gender) must be

captured in the new constitu-

On the face of it, the draft Bills are innocuous. One, on the abolition of discrimination against women, purges our statute book of certain discriminatory legislation including the automatic dismissal (in certain instances) of pregnant women. It will allow women to enter into contracts, to institute legal proceedings and even to dispose of their assets. Amusingly, it will give them the right, even, to take part in boxing or wrestling tournaments (currently forbidden by law).

Labour consultant Louise Treurnicht says certain aspects

of this Bill are valuable as it sweeps out residual pieces of discrimination such as the issue of a mother's guardianship over her own children. (If it becomes law, mothers will be able to give consent, for instance, for a child to have an operation.)

The draft Bill on the promotion of equal opportunities has been received more cautiously, largely because it favours middle-class white women while doing little to help the majority of black women caught up in "genderised women's work" (domestic service).

This Bill aims at eradicating discrimination against women by employers and business

partners, making personal matters such as marriage, divorce and parenthood irrelevant in employment or economic life. Women will be protected against sexual harassment and will be able to claim equal pay for equal work. But of what relevance is this to the majority of black women struggling for some kind of employment?

There is a proposal to establish an Equal Opportunities Commission which would both promote equality among men and women and handle charges

of discrimination.

Treurnicht asks: "The true question is: What do women want such a body to do on their behalf without detrimentally

disturbing the work or other relations they find themselves in?"

All too many women willingly tolerate discrimination merely to keep their jobs or to retain pleasant working conditions.

The Prevention of Domestic Violence Bill, an almost inevitable by-product of a society as violent as South Africa's, is seen as having limited value, mainly because of the difficulty of testifying against family members on whom women may remain economically dependent.

According to Treurnicht, the Bill proposes that a warrant of arrest be obtained against a violent partner and held over till the time actual physical harm is feared. When this happens, the woman may approach a peace officer and have the warrent issued. The partner is then detained for 24 hours. The aim is to protect the woman afraid of an attack on herself or her children. The Bill applies both to a marriage partner and a person who lives with another as husband or wife.

The Bill also proposes a change in our rape laws. It will make it possible for a husband to be convicted for rape of his wife if they ao longer live together in the same house. The clause, however, is controversial. Women argue that sexual

relations should always be by mutual consent, even within marriage. Why, it is asked, should a husband be allowed by law to force himself on his wife simply because they live under the same roof?

Treurnicht believes that the extent to which the three Bills will be accepted will be largely determined by public participation. If they are to regulate the position of women on a constitutional level, they should not be perceived merely as "formal equality which ignores the reality of women's lives in South Africa".

She adds: "To declare people equal does not make them equal in reality."

Just as race is important in the proposed constitution, so too is the position of women. The entire legislative programme relating to women needs to be properly worked out before the Bills are enacted.

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Stop white flight, woo investors, urges Gerald L'Ange, Editor, Star Africa Service

### Guarding our enviable assets



HE next government of South Africa will ostensibly assume control of a treasury of wealth and skills that has long been the envy of the rest of Africa. But there is a danger that much of it will have been destroyed by the very struggle to put that government in place.

Events in the past few weeks have dramatically highlighted the danger, which has been reflected in two related developments. One is the economic damage done by violence and mass protest action. The other is the acceleration in the exodus of whites as a result of the unrest.

The economic damage has been caused not only through lost production but also through erosion of business confidence, especially the confidence of potential foreign

South Africa's ability to attract foreign investment - without which no modern state can survive, let alone prosper - has always set it apart from other African countries, even after sanctions had been imposed.

No other African country can offer anything like South Africa's investment attractions. None has anything like the number of tarred roads and railways, of locomotives and rolling stock, of lorries, of port facilities, of factories, of power stations and stransmission lines, of telephone exchanges and all the other equipment necessary for creating

wealth, jobs and prosperity.

And no other African countries have the pool of human skills that resides in South Africa. Neither have they the educational institutions for spreading those skills nor the research Institutions for creating new skills and technology.

Not even the biggest and most developed African countries come near South Africa in any of these fields, despite the enormous damage done to the Republic's economy by sanctions.

According to Africa Institute figures, the gross domestic product of South Africa (including the "Independent" homelands that will inevitably be rejoined to the main body) is R282 billion against R154 billion for the next biggest, Algeria; R94 billion for each of Egypt and Nigeria, R72 billion for oil-rich Libya, R27 billion for

Kenya and R18 billion for Zimbabwe, Most of the others are far below these levels.

Measured in terms of gross national product per capita, which is a rough guide to the distribution of wealth, South Africa at R15 000 is equalled only by Libya and is far ahead of Algeria's R6 000, Zimbabwe's R1 900, Egypt's R1 800, and Kenya's R1 100. Hugeir populous Nigeria, despite its oil wealth, has a GNP per capita of only about R800.

To the thousands of jobless and desperately poor people in this country these statistics may appear to be inaccurate, ironic or unjust. They nevertheless show that in general South Africans are much better off than other Africans, who also have massive unemployment and horrific slums.

More important, though, is that they demonstrate the strength of the economic foundation on which greater prosperity for all can be bullt and on which a fairer distribution of wealth can be based.

That foundation is nevertheless made vulnerable in some ways by elements as insubstantial as the confidence of local whites and foreign investors in security and future opportunities. It is particularly susceptible to damage from domestic unrest such as national stayaways and other mass action.

South Africa has created its relalive prosperity by efficient expleitation of its natural resources, by attracting foreign investment and by developing entrepreneurial and technological skills. It is one of the evils of apartheid that most of the skills and capital are at present possessed by the whites.

These skills and capital nevertheless remain the best hope the blacks have of gaining prosperity and the security that goes with it - and of acquiring those skills themselves.

That may be a cruel irony but it is a fact that has been harshly demonstrated elsewhere in Africa. There can be no African country that does not covet South Africa's skills, capital and investment potential. Because they lack them, they realise how precious they

But majority rule will dispense no magic wands to create instant prosperity. No government, whether it be ANC, PAC or any-

thing else, will be able instantly to create jobs and housing. But the chances of these deficiencies being remedied relatively quickly will be immensely greater if this country does not lose its skills, its capital and its attraction for foreign investors.

In this light black South Africans ought logically to be dismayed by the news that whites have begun to leave or plan to leave South Africa because of the violence and mass action that followed the murder of Chris Hani. Logically, the ANC leadership should be taking urgent steps to allay the fears of the whites as well as those of foreign investors

That this need is recognised in the ANC leadership is shown by Nelson Mandela's recent call to whites not to emigrate. But the leadership is inhibited in meeting that need by another one - the need to retain the support of the majority of blacks, especially the militants, who are in many cases ill-equipped at present to appreciate realitles that go beyond their justified anger at white domination and what it has done to them. But how do the ANC leaders

Nevertheless, the preoccupation of black leaders now should not be with defeating white domination

- It has already been deleated .but with securing the benefits of that victory. They have a responsibility to ensure that the political! liberation of the blacks does not result in the economic emasculation of the nation.

convince the hungry young black man walking the streets in search! of a fob that the white executive who sweeps past in a luxury German limousine is a valuable asset to his society? How do they get . across the realisation that the executive does not necessarily represent exploitation, but rather hope and opportunity for the jobless man?

There are no easy answers to the question but finding answers is! a major part of the challenge facing black leaders in South Africa."

At least one answer will be found in a speeding up of negotiations. Another might be found in greater understanding by the Gov-: ernment of why mass action remains a weapon that the ANC feels it cannot yet afford to aban-

#### Freedom threat

JOURNALISTS do not have greater claim to safety than other members of the public, yet the murder of an SABC newsman has sparked a general outcry. This is to be welcomed.

The death of Calvin Thusago highlights three significant things: the free flow of information is under threat; media freedom is in jeopardy; and the tendency to shoot the messenger has taken a sinister twist. A hardening of attitudes towards journalists in the townships has been apparent since the middle of last year.

There is undoubtedly a criminal along

There is, undoubtedly, a criminal element for whom expensive cameras are attractive booty, but political tensions have induced a climate generally inimical to tol-

It is heartening, therefore, that the ANC, PAC and Azapo have all condemned the latest outrage unequivocally and defended the right of journalists to report on the news of the day. But while offers of protection for reporters are to be welcomed, they are not enough. Political organisations who profess to believe in free media must ensure that their leaders at all levels speak with one voice on this issue.

### Bop police hold student leaders

By Phil Molefe Education Reporter

Five student leaders have been detained by Bophuthatswana police in the wake of a national campaign launched yesterday to protest against the crisis engulfing several tertiary institutions in the territory and repressive measures applied by the homeland's government.

Three members of the South African Students' Congress, including national publicity secretary Mogomotsi Mogodiri, were detained by the homeland police in a roadblock near Mmabatho on Sunday.

The state of the s

Two other student leaders were arrested yesterday in Ga-Rankuwa, near Pretoria, as hundreds of students from Setlogelo Technikon and Hebron College of Education tried to march to the circuit offices of the homeland's Department of Education and Culture.

Students' demands include an end to repressive measures: the

granting of freedom of speech, assembly and organisation: reversal of all deportation orders slapped on "anti-government" academics; and an end to police harassment of students.

A spokesman for the joint forum of Bophuthatswana SRCs, Sammy Ranyawa, said Mangope's government resorts to repressive measures

In Ga-Rankuwa yesterday police stopped students from marching to the education offices.

#### Negotiators receive ultimatum

Staff Reporter

The Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu) has given multiparty negotiators an ultimatum: make significant progress on the structure of a constituent assembly, or face a programme of action.

Azanvu said in a state-

ment yesterday that the "Azanian masses, and the youth in particular, cannot wait any longer. Our patience has run out." The organisation has set a May 31 dead-line.

Azanyu also announced a national workshop at the end of May, when the progress made in

multiparty negotiations would be evaluated and action considered.

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The organisation also announced the creation of a youth front which would seek to have the voting age reduced from 18 to 16 "because the youth has played a pivotal role" in fighting apartheid.

# Derby-Lewis to be charged – SAP

THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

Police believe top CP member Clive Derby-Lewis will be charged in connection with the assassination of SA Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani before his detention period runs out on Thursday, SAP liaison officer Brigadier Frans Malherbe said yesterday.

Malherbe said the charges could be "anything from murder, being an accessory before the fact to murder, or conspiracy to murder".

Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau said yesterday he was still examining documents from the police investigation, including statements by Derby-Lewis, his wife Gaye and alleged assassin Janus Waluz, before deciding on what action to take.

Von Lieres said he would probably only decide tomorrow whether to prosecute Derby-Lewis.

If Derby-Lewis is charged, he is expected to appear in the Boksburg Magistrate's Court

this week.

Von Lieres said he was also examining statements and documents regarding Gaye Derby-Lewis and would decide at a later stage whether to prosecute her.

Malherbe confirmed that Clive Derby-Lewis was believed to have supplied Waluz with the weapon that allegedly killed Hani, but said police were unable to say where Derby-Lewis obtained the firearm.

#### Rumours

He could not confirm reports that a special silencer had been fitted to the gun, except to say that several rumours had been reported since the assassination and that this was "probably" one of them.

Derby-Lewis is being held under section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which allows for him to be detained without trial for 10 days.

Although he was arrested last Saturday, the 10 days only expires on Thursday, Malherbe said, because, for the first 48 hours of his detention, he was held under section 51 of the Criminal Procedure Act.

Gaye Derby-Lewis, who was picked up in a pre-dawn swoop on Wednesday, is also being held under section 29 of the Internal Security Act. The other four people detained at the same time have been released.

Malherbe said yesterday police were still searching for Keith Howard Darroll (33), who they believed could help them with their investigation. Darroll is believed to be in Cape Town.

Every step of the investigation was being closely monitored by former head of Scotland Yard's Anti-Terrorist Branch, Commander George Churchill-Coleman, and Dr Ralf Kruger, former head of the State Bureau for Criminal Investigation of Baden-Wurttemberg in Stuttgart — the two foreign experts appointed to the case.

Malherbe said the pair were "deeply involved" in the investigation and often exchanged views with their South African counterparts. The two had commented they were not used to "the tough hours" they were having to put in.

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# IFP accuses Govt, ANC of conniving in violence

TOP THE TANK THE

By Esther Waugh Political Correspondent

A row is brewing over accusations by the Inkatha Freedom Party of connivance in violence between Government and the African National Congress.

The allegations are contained in a document circulated at yesterday's meeting of the negotiating council at the World Trade Centre. The document was to have been read by IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose but it was later ruled that it had "no status".

The ANC and Government reacted strongly to the document, in which the IFP alleged that the SAP had "seemingly

failed" to find the killers of IFP leaders.

Said the document: "We find it totally incomprehensible that the Government has known for a very long time that trained MK killers are deployed from Transkei to assassinate our leaders, but the first steps it took to deal with Transkei were occasioned by Apla's killings of whites at the end of last year still no mention is made of MK, however."

In an attached draft resolution, the IFP called on the ANC to disband Umkhonto we Sizwe.

After the meeting the Government and ANC served notice they would respond fully to the allegations in the document.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the negotiating forum had recommended that violence remain on the agenda of the negotiating council. Various proposals to curb violence are scheduled to be considered at Friday's meeting of the negotiating council, he said.

Meyer labelled the IFP document as "unfortunate", "inappropriate" and "tabled prema turely".

National Party negotiator Do Dawie de Villiers said he was "astounded by the harshness" of the document. He said it was "strange" that IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi did not raise the matter with President F W ing last week.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander expressed fears that Friday's meeting could be overshadowed by the brewing row between the IFP and ANC.

By issuing the document, said the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa, the IFP "had obviously chosen a path that would not lead to a constructive discussion".

He accused the IFP of delaying the process by "side-tracking" on issues. The ANC would respond by detailing the IFP's involvement in violence, collusion with Military Intelligence and show how the IFP had been identified as a source of violence by international agencies.

While the key agenda points

mendations on the transition process and political violence, they were referred to Friday's meeting.

The most constructive achievement was the acceptance that a precise election date be sought in the planning committee for referral back to the negotiating council.

The 104 negotiators further agreed that a sub-committee comprising Government adviser Fanie van der Merwe, ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj and IFP negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane draw up proposals on constitutional matters identified at the meeting of the negotiating forum on April 1.