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18 â\200\224 DAILY DISPATCH, WEDNESDAY OCTOBER 30 1991

Daily Dispatch
Ciskei emergency â\200\224

Ciskeiâ\200\231s collision course with the African National Congress has culminated in a state of emergency called by its military leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, 19 months after he seized control from Lennox Sebe.

President F. W. de Klerk will not be pleased with the declaration of a state of emergency inside South Africa, having recently dispensed with one himself. He can do without hiccups at such a time, and there will be some unfavourable international reaction.

Brigadier Gqozo said he had taken the action to curb acts of arson and terrorism fomented by the ANC. It is more complicated than that. Fundamentally the violence in Ciskei emanates from a clash between the traditionalists, backed by the state, and younger, more sophisticated radicals who align themselves with the ANC.

Ciskeiâ\200\231s military ruler initially underwent a honeymoon period with the ANC, but significantly he went out of his way to thank South Africa for its military assistance in quelling the riots, destruction and looting that took place immediately after his coup. It was Pretoria that gave him power base, and helped to consolidate it.

Increasingly Brigadier Gqozo has placed reliance on the National Party government and their â\200\230advisers, seeing Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi â\200\224 with whom he has a

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good relationship â\200\224 and the Inkatha Freedom Party as role models

to the extent of organising his own . political party, the African Demo-

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i\ cratic Movement (ADM). The ADM has been associated with a Ciskei government move back to a headmen system of tribal government, which has been resented, and resisted, by ANC supporters

By contrast, an early rapport with General Bantu Holomisa deteriorated to the point where he accused the Transkei military leader of being involved in a plot to overthrow him.

It is difficult to see where Brigadier Gqozo goes from here. He has become more and more isolated, and appears in public only at carefully selected events, often outside Ciskei.

Indeed he missed an opportunity that could well have helped to defuse the situation in Ciskei by declining to meet the president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, when he was in the Eastern Cape recently.

Mr Mandela made the attempt but the brigadier was â\200\234not available.â\200\235 His prickliness was again self-evident when he said later that he expected Mr Mandela to inform Ciskei officially if he intended visiting the territory. What is essential, of course, is restraint by everyone concerned and a return to peace and stability.

Political Correspondent CHRIS WHITFIELD reports

ANC finanMce

vestment is beginning

to gel following last
monthâ\200\231s ANC-SACP-Cosatu
seminar â\200\224 and first indica-
tions are that it will go some
way towards addressing
fears of potential investors.

The text of a speech pre-
pared for ANC secretary-
general Cyril Ramaphosa
for an investment confer-
ence in Hong Kong states
categorically that foreign in-
vestors would be free to re-
patriate profits and the
organisation would â\200\230â\200\230guar-
antee foreign investments
against nationalisation
without fair compensation.â\200\235

It might also consider
~ â\200\234some special financial ar-
' rangementsâ\200\235 for investors.

- Mr Ramaphosa never got
to deliver the speech after
pulling out of the trip be-
! c@use,qtâ\200\230 a family illness. It is
ii~\201adeg%bod, however, to be
based on a draft policy doc-
.ument drawn up after the
- Seminar.

: L the speech he pointed
that the countryâ\200\231s min-
_eral wealth is declining and
~world prices for primary
- commodities showed no
| sign of rising rapidly enough
| to boost the South African
| economy.

- â\200\234We must diversify our ex-
~ ports into manufacturing.
here are positive signs
that some sectors of indus-
_try are already close to be-
ing competitive, but many

A NC policy on foreign in-

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will not reach a high e gh
level of efficiency an 0-

ductivity without closer

links with international firms,"â\200\235 said Mr Ramaphosa.

â\200\234Foreign investors in general, and transnational corporations in particular, will be crucial in our effort to restructure and regenerate the South African economy,â\200\235 he said.

Such investors could supply some of the capital required for investment in a productive capacity. â\200\234But foreign finance will be critical, from the beginning, not only as an element of investment, but, importantly, as a source of foreign exchange.

â\200\234We want to make certain that when an upswing begins, as it will when we enter a democratic era, that it is not constrained by balance of payments problems."

The ANC would â\200\234enthusiasticallyâ\200\235 encourage stronger links with the major transnationals, â\200\234particularly those which can contribute to the regeneration of our manufacturing sector."

Smaller foreign firms would also be encouraged to invest for their â\200\234labour absorbingâ\200\235 capacities.

Mr Ramaphosa said it

was important to provide an economic climate that attracted foreign investment. This required: strong and growing domestic and regional markets; political

stability; transparent and consistent economic growth; the prospect of steady economic growth: and a well-trained, flexible and productive work-force.

â\200\234For most purposes, foreign companies will be treated in the same way as domestic companies, and we will expect them to respond to the same incentives, and comply with the same regulations and affirmative action programmes.

â\200\234We realise though, that in the context of the politi-

cal uncertainty that surrounds the transition that is taking place in our country, foreign investors might require certain additional assurances beyond the general prospect of

national treatment', said

Mr Ramaphosa.

We do not hesitate when we say that an ANC government would be willing to guarantee foreign investments, against nationalisation without fair compensation. Moreover, we envisage an economic system where foreign inves-

tors will be free to remit

funds in the appropriate currencies for the purpose of repatriating profits, or purchasing inputs.

The secretary-general said that if an ANC government could provide the right climate for investment then fancy incentive schemes

policy taking shape

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would become irrelevant.

Evidence for the efficacy of financial incentives, such as tax breaks, in attracting investment is ambiguous at best. Such investments can lessen the benefit derived by the host country from foreign investment.

However, highly desirable and expensive domestic or foreign investments might require some special arrangements such as those provided by the Government for the recent Colubus stainless steel project in South Africa.

Mr Ramaphosa added that the ANC might consider reciprocation for export performance or some other form of foreign exchange or saving.

He said the ANC's eco-

conomic programme cent*red
on the need to raise the liv-
ing standards of all South
Africans, but particularly on
seeing to the needs of those
who were economically de-
prived under apartheid,

â\200\234The sooner we move to-
wards democratic govern-
ment in South Africa, and
the creation of an interim
government is the most
crucial step, the sooner we
will get to the position
where we can show foreign
investors that the ANC, and
only the ANC, can create a
climate in South Africa con-
ducive to foreign invest-
ment,â\200\235 he concluded.

Early in September â\200\224
about four months after
Brig Gqozoâ\200\231s announce-
ment â\200\224 the first head-
man system-related
death in Ciskei was re-
ported. The death re-
sulted from a clash be-
tween KwaNdlambe
(near Peddie) Residents
Association = members
and supporters of the
local chief and head-
_man.

The African National
Congress later claimed
Ciskei Police had sided
with KRA rivals. Scores
were injured in the
clash and at least 13
ANC and association
members were arrested,
the organisation
claimed.

Observers saw the in-
cident as the spark of an
outburst of violence,
warning sounds of which
were heard at the Bor-
der Peace Conference
earlier this year.

In recent weeks there
â\200\230have been reports of
altercations
members of residents
associations or left-wing
_ organisations, and pro-
ponents of the headman
system from other areas
of Ciskei.

But worries over a Na-
- tal-type violence were
discounted by a Rhodes
university academic
who said Ciskei did not
have an ethnic problem
to exacerbate the situa-
tion as elsewhere,
where the media has
presented it as a Zulu
versus Xhosa conflict.

He: saw the re-intro-
between

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duction of the system as
going hand in hand with
Brig Gqozoâ\200\231s launch of
his â\200\234culturalâ\200\235â\200\231 African
Democratic Movement

(ADM). Brig Gqgozo needed the headmen in the rural villages to recruit and consolidate support for the ADM, the academic claimed.

- The ADM has been rejected by ANC-leaning organisations in the region, while Brigadier Gqozo, public platform with Inkata in Ulundi, is seen to be sympathetic to that that organisation.

A paper presented to the Conference of the Association of Anthropology in South Africa examines the historical background to the headman/local authority issue. It is clear that the roots of the conflict lie in the years before Gqgozo and Lennox Sebe.

The Black Authorities Act (BAA) 1951 caused a radical change, the paper says. While the white administration's policy up to that time was to rule blacks

through government-appointed headmen, the act allowed for the establishment of tribal

authorities headed by chiefs.

The chiefs were assisted by councillors under a system which sought to revive traditional leadership's chieftain rule and rule through elders.

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Headman system

leads to violence

The paper suggested that throughout Africa the system of chiefs had been discredited

through its association
with colonial regimes.
In Botswana for in-
stance, chiefs were ren-
dered powerless, being
relegated to a meek Up-
per House. :

Since Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa
Gqozo, announced the re-introduction of the
headman system in the homeland, there has been
violence and conflict between the system's sup-
porters and its opponents. ANDREW TRENCH

looks at the issue. \$

While the BAA gave
chiefs increased powers

it ignored the fact of
great changes in Ciskei.
Ciskei's incorporation
into the colonial system
as early as the mid-19th
century effectively
undermined the ideal of
chiefs in many Ciskei
communities.

In the early 1950s
chiefly traditions were
no longer of any signifi-
cance to the people in
the Keiskammahoek dis-
trict where colonial
rule had been estab-
lished since 1853 the
paper said.

In such areas the
people's social uni-
verse had expanded
and attempts to revive
the old patriarchal struc-
tures fell flat. A similar
situation developed in
Zimbabwe when author-

TSR N & T N L e

BRIG. GQOZO

of elderly men who were
seen as conservative
bodies not reflecting the
educational and occupa-
tional diversity of the -
people, the paper said.

.Younger and more
educated members of

the community had no say in village affairs and the councillorsâ\200\231 lack of education led to competency problems, and the

~ continued exclusion of

women from tribal authorities was out of step with their increasingly important role in many organisations

The tribal councils were also seen to be

ities proclaimed chiefs â\200\230 solely concerned with

as legitimate representatives of the people and conferred greater power of them â\200\224 a decision that was vehemently criticised.

Tribal authorities in Ciskei consisted mainly

instructions from central government, and not with local affairs.

During this period sub-headmen administered the bulk of the

work of the tribal auth-â\200\231

ority and were the main communication link be-

tween the authority and the villages.

There was no indication that people accepted the sub-headmen: with complete willingness, the paper says.

The tribal authorities were identified with external political interests â\200\224 interest which did not always match the need of the people. Corruption had also greatly discredited these administrations. Funds collected for the ruling party and for government-associated undertakings were at times embezzled

In response to these conditions, increasing opposition grew to the

_Ciskei Government during the rule of Mr Lennox Sebe. i

After Ciskei achieved self-governing status political activity increased. In the mid-1980s, residents' associations were formed to oppose Pretoria's relocation policy and homeland government attempts at forced removal.

"As the 1980s closed, opposition grew as

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people in the rural areas embarked on a Ciskei National Independence Party card-ringing campaign. As violent incidents began to escalate with the growing rejection of Ciskei's independence, local headmen were targeted. These activities coincided with, and were fuelled to a certain extent by, national political developments: the unbanning of liberation movements and the release of prominent imprisoned leaders.

As the unrest continued so did rejection of the headman system. Allegations of headmen collaboration with Ciskei security police surfaced in 1984 claims which are being repeated now..

After Brig Gqozo took over in March 1990 he recognised the people's desire to be rid of the headmen. Within weeks he announced the scrapping of the system.

- However, chiefs were to be retained. The scrapping of the headmen left a vacuum in local government and five months after the coup local government in Ciskei lacked direction.

In the months follow-

ing the coup rapid orga-
nisation of residentsâ\200\231 as-
sociations got underway.
Within months nearly
every village in Ciskei
had an association.
Then late last year came
Brig Gqozoâ\200\231s local gov-#

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~State of emergency

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ã@rnment planâ\200\230 to intro-
d_uce village representa-

tives appointed and
paid by government,

â\200\230The proposals were
rejected by the United
Democratic Front, ANC
and Border Civies Con.
gress. iy s

Following this, Brig
Gqozo, made what the
academic called a
â\200\234sillyâ\200\235 decision â\200\224 to go
ahead with the local
government proposals
-anyway. The-- 'deeisionâ\200\234 :
was described as dan-
gerous by the opposing
organisations and her.
alded the start of se. o
rious tensions between
them and the Bisho ad-
ministration, Gt R
- _In July this year Brig
Gqozo announced a re-
structuring of local
~authorities, which ip-
clu led traditional lead- -
ers playing a more im-
portant role in rural
local authorities. 2

These would be con-
stituted by headmen
elected by â\200\230their com-
munities in elections su-
pervised by local magis-
f_ra%es. ,_;"'aditmp;l -
eaders would preside
over these _%dgiÃ© s, Bisho
Sald. . Å¥ e 0y

The civies re-acted

With an immediate re-
jection ' of the plan.

- Within days 22 villages
in C_,_igÂ»kgi* voted against
it, a trend followed

- throughout 'the â\200\234home-
land. Nevertheless, the
~plan went ahead â\200\224 on a i
collision course with the
aspirations of increas.
ingly politicised com-

munities.

Ciskei State of Emergency

Council of State cites
reasons for decision

:JOHANNESBURG

Ciskei had decided to
declare a state of emer-
gency because security
in the homeland had
been seriously compro-
mised, the Ciskeiâ\200\231s
Council of State media

- office said in a state-
ment late yesterday
afternoon.

â\200\234Despite the signing
of the Peace Accord,
members of various par-
ties are pursuing a
course of violence,â\200\235 the
statement said.

â\200\234In September and
October the people of
the Ciskei have had
_their security seriously
compromised.

â\200\234They have been in-
timidated, their proper-
ties have been burned

down and government:

buildings have been
subject â\200\230to arson and
sabotage.

â\200\234Thus we have de-
cided to declare a state

The gutted remains of a truck and burnt-
clashed with supporters of the

of emergency.â\200\235

The proclamation, is-
sued yesterday, em-
powered the Commis-
sioner of Police to
authorise, without war-
rant, the arrest or deten-
tion of any person
deemed a threat to the
safety of the public or
the maintenance of pub-
lic order.

â\200\234If a member of the security forces is of the opinion that it is necessary for the safety of the public, or the maintenance of public order, any premises or building may be entered, any person may be searched and any vehicle or aircraft seized.

â\200\234It is also the commissionerâ\200\231s right to, after due notice, restrict any media presence in areas deemed applicable, or prohibit distribution or sale of printed matter.â\200\235

The statement listed incidents of violence in the Ciskei:

Â® Aug 28: Dimbaza rent office petrol-bombed;

Â® Sept 2: house of

Headman in Krwakrwa, Alice, burnt down;

Â® Sept 6: house of ADM Member at Masele Location burnt down;

Â® Sept 13: Sada Government Offices petrol-bombed;

Â® Sept 21: house of policeman at Whittlesea attacked with a hand-grenade; 1

Â® Oct 1: Sada Rent Office petrol-bombed;

Â® Oct 1. house of Headman set alight;

Â® Oct 9: Peddie Municipal Offices petrol-bombed;

Â® Oct 9: ADM memberâ\200\231s house in Mdantsane petrol-bombed;

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Â® Oct 14: house of headman at Whittlesea burnt down;

Â® Oct 16: house of headman burnt down.

His 13-year-old son
burnt to death;

Â® Oct 18: house be-
longing to supporter of
headman - at Peddie
burnt down,;

Â® Oct 24: house of
headman at Izele Ad-
ministrative Area burnt
down,;

Â® Oct 24: Bottle store
and truck petrol
bombed at Izeli. Eleven

people hacked with pan-

gas and knives by mem-
bers of residentsâ\200\231 asso-
ciation;

Â® Oct 27: house be-
longing to chairman of
Committee of Headmen
set alight;

Â® Oct 28: Peddie Post
Office petrol-bombed
and burnt to the ground.
â\200\224 Sapa

out house at Nothenga village in Izeli, where residents
headman on Sunday. See also report on page 5

- Villagers

held

under X
Security
Act

Daily Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON â\200\224 The
hundreds of people ar-
rested in Ciskei in
connection with dis-
turbances in rural
areas have been de-
tained under the
homelandâ\200\231s security
laws, but they have not
been charged with any
offence.

More than 300 people
have been arrested
following unrest inci-
dents related to oppo-
sition to the reintro-

duction of the
headman system in
Ciskei.

The areas affected have been villages in Alice and Izeli, outside King William's Town.

A lawyer representing those arrested, Mr Mike Smith, said it was not clear yesterday how many had been held under section 26 of the Ciskei National Security Act of 1984 which provides for indefinite detention.

Mr Smith said lawyers were waiting to see how many people would be brought to court.

In another development, the Ciskei Government cancelled a press conference which was scheduled for yesterday afternoon.

A government spokesman, Mr Cloete Breytenbach, would not say why the conference had been cancelled at the last moment, nor would he confirm reports that the conference had been restricted to radio and television media only.

He said a press statement would be issued to the South African Press Association later yesterday.

Wed.nesday, October 30 1991

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EAST LONDON â\200\224

A state of emer-
gency giving police
wide powers of ar-
rest was declared in
Ciskei yesterday.

The Ciskei Council of
State said in a statement
the emergency had been
declared because secur-
ity in the homeland had
been seriously compro-
mised.

â\200\234Despite the signing

Cisk
ergency-

of the Peace Accord,
members of various par-
ties are pursuing a
course of violence,â\200\235 the
statement said.

Ciskeians had been
intimidated, their prop-
erties had been burnt
down and government
buildings had been sub-
ject to arson and sab-
otage, it said.

The proclamation em-
powers the Commis-
sioner of Police to auth-
orise, without warrant,

â\200\234DAILY)/5@97â\200\230(:#

the arrest or detention
of any person deemed a
threat to the safety of
the public or the main-
tenance of public order.

â\200\234If a member of the
security forces is of the
opinion that it is necess-
ary for the safety of the
public, or the mainten-
ance of public order,
any premises or build-
ing may be entered, any
person may be searched
and any vehicle or air-

craft seized,â\200\235 the procla-
el
cenr

by PATRICK GOODENOUGH
and ANDREW TRENCH

mation states.

It was also the com-
missionerâ\200\231s right, after
due notice, to restrict
any media presence or
prohibit the distribution
or sale of printed mat-
ter.

The step came amid
growing opposition to
the military rulerâ\200\231s local
government policies and

the formation of a politi-
cal party â\200\224 the African
Democratic Movement
â\200\224 widely regarded as an
attempt to undermine
the African National
Congressâ\200\231s support in
the region.

Earlier yesterday, the
military leader, Brig
O.J. Gqozo, accused the
ANC of actively cam-

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= ANC wml-
w je Section 26 in the
'Bisho Supreme Court in

- two weeksâ\200\231 time on the

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T â\200\224â\200\224

paigning against both
himself and his govern-
ment.

â\200\234The Ciskei Govern-
ment is completely not
going to sit and fold its
arms while its people
are being massacred,
are being destroyed, are
being intimidated and
are being = trampled
upon by the ANC,â\200\235 Brig
Gqgozo said.

In turn, the ANC dis- :

missed the brigadier as
a leader of no standing,
and described the emer-
gency as â\200\230â\200\234the return in
the Ciskei to old-style
repressive ruleâ\200\235, g

Other organisations
which condemned the
state of emergency in-
cluded the ANC Youth
League, the Border
Council of Churches and
the Human Rights Com-
mission.

In the latest outbreak
of violence in Ciskeli,
ANC members in Izele
villages clashed with
supporters of the re-
cently re-introduced
â\200\234headmanâ\200\235 system at
the weekend.

It emerged yesterday
(ithat" some 300 citizens
arrested in Izele were
being held under Sec-
tion 26 which allows for
indefinite etention

without tr:

grounds it contravenes
Ciskei's Bill of Rights.

At 4pm yesterday, a
48-hour deadline for
criminal charges to be
laid against those ar-
rested on Sunday ex-
pired, and lawyers said
they were therefore

Left: A burnt-out bottle
store at Nothenga. .. the
scene of Sunday's clash
which resulted in the ar-
rest of over 300 people.

either being held under
security legislation or
were being detained il-
legally.

Ciskei Government of-
ficials confirmed late
yesterday that they had
been detained under se-
curity legislation and
would not appear in
court.

A press conference
scheduled late yester-
day was cancelled. Daily
Dispatch reporters were
told they were not al-
lowed on Council of
State property.

A spokesman for the
South African Defence
Force in Pretoria, Com-
mandant Riaan Louw,
said "at this stage there
had been no requests

from Brig ' Gqozo for

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assistance in maintain-
ing control.

He discounted claims
of SADF troops being
mobilised in the area.

The legality of the
state of emergency was
questioned yesterday,
with lawyers pointing
out that no document
bearing the proclama-
tion had been made
available. S

A government spokesman, Mr Cloete Bretsen-

bach, said the Council of State was â\200\234under no ob-

ligationâ\200\235 to make the

document available. It

would not be released to the media, but would be gazetted, he added.

Ciskeiâ\200\231s former Justice Minister and drafter of its Bill of Rights, Mr Keith Matthee, said

three legal avenues of

redress could be considered. They were:

@Â@To challenge the â\200\230emergency in terms of

the Bill of Rights on the

grounds the courts had to decide whether sufficient cause existed to |

curtail individualsâ\200\231 basic human rights;

night that â\200\230the

telephone outside
worlder said emp
find only the shell o

The interior,

cracks.

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EAST Lan_t_ml;m_ig
stroyed by a pe'trol'bbmi)ï¬\201mfy on Monday. R

p â\200\230interview yesterday from a tec g
lofiba outside ~ the building, a pos ok N
loyees had reported to wor
fthe building standing.

ceiling and roof had been burnt.
Walls were still standing,

The Ciskei military leader,

Peddie, PO bombed K

'gÃ@t, Police confirmed last
i 5%

st Office had been de-

but they had large

Ciskei police are investigating the incident. â\200\224

Brig O. J. Gqozo, outside

the SABC studios in East London last night.

Â® To bring an applica-
tion for an interdict
against Brig Gqozo for
comments broadcast
over Radio Ciskei,
among them remarks
about

The reporter and a
Daily Dispatch pho-

_ tographer were pushed
-and threatened by Brig

Gqozoâ\200\231s security men
outside the SABCâ\200\231s stu-
dios in Gladstone Street_

police Dbeating ,

When reporter An-
drew Trench ap-

- proached Brig Gqozo as

he walked towards the
entrance of the building,

0 security men
grabbed him and flung

people; : him againsta wall.

@A clarifying . order,. ARl

â\200\230over the legitimacy in togiib&?{?â\200\234fâ\200\231rï~\201gld l;â\200\230:t'
law of the headmen. e she was â\200\234not allowedâ\200\235 to

Yesterday evening, -take photographs and

gg;geggogg ko Diss;ii'tg â\200\230waved his arms in a
i ateh threatening manner.

reporterâ\200\231s - questions - o b PyneR i

about the legz;lity of hig; Later, when Brig

announcement and Ozo returned to his

whether South Africa cG:r, Mâ\200\230lâ\200\230-p {?enchoâ\200\230w;s

supported his move. shoved away from the

vehicle and sworn at.

0 guards pushed

themselves against Ms

Knott while a third
opened an umbrella in
her face to prevent her
from taking a picture. TR

More reports pages 4 and 5
Editorial opinion page 18

Row over headman system page 18

A deep air of uncertainty hangs over the political and economic future of impoverished Zambia, which tomorrow holds its first multi-

party elections in 18

- years.

Tension has built up

in recent days with the government and opposition each accusing the other of preparing for violence if it loses. The church has taken up a mediatory role in the hope of preventing trouble.

" A few weeks ago, political analysts were un-

willing to bet on the out-

come. Now they are tipping victory for the main opposition Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) with around 105 of the 150 seats in parliament, al-

. though predictions are shaky at best.

President Kenneth Kaunda, 67, has domi-

~in 1973 in or

nated the country since independence from Britain in 1964, strengthening his grip after introducing single-party rule to halt tribalism. up

~ But bureaucracy and

corruption have undermined the ruling United

National Independence

Party (Unip) and the government, which has burdened Zambia with eight million people

with 7,8 billion dollars
in foreign debt.

â\200\230The presidential and
parliamentary elections
are the culmination of
nearly two years of pro-
democracy activity.

Zambia has seen a
steady rise in unemploy-
ment, crime, budget
deficits and inflation.
Social services have de-
clined and the black
market has eclipsed for-
mal economic activities.

â\200\234One thing that is
clear is that President

Kaunda and his govern-
ment have known all
along what needed to be
done in this economy,â\200\235

â\200\230one analyst said, adding

that â\200\234Kaunda and his
clique of older Unip
members have over the
years deliberately
blocked economic re-
forms.â\200\235

Pro-democracy activ-
ists who united in the
MMD, and pressure from

the international com-
munity in linking aid to
democratic reforms,
forced Kaunda after
months of hesitation to
reintroduce pluralistic
politics last December
and call elections this
year.

The MMD, led by vete-
ran trade unionist Fred-
erick Chiluba, has prom-
ised to work with
multilateral institutions
to improve Zambiaâ\200\231s
economy, but there are
no illusions over the
amount of work needed.

DLy D [SPRTCH

" Tension rises as

)

Chola Chimbano: Lusaka

Chiluba himself is
challenging Kaunda for
the presidency.

â\200\234This countryâ\200\231s econ-
omy has been destroyed
and there is no money.
Are you prepared to
work -hard to rebuild?
Do you know that build-
ing is more difficult
than destroying?â\200\235 is Chi-
lubaâ\200\231s message at cam-

â\200\230paignrallies.

The retirement from
politics of some of the
leaders of the indepen-
dence struggle and
Kaunda cronies has
failed to reduce press-
ure on the president,
whose statesman-like in-
ternational image con-
trasts sharply with the
poverty of his country.

Both Kaunda and Chi-
luba say they will accept
the election 'results, al-
though Kaunda has also

said he will â\200\234dealâ\200\235 with
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the opposition, which he
accuses of insulting him.

Kaunda says he does
not plan to retire until
the economy recovers.

Diplomatic sources
say the governmentâ\200\231s re-

cord on the economy is
not encouraging.

Zambia has @ aban-
doned several reform
programmes agreed
with the International
Monetary Fund (IMF)
since it started dealing
with the Fund in 1972,
leading the economy
into deeper trouble.

It lost more than 500
million dollars in donor
aid when Kaunda
ditched an IMF auster-
ity programme in 1987
after food riots the pre-
vious year.

It rebuilt donor confi-
dence only when the

IMF and World Bank ap-
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Zambia readies for the

PRESIDENT KAUNDA

proved a policy paper' in late 1990 for a programme covering the period 1990-1993.

The government ran into trouble again last month, defaulting on a 20,8 million dollar arrears payment to the World Bank and delaying the implementa-

tion of austerity measures until after the elections.

As a result, Zambia stands to lose more than 200 million dollars in balance of payments and import-support from the World Bank and other donors.

Political and economic analysts say the post-election atmosphere should allow greater economic development in a country where political survival has taken precedence

over vital austerity measures.

The analysts trace

Zambia's economic decline to the 1974 oil crisis and depressed copper prices.

Copper production by Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM), the country's main foreign exchange earner, is expected to fall while

polls><|

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DAILY DISPATCH, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1991

R E T R G G =0 I)
Izeli quiet, schools emptyy.

by PATRICK GOODENOUGH
and ANDREW TRENCH

IZELI â\200\224 This rural Ciskei area was quiet yesterday after a flare-up among residents on Sunday led to the arrests of more than 300 â\200\224 still believed to be in detention. ? E

At two village schools, teachers sitting idly outside empty classrooms explained their pupils were either still being held by police or were hiding in forests, in fear for their safety.

Attendance at Nangamso junior secondary school had dropped from a possible 197 to nothing, while at the â\200\230nearby Noteya primary school only 85 of a total of 540 pupils attended yesterday.

- Exams at Noâ\200\231oÃ@ya begin on Friday, . and at Nangamso pupils face exams from next Tuesday. 4

Teachers expressed concern' over the interruption in schooling and the potential disruption to studies which â\200\230 they believed could result from the , ' declaration of the state of emergency.

Two teachers at Noteya â\200\224 the only staff members who live in Izeli vil-

. lages â\200\224 were arrested on Monday, the , deputy principal, Mr Zamilé Duda, re-

torched the buildings and cars.

ported.

The villages were virtually deserted, with the few residents reporters could find saying the quiet was unusual.

Residents were obviously jumpy. Some said they ran and hid when cars appeared.

Several expressed distaste for Brigadier Oupa Gqozoâ\200\231s decision to impose a state of emergency. ;

â\200\234First he was a hero ... now he has become a dictator,â\200\235 one said.

In Nothenga village, reporters saw two burnt-out vehicles and two gutted houses, and a bottle store which was extensively damaged in a clash between supporters of the area's headman and African National Congress members on Sunday.

Eyewitnesses said the bottle-store owner, Mr Bhesi Mevana also a member of the headman committee sustained head injuries after resi-

dents hauled him and other committee members from the store.

They said a crowd of more than 1000 had stoned the property and

- A 20-year old woman, related to Mr Mevana, said a stone had hit her on the back and she had required medical treatment.

She denied an accusation by the Nothenga Residents' Association that Mr Mevana had been organising for the African Democratic Movement, headed by Brig Gqozo.

Mr Mevana is recovering in Cecilia Makiwane Hospital. A spokesman there yesterday described his condition as not serious.

An elderly woman in a house near

the bottle-store said police had questioned her on the whereabouts of her husband, who was working.

They said You are fortunate your husband is not around, or you would both be arrested, she said.

Police patrolled the area in large numbers on Monday, the woman added.

While no police were seen yesterday, villagers interviewed at an advice office in King William's Town were reluctant to return, citing further arrests on Monday as the reason.

Appeal for impartiality

EAST LONDON The Border Civic Congress appealed to Ciskei police to act impartially with regard to the state of emergency.

Bocco said the police should adhere to the principles of the national peace accord of

which the Ciskei Government was a signa-

tory.

It said residents were extending the hand of friendship to the Ciskei police and appealing to them to act impartially and not take orders from Brigadier O.J. Gqozo, who had said in a radio broadcast police should beat those opposed to the headman system.

The re-introduction of the headman system and discredited community councillors was rejected by the majority of residents, Bocco added.

The system was undemocratic as in some areas it was reported only two people elected aheadman.â\200\224 DDR

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' mandate until
" goes
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NQ.J.â\200\230V.

Radio Ciskei on Monday,

hat he had a mandate to
- rid Ciskei of corruption
" and to protect human
* rights.

The following is an ex-
tract from the broad-
cast:

â\200\234I am led by God as
his servant. Give me
power to lead Ciskei
people, I pray every day.

â\200\234I will rule with a
Ciskei
; back to South
~ Africa. I have a mandate
. from the army to get rid

_. of nepotism, corruption

â\200\234and to protect human
rights. People hate me
c: because ofthe mandate.

â\200\234Youngsters want old

" people to go out and

â\200\234 toyitoyi and do all
~ wrong things. They want
Ciskei to be ruled by an

-i! exile, an ANC member

7 or someone from Rob-
benIsland...

. â\200\234There is no order at
. schools and in the com-
. munities, (with) demon-
- strations during school

;; time.Iam unpopular be-

cause I am against dis-
order.

' â\200\234The ANC says it will
'not comment on Trans-

kei disturbances be-
cause they are their
friends. Many people
are arrested without
trial in Transkei.

â\200\230â\200\234Once a person is arrested in Ciskei, a hue and cry develops. Only one member of the ANC (Mr Smuts Ngonyama) was bombed in Dimbaza. There were reports about blue cards of my party (the African Democratic Movement| which indicated that Inkatha was involved with it. This is all printed by the Daily Dispatch.

â\200\234There are reports that my bodyguards are members of Inkatha and that we are ruled by Inkatha. These are all lies. There is also another lie that I gave R8,5 million to Gatsha (Buthelezi) . . .

â\200\234The good things done by the government are not popularised.

â\200\234I say to (the) police they should beat silly people on the heads because courts take a long time while they (the people) continue to burn people. Let us get those claims, we donâ\200\231t care, money has been made for that.

â\200\234A naughty child is given a hiding by elderly people by Xhosa tradition.

DRILY DISPATCH
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nothing I

ion. It does not matter whose child it is. ..

â\200\234If these boys are severely beaten they can claim if they want to, but we will try and make laws that they donâ\200\231t get anything. We are here to make laws to protect people. ..

â\200\234People are scared of

arson. Police should
work and fools should
be hit hard. :

_â\200\234If they attack us we
should mete out a
harsher action against
them. The stand of the
African Democratic
Movement is to collect
all people who want
peace. We are in the ma-
jority . . .

â\200\234The ADM wants real
peace; not peace written
on papers and there-
after people are again
assaulted. AT

â\200\234We donâ\200\231t want people
who say we should not
go to work...we donâ\200\231t
want boycotts of certain
shops. . . ?

â\200\234ADM people should
be united and be able to
fight those who oppose
it. We are not organised.
There was a magistrate
in Peddie and the area
was rotten during his
time, but when we re-
moved him the area be-
came all right.

â\200\234Any policeman who
does not want to work
will join the toyi-toyi.
All policemen, irrespec-
tive of the unit, should
work. Policemen are
paid but are not doing
work.. . .

â\200\234If I receive a com-
plaint, I will ask the
policeman what he has
done. If he had done
will fire |

him .Y

Love letter

writer needed

VERONA â\200\224 Verona is
seeking a secretary to
answer love letters ad-
dressed to Romeoâ\200\231s Ju-
liet.

A council official in
Verona, fabled home of
Shakespeareâ\200\231s star-

crossed couple, yesterday announced a competition to find someone skilled in penning answers to an average of two letters sent to Juliet from Italy and abroad every day.â\200\224 Sapa-RNS

Border African National Congress and the Border Council of Churches yesterday . strongly condemned the state of emergency declared by the Ciskei military government on Monday.

The Congress of Tra-

_South

Ciskei

| Government

Leaders
Africa (Con-
tralesa) called on its
members in Ciskei â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230to
keep clear of Brigadier
Oupa Gqozoâ\200\231s actions
and not associate them-
selves with the briga-
dierâ\200\231s activitiesâ\200\235.

At a press conference,
the ANC described the
declaration of the state
of emergency as â\200\234the re-
turn in the Ciskei to old-

ditional

- style repressive ruleâ\200\235.

The organisation said
it was regrettable that
the incident was taking
place at a time when
South Africa was striv-
ing for peace and re-
conciliation.

Past states of emer-
gency had failed to stop
the forces for democracy
and justice in the coun-
try and the present state
of emergency would also
fail, the ANC said.

It said the state of
emergency was a â\200\234des-
perate measure to re-
inforce the feeble forces
clamouring for a place

at the all-party conferenceâ\200\235.

It blamed the National Party government for the imposition of the state of emergency in Ciskei saying the NP had long been warned about the â\200\234unacceptable methodsâ\200\235 followed by the Gqozo regime. ;

The ANC called on the police and the army in to disassociate themselves from the direction Brig Gqozo was taking.

â\200\234We know that his reign will soon be over and they, (security forces) are the people who would remain be-

hind while Gqozo, like

his predecessor, seeks comfort in Pretoria,â\200\235 the ANC said. -

It claimed Brig Gqozo was under _ pressure from the South African to oppose

the ANC.

The BCC "ivaidv"?;i"t was shocked by the declaration of the state of emer-

of

â\200\230the peopleâ\200\231s

gency, which was contrary to what the Ciskei authorities had been claiming to promote â\200\224 human rights.

The clerics warned the Ciskei Government to learn from their South African counterparts, saying a state of emergency would not suppress peopleâ\200\231s quest for democracy.

The BCC president, the Reverend Bongani Finca, said a letter had

been sent to Brigadier Gqozo yesterday morning requesting an urgent meeting, but the military ruler did not respond.

The present attitude of the Ciskei Government created a potential for bloodshed, the BCC

~warned.

The president of Contralesa, Chief Patekile Holomisa, said the continued existence of homeland administrations was a recipe for disaster and anarchy.

Contralesa said the Ciskei military government was "a menace to the well-being of the people of Ciskei".

The formation of the African Democratic Front was an attempt by Brig Gqozo to entrench himself politically, Contralesa said.

Contralesa members in the homeland are advised to keep clear of Gqozo's moves to set up a political party. They should also take heed of feelings about the issue of headmanship and bear in mind the abuse and manipulation of those authorities by Gqozo's predecessor.

The legitimacy of the traditional leaders in Ciskei does not at all depend on their cohabitation with the Council of State, but on their hereditary lineage and acceptance by the people," Chief Holomisa said.

The Human Rights

Commission condemned the state of emergency and said the headman system had resulted in strong resistance from local communities.

â\200\234At a time when all political leaders have committed themselves to. peace, Ggozoâ\200\231s actions lead one to wonder what his real agenda is,â\200\235 the HRC said.

During the past two months the HRC noted an increase in security force actions against protest to the headman system, and this led them to believe old style repression had re-turned.

The Border branch of the Black Sash said Brig Ggozoâ\200\231s . action illustrated the â\200\230â\200\234illegitimate natureâ\200\235 of his military council. :

Brig Ggozoâ\200\231s actions rested ultimately with President F.W. de

Klerk, as Ciskei was an artificial creation of the South African Government, it said.

The Black Sash, in light of the government'â\200\231s commitment to the Peace Accord, called upon Mr De Klerk to intervene immediately and decisively in an increasingly oppressive

~ situation which threat-

ened to result in violence and the loss of life in the region..

Sapa reports the SACPâ\200\231s central committee said people had approached Brig Ggozo to normalise the situation, but had been rejected.

It said the Ciskei military council was a signatory to the National Peace Accord which committed signatories to allow for unfettered political = activity. Brig Ggozo no longer enjoyed the trust of the people, it said. ;

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David Braun reports from Washington

THE Congressional Black Caucus has taken control of the key Africa Subcommittee of the US House of Representatives in a move which could have an important impact on American policy towards South Africa.

Africa Subcommittee chairman

Howard Wolpe vacated his post yesterday to take up the politically more important: chairman-

ship of the House Science, Space

and Technology Committee.

More significantly to many Africanists in Washington, however, is that the staff director of the Subcommittee on Africa, Steve Weissman, and other key members of the staff appointed by Mr Wolpe, will also be moving on.

The new chairman of the Sub-

committee on Africa, Mervyn Dy-

mally, will appoint his own staff. *

a respected Africa expert. Both played key roles in setting the Congressional and the overall US agendas on the subject of South Africa. -

Mr Weissman confirmed this week he would be leaving the Africa Subcommittee. He said he was considering taking up a position with a university.

Mr Wolpe and Mr Weissman were instrumental in persuading the US Congress to impose sanctions on South Africa in 1986.

More recently, they welcomed the reforms of President de Klerk, but remained skeptical that the

political process in South Africa

was truly irreversible.

Mr Wolpe is to remain an ordinary member of the Subcommittee on Africa, as the ranking Dem-

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ocratic member. ;

According to Democratic Party

sources, the outgoing Africa Subcommittee chairman has taken the chairmanship of the Science,

Space and Technology Committee

because it gives him much more status within Congress and because of the prestige it gives him within his own Congressional District in Michigan.

Mr Dymally's succession as chairman of the Africa Subcommittee

is a major coup for the

Congressional Black Caucus, which has long believed it should control the important panel.

The 64-year-old California representative (he was a Lieutenant-Governor of California) is a senior member of the Black Caucus.

Washington Africanists believe the Black Caucus control of the

on an important development
This will give the ANC mo

65

Mr Weissman, like Mr Wolpe, is

re leverage

House Subcommittee on Africa gives the African National Congress a huge new advantage.

Although there are some prominent Black Caucus members who have demonstrated flexibility, the body is firmly behind the ANC.

Some analysts are concerned that Mr Dymally's close links with President Mobutu of Zaire will put him at odds with other members of the Black Caucus, and that this could have an impact on his approach to South Africa (in the sense that he would not resist a hard line towards Pretoria). ; There is also some concern that the new Africa Subcommittee professional staff will take a long time to settle in, and that they may therefore be somewhat less effective than Mr Weissman and his colleagues. O

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" suspected.

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. By Tony Stirling 5 e
EASTERN Transvaal police are holding two
Black men in coanection with the investiga-
tions into 2 namber of murders carried out this

month with AK-47 rifles. _
with AK-<47 rifles, ap-
yesterday by Brig G W peared to have â\200\230had a
Smit, the regional chief = criminal modve.

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Eastern Transvaal. o
-The murders being in- % s T ot
3 indude ap- R weapons, which - we
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ANC, but no polirica] {ders in the Easern

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! Samt, Eastern Transvaal
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criminal gang which has !
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Ogles and Kendaj dis- |
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Cases under mvest- |
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Â® The shoodng ofâ\200\231
Petrns - Skosana (61), |
WO was shot in the left
side on October 16 ar!
Ogies. {

Â® The shooting of

- Vosi Mbathz (23), who.
' was found shor dead in
Phola township on Oc-

Â® A murder an Oc-
tober I8 m which the

AG% tober 8. Nkosi (25) sustzined se-
e â\200\224 Â® The ' morder of riops mjuries from gum-
The two suspects & Abraham Mokoenz, shot. wounds and is sufl
were named as Sipho 'iâ\200\230 who was seriously being treated in the Wit-
Buthelezi (25) and {!! woundÃ©d in the same in- bank Hospital.
Naphtal Ngomezulu â\200\234}f cident and died in the & Theor unmders in
(33). Witbaok Hospital the the Kendal plots area on
According 10 Brig following day. October 19. Thres

Black men were kifled

when they cme. under

Unit detectives are on the body of Mr M ZNgobe- amack. Only one has
the rank of 2 number of 1a (25) was found in the been identified. He was
;other suspects. More Amalozzi Squaner @mp Mr Richard Mayage
.weapons could be near Kendal. He had s).

1 seized. been shot dead. Two women were
It appears that the 10th is in the group ar-
tacked 200\224 one was as-
saulted and the other
managed to escape.

At A murder on Ce-
tober 20 at the Safe Sec

Compound at Kendal

Two held

where the body of Mr

Alec Mguodiza Zcuba
was found. He had been
shot. _

Brig Smit praised the
i deï\201can'on and persevc.

rance of the police -

_vestigation team and

thanked the public for
their support.

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F SAâ\200\230\IE.â\200\230E{DSaformaldewcesuchasa,

+ mulfiparty statutory conncil with expert

subecommittees to solve major national
problems and prevent the counixyâ\200\231s transi-
tion from breaking down, says Wits Centre

Schlemmer.

He writes in rb.e Human Smenca Re-
search Council book, Policy Options for a
New SA, launched in Johannesburg yester-
day, that the process of government will be
subetantially beyond the econtrol of politi-
cians and their planners. :

Given governmentâ\200\231s large scope and
role in SAâ\200\231s fransition, the deep structural
imbalances and conflicts in society which

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" had to be addressed, and contradictory

pressures and demands on government,

special elements were required. :
One element often suggested was a social contract between major parties allowing opponents to spend a competitive amount sufficiently to allow co-operation in solving problems. -

Approved

Such pacts and alliances are needed, but they are also predictable and subject to breakdown, he says, proposing a more formal arrangement to assist government in addressing the problems.

He suggests a statutory council or councils with subcommittees, composed of relatively impartial experts nominated by parties and approved by a two-thirds majority of the legislature.

Their role might be to examine any proposed legislation or policy at the request of any party in the Legislature, in order to attempt to resolve issues of conflict and to point to unforeseen consequences.

They would then have the power to refer matters back to a cabinet with recommendations, operating much like the Senate.

They would then have the power to refer matters back to a cabinet with recommendations, operating much like the Senate.

Schlesinger said at the launch there was

THE NEW YORK TIMES
< At e S e T R)

% council -

BALY PADDOCK -

*..v:ency for parties to raise proposals in public without proper regard for their consequences. A statutory council would

! prevent this from happening and could

point the way forward

In the book, he says to move towards

equity in public spending must bear some results before political transition, because existing differentials and inequalities between countries will intensify ideological tensions during negotiations. He believes social stability, investor confidence and economic growth must be secured by the actions of a new government obliged to rapidly redress backlogs.

Careful analysis had shown that racial parity in state expenditure could not be achieved before 2000, and then only with government expenditure rising to 31% of GDP and the economy growing an average of 3% a year in real terms over the period. Virtually all the tax revenues of increased economic growth would have to be channelled to social spending.

One of the greatest challenges to government in this period of transition is how to pro-actively eliminate discrimination and redress inequity of opportunity without creating a culture of wealth in the US is referred to as entitlement.

In a referendum at least seven of every 10 white voters were likely to reject a

* negotiated settlement which did not re-

serve substantial power for whites in an organised constituency. This was likely to make majority-based parties antagonistic. More subtle minority safeguards potentially aimed at any particular group were re-

quired, but these were more difficult to sell

to the white constituency. Government has the invidious task of

identifying the soundest long-run methods

of minority protection and of convincing

the constituents of their effectiveness,

says Schlemmer.

Aus

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â\200\230ANC to ha

The African National Congress will have an

official economic poli-

cy by December or January, according to the head of the ANCâ\200\231s economics department, Mr Max Sisulu.

The organisation has come under fire for sending out contradictory views on a future economy, particularly on nationalisation.

However, in an interview with Work In Progress magazine, Mr Sisulu says the ANC, being a democratic organisation,

soon, says

continues to seek the active involvement of the people in drawing up the official policy

He says the process of drawing up the policy has been an ongoing one, including workshops and the discussion of a draft policy document in the branches.

Mr Sisulu says the December/January policy conference will look at macro-economic and sec-

C\ TG, 30

toral policy. Despite not having an official economic policy, Mr Sisulu

views on the economy and he spelled out a future based on a mixed economy.

A ing to Mr Sisulu
g
dients for a mixed economy are: A democratic pohtml ~ framework, economic growth and redistribution.

ve economic |
Sisulu

')Isj%

He talks of a slogan:
â\200\234Growth through distri-
butionâ\200\235, which he says
means redistribution of
wealth, income and op-
portunity.

Mr Sisulu emphasises
that without growth it was
impossible to address
poverty.

He talks of 90 percent
-oftbewulthbe.ingcon-
centrated in White hands

' andoncscvenï¬\202:ofthe

population (Whites) con-
suming 60 percent of the
Gross Domestic Product
(GDpP).

he talks about meeting
are housing and electrici-
ty. He says ing
thwesgetorscouldhavga
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up opportunities for job
creation, welfare and
pensions through doing
away with duplication and
iplicati in government'

omic policy]

departments and cutting
the defence budget.

He says the manufac-
turing sector needs to be
turned into â\200\234an engine for
growthâ\200\235 with emphasis
placed on industrial re-
search.

Addressing the role of

the International Mone-

tary Fund (IMF) and

omy so that we donâ\200\231t go
cap in hand to borrow
money on their termsâ\200\235. â\200\224
Sapa.

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(â\200\231 @d*,bL,W\J . SO]lOlal

17

Wat weet Buthelezi
van democratie?

door Sietse Bosgra

In Zuid-Afrika zijn tienduizenden gezinnen in diepe ellende gestort door politiek gemotiveerde moorden. Vaak waren voorvechters van mensenrechten het slachtoffer, in andere gevallen ging het om volledig willekeurige personen. Het geweld vormt een ernstige bedreiging voor het prille vredesproces.

De verantwoordelijkheid voor deze wanhopige situatie berust in sterke mate bij chieft Buthelezi, leider van de Inkatha-beweging. Deze betrokkenheid bij de wrede terreur leidde tot een internationale afkeer, een toenemend isolement voor de Zoeleleider. Maar uitgerekend de christen-democratische fractie in het Europese parlement nodigt deze Buthelezi uit als gastspreker op haar congres op 14 november. Buthelezi spreekt daar nota bene over democratie in Afrika.

Afrika kent helaas vele voorbeelden van autoritaire leiders, die geen oppositie dulden en die alle regels van democratie aan hun laars lapten. Buthelezi heeft als hoofd van de regering van het thuisland Kwazulu laten zien hoe hij denkt over democratie. Eerst wilde hij alle oppositiepartijen in zijn â\200\230staatâ\200\231 verbieden, maar het apartheids-regime in Pretoria weigerde hiervoor in 1975 toestemming te geven.

Absolute trouw

Echter, Buthelezi had andere middelen om absolute gehoorzaamheid van zijn onderdanen af te dwingen. Hij eiste dat iedereen die een functie bekleedde in zijn â\200\230staatâ\200\231, zoals onderwijzers, artsen, politiemensen, ambtenaren, maar ook studenten, een â\200\230loyaliteitsverklaringâ\200\231 ondertekent waarin absolute trouw aan de heerser van Kwazulu wordt beloofd. De bevolking werd onder grote druk gezet om lid te worden van de Inkatha beweging. Zelfs kin-

deren kunnen alleen naar school als ze toetreden tot de para-militaire Inkatha Jeugdbrigades. Zo bereikte Buthelezi zijn doel: Kwazulu werd een feitelijke één-partij-staat, waar alle zetels in het parlement in handen zijn van Inkatha. Ol Terwijl het ANC een collectief leiderschap kent, en een democratische organisatie waar vrij wordt gesproken en gestemd, kent Inkatha maar één leider, die op congressen telkens weer met 99 procent van de stemmen wordt herkozen. Deze leider duldt geen kritiek of tegenstamhoofd Maphumulo uit Kwazulu

spraak. Toen leden van een Nederlandse parlementaire delegatie

. hem een aantal kritische vragen

stelden over de situatie van de mensenrechten in Kwazulu ontstak de autoritaire leider in toorn. Moet deze man de christen-democraten vertellen wat democratie is?

Geweld

Het ergste verwijt aan Buthelezi is echter zijn verantwoordelijkheid voor het geweld. Aanvankelijk beperkte de terreur zich tot het thuisland Kwazulu, waar duizenden Zoes om het leven kwamen omdat zij kozen voor Mandela en niet voor Buthelezi. Daarna sloeg het geweld over naar andere gebieden.

Op 24 oktober kwam het onafhankelijke Zuidafrikaanse onderzoeksbureau Community Agency for Social Enquiry met de meest recente cijfers over het geweld. In 257 gevallen van geweld werden 370 aanvallers geïdentificeerd: 190 behoorden tot Inkatha, 84 tot de politie, en 13 waren lid van het ANC. Het rapport toont aan dat in 50 procent van de gevallen Inkatha verantwoordelijk is voor het geweld, in een kwart van de gevallen de politie, en zowel ANC als het leger in minder dan 5 procent.

Het internationale vertrouwen in Buthelezi werd sterk aangetast toen bleek dat zijn Inkatha-beweging werd gefinancierd uit heimelijke fondsen van het apartheidsregime. Maar veel ernstiger is, dat bij

de recente rechtszaken tegen politiemensen duidelijk naar voren komt, hoe Inkatha en de politie hand in hand samenwerken bij het moorden en het opstoken van het geweld. Op 24 oktober verklaarde

een agent onder ede hoe hij samen .

met eenheden van Inkatha het

vermoord heeft. Dit stamhoofd is _

-een bekend tegenstander van Bu: ..

thelezi. Toen de agent details wilde geven over 15 andere moorden die hij in opdracht van de politie had .. uitgevoerd, legde de rechter hem | het zwijgen op. „Allemaal mensen van het ANC", zei hij tegen het Britse dagblad The Independent. Terloops meldde hij dat de politie de.: vuurwapens aan Inkatha had verstrekt. ..

Bij een andere rechtszaak die in Pietermaritzburg wordt gehouden, en waarbij zeven politiemensen terecht staan wegens de moord op elf mensen gaf een Inkatha-leider | onder ede details over de nauwe samenwerking tussen de politie en zijn beweging bij het volvoeren van de moord. De massamoord werd., . voorbereid op bijeenkomsten van . hoge politie-functionarissen met de rechterhand van Buthelezi, David Ntombela, in het hoofdkwartier van Inkatha in Edendale.

Het lijkt onwaarschijnlijk dat de christen-democratische fractie stamhoofd Buthelezi naar Brussel . haalt vanwege zijn grote bijdrage . aan de democratie in Afrika. Maar dat men deze man wil eren vanwege zijn grote bijdrage aan de mensenrechten in Afrika lijkt even onwaarschijnlijk. Of moeten we de . grote verdienste van de man zoeken in het feit dat hij het Zoeloe-nationalisme aanwakkert ten koste -, van het principe van het ANC dat , alle Zuidafrikanen gelijkwaardig zijn, blank en zwart en onafhankelijk van stam? : De Europese christen-democraten. zijn een verklaring verschuldigd voor deze uiterst curieuze uitnodiging.

De auteur is medewerker van het Komitee Zuidelijk Afrika.

\

IFP President M. Buthelezi

'ANC questions Inkath
| legitimacy

By Bob Mkhwanazi il}i~\2021egrhan

AFas eo
THE African National Congress
(ANC) has questioned the Inkatha
Freedom Partyâ\200\231s â\200\234legitimacy as an
independent forceâ\200\235.

In the light of recent revelations
that Inkatha had received covert
funds from the South African
government, the ANC is reviewing
its relationship with Chief Gatsha
Butheleziâ\200\231s Inkatha Freedom Party.

The ANCâ\200\231s decision means the
peace accord between it and the IFP
signed in January this year, is now in
jeopardy. :

Claiming that the ANC has been
the principal victim of Inkathaâ\200\231s
slush funds, having regard to' the
overwhelming' evidence to that

N e

'S

effect, thÂ¢ ANC views Chief
Butheleziâ\200\231s attempt to distance him-
self from the covert funds as â\200\234tanta-
mount to palpable falsehood and
dishonesty in the name of the Lord
Godâ\200\235.

In a related development, Mr
Nelson Mandela, the president of
the ANC has called for an interim
government of national unity, warn-
ing that if President de Klerkâ\200\231s
government does not hand over to
an interim government, â\200\234they must
learn there can be no future discus-
sion between them and ourselvesâ\200\235,
to which the ANC deputy president,
Walter Sissulu rejoined: â\200\234the
government has become an obstacle
to negotiations. It must resignâ\200\235.

Daily Dispatch
Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224
Thirteen people were
arrested for disrupting
traffic after the trial of
Mrs Winnie Mandela
and 15 other African
National Congress
Womenâ\200\231s League mem-
bers â\200\224 who are facing
charges of traffic ob-
struction â\200\224 resumed in

I\W/inni eâ\200\231s

13 held for disruption =<l

. Daseas ot)

. A
trial resumes as

the Johannesburg Mag-
istrateâ\200\231s Court yester-
day.)

A - Witwatersrand
police spokesman said
the group would be
charged with either dis-
rupting traffic or dem-
onstrating within the
area of a court building.

The spokesman said it
was not clear whether
those arrested included

any of the people pre-
viously charged.

Magistrate J.P. My-
burgh agreed to post-

pone the trial to January
29 after prosecutor Jac-
ques
that the state had made
representations to the
Attorney-General and

Justice Minister Hernus
Kriel and was awaiting

an answer.

Theron advised

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Oscar::;;.,_ m
\\Lsc,)â\200\231 ÂSo gy a0k MDHLELA n)A \\ \ ; !
gpon lf it uanslzaart;?sâ\200\234:â\200\230lwg;) ?ngtr: :spï¬\201i cal party. ;

â\200\231iâ\200\230hxs oï¬\201servanon was made by the execuï¬\201Wci¬\201unnnn
te for. Multi-P Party Democracys: Dr
f

new _\!t'h ca,mlohannesborg yesterday. :
â\200\234is co-edited by Fanie â\200\230Cloete, AWT

er and Daan van Vuuren. ;
his talk, Â«| iberation Movements versus Peh)
Paxnesâ\200\235 Dhlomo noted that the possx ility of the orgam-
sation losing financial support from :
* should it become a po0 litical party welghed ag
ANC abandoning its role as a liberation movement.
e â\200\234Asa hberauonmovement, the
sent the majority of the opp'
members as well as the general supporte
ers who are not necessari ly its members,â\200\235 Dhlomo said.
He said the donors would in turn claimthey arÃ© support \
ing the oppressed people whom the ANC as @ liberation:
movement claim to represen nt.
However, if the
d chose to become a
to clann to speak for mos

. â\200\234Many donors W uld think twice before supporting one
polmcal party lt in the country to the exclusion of others,â\200\235
he said

talk like 2 pohucal party.â\200\235â\200\231

lt was also difficult for 2 political party to take ln
supporters of various persua510n

Another speaker atthe
advocacy journalism, which
deplored as ithad anegative unpact

Hesaid the survey that pomay
as responsible for violence Was mespons1ble

cy by December oOf
January, according 10
the head of the ANCâ\200\231s
economics depart-
ment, Mr Max Sisulu.
The organisation has
come under fire for send-
ing out contradictory
views on a future econ-
omy, particularly on nat-
jonalisation.

However, in an inter-
view with Work In Pro-
gress magazine, Mr Sisulu
says the ANC, being a
democratic organisation,

â\200\230to have economic pol
s Sisulu

Citizen

soon

continues to seek the ac-
tive involvement of the
people in drawing up the
official policy.

He says the process of
drawing up the policy has
been an ongoing one, in-
cluding workshops and
the discussion of a draft
policy document in the
branches.

Mr Sisulu says the De-
cember/January policy
conference Wwill look at
macro-economic and sec-

20~ 109

toral policy. Despite not
having an official econ-
omic policy, Mr Sisulu
says the ANC does have
views on the economy
and he spelled out a fu-
ture based on a mixed
economy.

According to Mr Sisulu
the three basic ingre-
dients for a mixed econ-
omy are: A democratic
political framework,
economic growth and re-

distribution.

, SAY

A

He talks of a slogan:
"Growth through distribution", which he says means redistribution of wealth, income and opportunity.

Mr Sisulu emphasises

that without growth it was impossible to address poverty.

He talks of 90 percent of the wealth being concentrated in White hands and one seventh of the

population (Whites) consuming 60 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

Some of the basic needs

these sectors could have a multiplier effect, opening up opportunities for job creation, welfare and pensions through doing away with duplication and triplication in government

-

departments and cutting the defence budget.

World Bank, Mr Sisulu is sceptical of the suggestions and says, "we need to manage our economy so that we don't go cap in hand to borrow money on their terms".

Sapa.

) eâ\200\224

- GP wams against
~ Blacks in govi

Qï-\2015mm

By Fred de Lange and
Brian Stuart
â\200\234IF " the government
shonld, as n temporary
measure, allow the
African National Con-
gress, the Pan African-
Ist Congress and the
Inkatha Frecedom Par-
ty 10 govern the coun-
try jointly with it, i
could expect, the big-
gest resistance ever (n
the history of the Afri-
kaner natlon, the Con-
servative Party warned
yesterday,
. The genernl secretary
of the CP, Mr Andrlos
Beyers, said it appeared
from newspaper Topotts
that the government was

now prepared to change.

lho constitntion in such a
way that the ANC, PAC
and Inkatha would have
co-responsibility In gov-
erning Sonth Africa,

Not oniy was i totally
unaceepinble to the CP,
but if such changes were
mnde, it would be met by
the CP and other Righi-
wing . organisations with

tho biggest resistancs evor's

ek 0

In the history of the Afri-
kaner nation,
â\200\234Such actlons would be

the enstavement of ihe ;
and |
those who support It In its |

Afrikaner nalion,

struggle, to n majorlty

rule system within which |

the Afrlkaner natjon

- would be a smal! minot- |

ty. In such a system there |

Âçan be no protection of
minorities,â\200\235 Mr Beyers
said, .

The government's in-

â\200\234tentions in this regard :
. were a recipe for a calns-

troupe and would lead to
violence and the spilling
of blood,

Despite clear indica-
tions from a growing
number of NP supporters,
including newspaper edi-
tors and journalists, that
they were becoming disil-
lusioned by the unitary
state idea which only
caused violence, the gov-

â\200\230Blacks in govt: C

FROM PAGE.1

government was continuing

with its plans,
Throughout South

Africa there was growing

support for the CPâ\200\231s sys-

tem of self-determina-
tion,
- A possible early date

! for a referendum on inter-

im arrangements to bring
other political players
into the Cabinet or gov-
ernment has been hinted
it by Dr Gerrit Viljoen,
Minister of Constitutional
Development.,

Until now the govern-
ment has undertaken to
hold a referendum or
election prior to the intro-
duction of a new consti-
tution,

But Dr Viljoen has said
a referendum may be
necessary before estab-
lishing a multi-party Cabi-
net, if this is agreed in the
negotiation process,

in an article in RSA
Policy Review, a monthly
organ of SA Communica-

tion Service, Dr Viljoen
said Presidem De Klerk
was prepared to extend
the Cabinet by appointing
competent South Afri-
cans, if this was the out-
come of a multi-party
conference. '

â\200\234Such a propospl can

only be put into efiect if it .

s negotlared in an nppro-
printe. way and il an

agreement is reached on
it, and if the censtitution
is then amended, and not
abolished, to make pro-
vision for such a measure,

â\200\234Seeing that this consti-
tutes a dramatic change in
the Constitution, it would
probably also be necess-
ary to get a mandate â\200\230for
such a step frem the pop-
ulation by way of a refer-
endum,â\200\235 ;

Dr Viljoen said existing
legislation allowed a re-
ferendum 10 be held
among any sections of the
popuiation. The resulis
had - ne binding power,
but naturally had â\200\234tre-
mendons moral author-
ity".

However, the povern-
ment rejected the ANC
proposal which implied
handing over authority lo
an interim - government
which had no constito-
tional restraints on what it
did and for how long it rc-
tained power. _

â\200\234If the constinstion is
suspended or abolished, it
means there is no consti-
tution in the country, no
legitimate authority to
which the pgovernmentâ\200\231s
discretion is subjected). It
would be able to issne de-
crees at ils own discre-
t{on.

"This may to a large ex-

tent be in line with the _

s pesition, in gertpin | Afri-
can countries, but this is

not the kind of constitutional government which we regard as acceptable for South Africa.

The present constitution was unacceptable in omitting Blacks, and a new constitution had to be negotiated and be acceptable to the negotia-

tion parties. But there should be no interim authority which had on-bounded authority.

South Africa should move from one form of government with constitutional restraints to another, also bound by a constitution.

The government has consistently put the view that a constitutional change, whether interim or final, must be the result of negotiation.

If it is a radical change, it must also be sanctioned by way of a referendum of the electorate, and in particular also of the voters of the present support base of the ruling party, said Dr Viljoen. :

On final proposals for a new constitution, the government's view was that all citizens should participate, and not only the present voters. ;

Dr Viljoen was critical of the Patriotic Front meeting, It was | pro-sumptuous of the ANC

»

P warns

and others to regard it as

" a Parliament in the making

. Parliament was an elected body, :

I would furthermore describe it as ganging-up of political parties that are eager to unite their

strength against the ruling
party. <" !

â\200\234To my mind, the in-

â\200\234tention of this Patriotic

Front is more negative

than positive, It is rather- -

an attempt to muster
people against the current
government, allegedly
against the apartheid sys-
tem. This has already
been rejected by the gov-
ernment of the day and
has already been
scrapped.â\200\235

His objection to the
Patriotic Front was based
on the principle that it ,
Was an unnecessary orga-

nisation which might
build rigidity and inflexi-
bility into the negotiation
process, :

â\200\234If, -as a result, more
parties can be involved in
the multi-party . confer-
ence, it certainly has an
advantage,

â\200\234However, it remains
an open question whether

this' is sufficient advan- .
tage to balance out the J
disadvantages of the false "
impression created, by the

Patriotic Front.â\200\235

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WWEalth visit

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to SA today

THE secretary-general of the Commonwealth, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, and a delegation of five senior Commonwealth members is expected to arrive in South Africa today on an exploratory visit aimed at defining ways the organisation could lend momentum to the

negotiation process. It is the first official

visit to this country by a

Commonwealth secretary-general.

The Commonwealth said in a Press statement released in London the visit came in the wake of the recently concluded Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Harare where Chief

Anyaoku was requested to visit South Africa.

At the meeting, Commonwealth leaders expressed their concern at the escalating violence

and its adverse impact on the prospects for negotiations.

Chief - Anyaoku was asked to consult with the

principal parties concerned and explore ways

in which the. Common-
wealth could assist in
lending momentum to the
negotiating process.
Chief Anyaoku will
meet State President De
Klerk and Foreign Minis-

- Câ\200\231wealth Vlslt

'FROM PAGE 1

ter Pik Botha tomorrow.
Iris also expected that he
will meet senior members
-of the ANC.

The statement quoted
Chief Anyaoku as saying
the Commonwealth lead-
ers welcomed the import-
ant changes that had
taken place in South Afri-
&

However, he expressed
concern that recent devel-
opments, including con-
tinuing violence, could
undermine the negotiat-
ing process,

â\200\234Of course the consti-

" mriomal forore of South

Africa is for South Afri-
cans themselves to deter-
mine, but I have been
given the task of ex-
ploring with the - parties
concerned ways in which
the Commonwealth could

be supportive of the pro-

He was coming to
South Africa eager to dis-
cuss and learn from his dis-

cussions.

The statement said
Chief Anyaoku was ex-
pected to be in South
Africa for about a week.

On his return, he will
report his conclusions to a
group of 11 heads of gov-
ernment composed of
Australia, the Bahamas,
Britain, Canada, India,
Japan, Malaysia, Mexico,
Morocco, New Zealand,
Nigeria, Singapore, Zambia
and Zimbabwe,

The group will consider
his report and decide on
the necessary action that
should follow. â\200\224 Sapa.

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+a+ CM

â\200\230Doctors intimidated

By Keith Abendroth,
Vivian Warby and
Sapa

INTIMIDATION ~ of
doctors 10 take part in
the two-day â\200\234down

proponcâ\200\230;nt of the strike
and leading light in the
ANC-backed National

stethoscopesâ\204¢ action Medical and Dental Asso-
promoted by the Anti- ciadon, be reached.
VAT co-ordinating From Bloemfontein

and Kimberley, it was
learnt that no reports
were made of intimi-
danon, and a leading doc-

Committee, -was al-
leged yesterday as the
â\200\234strikeâ\200\235 limped to a

i close. _tor among Blacks in
Medical sources nzï¬\201on-{ ;{ Bloemfontein : said that
wide described the effortstâ\200\231| â\200\234the whole thing appears

to have become some-
thing of a political power
struggle between 2 hand-
ful of peopleâ\204¢ on the
Reef,

From the Transvaal
two White doctors - who
refused to lcenify them-
seives â\200\224 said it had been

as â\200\234larzely imsuccesful â\204¢}
except in Johannesburg's
Indian, Coloured and
Black areas and those of
Pretonia â\200\224 where the
~most blatant and worst
examples of inrimidation
and threats of harsh ac-

tion if they did not co-op- !
erte,â\200\235 were allegedly | â\200\234made very clearâ\200\235 lo
made against some doc- j them that they â\200\230woud
tors. i â\200\234sufferâ\204¢ 'if they did not

take part in the action.
However, efforts yes- In Johannesburg and
yesterday afternoon too, in Pretoria many surgeries
comment on the allegations were open for patients as
statements from the African National Congress and sources said
that the main aim of the
COSATU-backed action is to have patients
were fruitless. Nor could it swamp scarce hospitals
Dr David Green, leading and clinics and make

them in-effective - had
not been achieved.

. It is believed that in the-

run-up to the action, the
Central Society of Dis-

Pensing practitioners, Dr. chairman, Dr.

whose
Mohammed Adam, has
outspokenly criticised the
action made clear its
opposition to the plan at
various stages. :

But, it is believed, it
also pleaded that if action was taken. it
should be a voluntary one
by individual doctors and
that there should be no
intimidation.

In Pretoria 2 leading
figures in one of the town-
ships said that consider-
able harm had been done
to the image of the pro-
fession by the action

A group of about 200
Johannesburg Soweto
and Lenasia doctors mar-
ched through Johannes-
burg's city centre yester-
day afternoon as part of
the action.

The group was led by
executive member of the

| Q&A\ Ot 2o

to strike: Claim

Organisation for Appro-
priate Social Services in
South Africa, Ms Maryke
Savenile: director of the
national Medical and
Dental Association, Dr

Dawvid Green: chatman
of the South African Dis-
pensing Practitioners, Dr-
Joe Maelane, and ex-
ecutive member of the
South African Health
Workers' Association, Dr
Aslam Dazoo.

A memorandum ad-
dressed to President De
Klerk: Minister of Fi-
nance, Mr Barend du
Plessis, the Minister of
National Health and Pop-
ular Development, Dr
Rina Venter; and the Re-
ceiver of Revenue in Jo-
hannesburg, Mr Jacobus
Stone, was presented to
Mr Stone at the Receiver
of Revenue's building in
Rissik Street.

• In Durban, 300 phys-
icians and health profes-
sionals yesterday took
part in the protest against
VAT.

VAT Forum spokes-
, man Dr M Khatree said

the response of doctors in
the Durban area was bet-
ter than on Monday.

• Medical services of-
fered by doctors and
paramedical services in
the Pretoriusburg Hospital
was continuing normally
yesterday, SABC radio
news reports.

According to the hospi-
tal's medical superintendent,
Dr P M Bester, Service
was 100 percent normal.

• The threatened clo-
sure of private surgeries
yesterday did not have
any reported affect on

Cape provincial hospitals

and clinics, according to a
CPA spokeswoman,

• In Port Elizabeth,
| about 70 doctors joined
the anti-VAT protest ac- |
cording to

30,10

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s CM

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Commission of In- Â\$
quuy â\200\230investigating viol-1
ence has taken lts firet ac-
tdon â\200\224 the appoumncnt

mto the recent violence

m Tokoza on the Easr
Rand since Septernber 8.

This was annomeced in
a2 statement yesterday,
â\200\234following the inangural
meetmg of the Commis-
sion in Pretoria on Mon-
day and yesterday.

The body, headed by

of a committee ro inquire

and â\200\234alleged intimidation :

Mr Jusdee Richard Gold-
stone, is formally tted
the Coxmmmon of In-
quiry Regarding the Pre-
vention of Public Viol-

s eace and Iotimidation.

The inquiry imo the
Tokoza umrest is to be
chaired by Advocate S
Sithole, a member of the
Commission. Tr will com-
mence hearings on

â\200\230November 18 at a venue

sdll to be annonnesd
â\200\230Any member of the
public who hasi informa-

Committee to probe
violence in TokozgÂ®

tion relevant to the Sub-;
Jw matter of the mquiry

Is Tequested to provide al
WTiften . statement to the
Secretary of the Commis-
son, Privare Bag X838,
{ Prcxona, 00015~

The starement 2 also said
the nangprai meetine of
the Commission dacided
Q. â\200\234emphasice the inde-
pendeuce of the Commis-
sion and m pardeniar is

. ndependence of Govern-
â\200\230# ment, the Legislature and
! any polticat partyâ\200\235.
. The Commission wonid
Ty not to. â\200\234become in-
volved m hearings con-
cernmg local or regional
mcxdenzs of lssuesâ\204ç. This
function wonid be left to
regional and local dispute
resolution commirteas.

The Commission im-
tends to investigare â\200\234viol-
â\202¬nce or mfimidation be-
ing condncted or alleged
10 bc condncted on a nat-
ional levelâ\204ç. â\200\231

Persons and bodies [
with Imowledge of viol-
coce and murmdauon.
would be contacted by the
Commission, and mem-
bers of the public woald
also be mvited to write to
the Commission with

â\200\234any factal matters re-
lating 10 its terms of refer-
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THE CITIZEN

COMMENT

What accord?

THE Peace Accord is not only not working, considering the terrible violence that has been going on, both on the Witware_rsr and in Natal, but some of the signatories are treating its provisions with contempt.

Political parties and organisations, according to the accord, are prohibited from killing, injuring, intimidating or threatening any person about his political beliefs.

Yet the lalling goes on â\200\224 and dorâ\200\231t tell us that it is all the fault of the government and that neither supporters of the ANC nor of the Inkatha Freedom Party have a hand in i o

The accord says political parties and organisations must not force anyone to boycott any

commercial activity or withhold his or her labour, or fail to perform a lawful obligation.

Yet boycotts of White businesses go on â\200\224 and the Congress of South African Trade Unions has called a two-day general strike for next week, ..

â\200\230We have already received reports of workers - uses. will. be.--

â\200\230 being threatened that their ho

burned down if they go to work.

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â\200\230The organisers of stayaways and strikes alwgygf;i_.

insist there is no intimidation; but there is." And it is serious enough to keep many thousands of workers at home when they want to - go to work. . . - - e â\200\230.

The police always say they will protect workers, but they may do so at railway stations

-but they cannot protect themselves in their own

- homes afterwards. PR

The Peace Accord also bars political parties and organisations from inciting violence and

" hatred. - Te

Yet the Patriotic Front, consisting mainly of the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress; accuses the De Klerk; Ziregime of being illegal illegitimate and

It is something the organisers of; the Temmerd and the Peace Committee should

- totally discredited. It does not enjoy the

- trust of our people. -nt Jez. HRNG

The Patriotic Front also claims violence has

been initiated and sponsored by the State.

Mr Nelson Mandela, president of the African

National Congress, has alleged that some elements of the police have turned themselves

- selves into 2 killing machines which is acting

in accordance with State President De Klerk's wishes. G At

Hardly a day goes by without some spokesman

of the ANC accusing the government of involvement in the violence through a mysterious third force which is never clearly identified, nor is evidence produced to justify the allegation. PR

All these attacks incite hatred against the government and State President De Klerk himself. i : S T

The ANC and Cosatu have also been making threats that are certainly not calculated to advance

- vance the peace process. . Bl

Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC's secretary-

- general, has stated publicly that the ANC has

a battle plan to ensure that Mr De Klerk is

- buried with his government. - - e b

This week Cosatu's secretary-general, Mr Jay Naidoo, who has been made 2 member of the accord's National Peace Secretariat, repeated the ANC's threats by saying: We vow we will close this government down. S

Such extreme threats are not furthering peace.

There are other attitudes towards the Peace

Accord that make us wonder whether peace-

- must come from everyone except the organisations we have mentioned. : e

The police must sign a code of conduct and a
similar code is being worked out for the
-South African Defence Force but the re-
strictions on political parties and organisa-
tions are not being observed and nobody else
is being called upon to sign a code. - ..

While Zulus are expected to abandon their
traditional weapons, the ANC maintains its
military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and re-
fuses to hand over its arms caches.* 7. .-

If the Peace Accord cannot stop it, then,

-and intimidation, if it cannot stop one of the
signatories, the ANC, from keeping its private
army, if it cannot curb the violence, never
mind halt it, why have the accord?, says
- 'dâ: - _â.-_&tl-}-â;

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Citizen Reporter

THE Chairman of the Independent Development Trust, Mr Jan Steyn, last night said South Africans would have to learn to accept the housing of at least some of the countryâ\200\231s â\200\234very poorâ\200\235 closer to city centres and industrial areas.

Meanwhile, he said : the IDT desperately needed more financial resources â\200\224 including access to foreign loan funds, credit and development aid â\200\224 to be able to tackle the massive low-cost housing shortage in the country.

At present, he said, about seven million people were living in informal or squatter townships in urban areas and there was a desperate need for approved, suitable housing.

Delivering the annual Dirk de Vos memorial lecture at the University of South Africa in Pretoria, Mr Steyn sketched the problems facing the country â\200\224 and described much of them as part of 'a vicious circle.'â\200\235

Mr Steyn said the present -

ent scenario was that the government would have to find an extra five to seven billion rands a year,

increasing yearly, if it shouldered sole responsibility for subsidies and land acquisition.

But given the competition of education, health services and fighting inflation by reducing fiscal expenditure, this was not likely.

And even if it were possible and if the State were to invest so extraor-

-S-teyn_~ Side #

S35 CM

. Trust desperate for resources for housing

dinarily in housing 10 stimulate the economy, We would very soon run into balance of payments constraints as our economy picked up, said Mt Steyn.

Therefore, one had to balance the need for housing against the need for the stimulation of production for export.

In the process of finding the necessary housing to break this particular vicious circle, people would have to face the challenge of housing the least some of the very poor closer to the cities and industries as, to cut down on transport costs.

Thus the country would not be able forever to avoid the need for multiple unit and multiple storey housing which at present was very expensive.

On a more optimistic note he said that past policies now belonged to the past which stressed ideology rather than making economic sense, and which neglected the needs and aspirations of the people involved in the job of development.

â\200\234But we have many ex-
amples of the Impract-
cability of these ventures,
especially associated with
the cost and massive .
convenience of .providine
EANSPOIE,â\200\235 said - - My

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Peace accord swings into,action

probes

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learn
violence

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THE*ï¬\201Ã@ace commission chaired by Mr ; *f
Justice Goldstone acted swiftly yes-
~terday and appointed a committee {o

BILLY PADDOCK i

should be left to the local or regional dis-

â\200\224Tence in Thokoza that started when gun-

~-into Violence andIni
Bt s

investigate the violence in Thokoza â\200\224
the first probe into violence since the
accord was signed. Sa
The committee, made up of two mem-
bers of the commission and an attorney,
will begin its public inquiry on November
18 to investigate the seven W of Vio-

1 4

men killed 23 Tnkatha supporters on Sep-
tember 8. < â\200\224â\200\224~
The incident threatened to derail the
peace process. -
Following the signing of the accord, iso-
lated incidents of violence erupted in the
township on the East Rand, including the

assassination of Civics Association of .

Southern Transvaal leader Sam Ntuli. At
his fomer al gunmen agam fired at mourn-

ers, killing at least eight people. -

Last week further violence flared and for the first time since the accord was signed there were revenge killings between Inkatha and ANC supporters, taking the number of people killed on the East Rand since the signing of the accord to more than 200 : :

In a statement yesterday, Mr I.Lu:nce Goldstone said .the Commission of Inquiry sa and-IN(FAIALON had held is-

meeting on Monday and yesterday 200\224 just days after the members of the commission had been announced 200\224 and dismissed its mandate. .

The 200\230 commission had decided it would not normally become involved in hearings of local or regional incidents or issues. This

pute resolution committees to be set up by the peace secretariat. But because these had not yet been for-

" mulated and it had become necessary to

hold 2 public inquiry into the Thokoza violence, this committee had been set up in concurrence with Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee. f

200\234 Inquiries will be held by the commission itself only in respect of public violence or intimidation being conducted or alleged to be conducted on a national level 200\235 the judge 200\230 said. ,

He said that in order to fulfil the wide .

mandate given it, the commission as a

whole would generally make 200\234 appropriate requests to the regional or local dispute resolution committees when they have

" been established 204ç.

He wanted to emphasise the independence of the commission 200\234 and in particular its independence of government, the legislature and any political party 200\235.

The commission 200\231s task would be to di-

<" rect and co-ordinate the gathering of facts relating to public violence and murder-

tion 200\234 committed to achieve any particular political aims 200\235, he said.: oÅ° .~ 0] Contact would be made with people and organisations :that- fight have-factual knowledge of incidents and they would be invited to make the information available 200\224 to the commission. Once the peace accord

was folly implemented and the local and regional monitoring mechanisms were in -

'O To Page 254 - = |

Thokoza

- L BT - â\200\224
\ (] From Page 1

place, these bodies would also be a primary source for the commission.

Mr Justice Goldstone stressed that no member of the commission would be allowed to have any contact with the media. Where appropriate, decisions taken by the commission would be conveyed by the

chairman or vice-chairman.
All commission hearings would be in public with usual court rules applying to

â\200\230" I'the media. The commission would, however-

| | er hold hearings in camera if it considered

this to be in the public interest or for the |
safety of a witness , i

The judge said the Thokoza inquiry would be chaired by commission member and Pretoria advocate Msakazi Sithole, who would be assisted by fellow commissioner Newcastle attorney Lillian Gugi. Bagwa and Johannesburg attorney Raymond Tuock. aE \$

Relevant information may be submitted in writing to the Secretary of the Commission, Private Bag x858, Pretoria. -

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Accused : Ock 205
â\200\234â\200\230was armed e

A FORMER Inkatha mem-

her yesteraay told the

v Hand Supreme Conurt he

{saw a group of men

' armed with assegais on
the night 13 mourners
were murdered at a fuo-
neral vigil in Alexandra
township.â\200\235

Among the group was one
of the five men being
tried on 13 counts of mur- |
der, 17 of attempted maor-
der and one of house-
breaking. The witness,
who gave evidence in
camera, was beng eross-
examined by defence
lawyer Vick Botha

The five men allegedly shot
at mourners at a funeral
vigil on March 27.

â\200\234I saw Mr Gibson Mbatha
in the company of other
people on the night in
question. He was carry-
ing a big object,â\200\235 the wit-
ness said.

He said he had resigned

| & from Inkatha as he be-

' lieved the party was re-;

sponsible for kllings in

Alexandra.
Gibson Mbatha, 31, Derrick
. Majoz, 21, Christopher
Mbatha, 31, Petros!

Buthelezi, 31, and John

Zwake, 56, have pleaded

not guilty to all charges.'

The case continues today.
~ Sapa. i

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RUNAWAY inflation could become a reality if government persisted in failing to exercise fiscal discipline, Absaâ\200\230warned in its quarterly economic monitfor released

yesterday. 2T

The groupâ\200\231s economics department has . predicted a budget deficit of 4% (R11,9bn) \ of gross domestic product for the year â\200\224 the third major bank to forecast 2 deficit in that region so far. It compareg with the

| budgeted 3,8%. - Ay

Moreover, extra-budgetary*spending was taking place on a grand 'scale and despite Reserve Bank attempts to stem the inflationary tide by means of a restrictive

â\200\224â\200\224a

monetary policy, it was unable to disci-

pline the Treasury.

â\200\234Given the public sector overspending, a restrictive monetary policy will depress private sector activity while the pubhie sector will increasingly appropriate the

| productive resources in the economy.â\200\235

However, it said, if the Reserve Bank

nflation IÃ¢

oomsâ\200\231
T ieewan

abandoned its restrictive policy under these circumstances, substantially higher inflation rates might resuit

A proper base still had to be created for the next upswing in the business cycle considering the constraints on growth like low fixed investments, a low level of foreign exchange reserves and an overly large budget deficit

The Reserve Bank found itself in no position to relax its restrictive monetary policy with inflationary pressures still very real.

A reduction in Bank rate, not expected

until the first quarter of 1992, should be considered only if international interest rates, real wages, money supply growth and long-term bond yields were all lower. The rand was bound to depreciate in due course. A rand/dollar exchange rate of R320 has been forecast for the end of 1992.

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we-ANC ukuba

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awazise uma ezowuvakashela
â\202¬ uma ezowuvakashela

EBISHO:-UMkha-
ndlu wamaSotsha
obusa eCiskei unxu-
se uMongameli we-
African National
Congress (ANC) uDr

son Mande-

UDR Nel
i la. ,

Nelson Mandela,
ukuba awazise ngqo
ngokusemthethweni
uHulumeni waseCis-
kei uma efisa ukuva-
kashela kulendawo.

Esitatimendeni esi-
khishwe yiloMkhandlu
ngemuva komhlangano
namakhosi akulesisifu-
nda, uthe kufanele uDr
Mandela alandele uhlelo
nokuhlonipha ngokuba
azise uHulumeni waseCi-
skei ngemigudu efanele-
kile mayelana nenhloso

okuvakashela iCiskei.
athi uHulumeni uzwe
nje amahemuhemu oku-
thi uzimisele ukuvaka-
shela kulendawo.

Isitatimende siqghube
sathi uHulumeni uzwe
ngezinhlelo zokusakaza
izindaba ukuthi uDr Ma-
ndela uhlele ukuvakashe-

la kulesisabelo ngenhloso.

yokuzobonana nabaholi

- [WVe

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bendabuko. Sathi akukho
S

. lutho olusemthethweni.

olwenziweyo ekuxhuma-
neni nombuso.

Lesisitatimende si-
ghuba sithi bekuzokuba
kuhle futhi kube yinto
efanelzkile ukuba uDr
Mandela ahambele kule-
ndawo ukuzokhuza aba-
landeli be-ANC ukuba
bayeke ukushisa, ukusha-
ya ngamabhomu, ukuhlul-
kumeza kanye nokwesa-
bisa abantu abasekela
uHulumeni waseCiskei.

Kuthiwe umhlangano
bewubizwe ngenhloso
yokuzobhunga ngodaba
lokwanda kobugebengu
eCiskei phakathi kwakho
okukhona ukushisa no-
kucekela phansi izindlu,
ukwesatshiswa kwama-
khosi nezinduna kanye
nalabo abahambisana
nokuvuselelwa kohlelo
lokuqokwa kwezinduna.

Abanye okubikwe
ukuthi bahlaselwa ka-
khulu kulobubugebengu
ngabalandeli be-African
Democratic Movement
(ADM) eholwa nguBrig.
Oupa Gqozo.

Kwenzeka lokhu nje
ngeSonto eledlule kuhla-
selwe, kwashiswa umuzi

womgqugquzeli we-
DM endaweni ebizwa
ngokuthi yiZeli Village
ngaseKing Williams
Town. Kuthiwe lokhu
kwenzeke ngemuva ko-
kuba izakhamizi zakula-
ndawo ziphoqe uMnuz
N. Mevana ukuba acacise
ukuthi unasikhundla sini
eqenjini le-ADM oku-
phethe ngokuba adubule
kulesisixuku sabantu
okuthiwa besithunyelwe
ukuba sizomlanda size
naye emhlanganweni.

Kulesisehlakalo kuthi-
wa lesisixuku sishise izi-
moto zakhe ezine indlu
kanye nebhodlelasitolo
ngophethiloli. Kuthiwa
kusize ukuba kufike
amalungu ombutho wa-
maphoyisa aseCiskei ka-
nye nowezokuvikela oku- o
yiwo acishe umlilo.

Kuthiwe lesisehlakalo
singesinye sezehlakalo
ezikhombisa ukungaha-
mbisani nesinyathelo si-
kaHulumeni kaBrig.
Gqozo sokuba kuvusele-
lwe uhlelo lokuqokwa
kwezinduna ezindaweni
ezahlukene abanye bom-
phakathi abathi kufanele
kumiswe ososesheni be-
miphakathi esikhundleni
salo.

UBRIGADIER Oupa
Gqozo.

Kwenzeka lokhu nje
ngesonto eledlule kubo-
shwe izakhamizi ezingu 8
kulendawo ngokuba ne-
sandla ekuvumeleni uso-
sesheni womphakathi
ukuba abe iziza endawe-
ni ethile evulekile kulesi-
sifunda.

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Lbabuya ek

{\ ETHEKWINL, - Isimo se-

nhlalo asisihle neze kwa-

â\200\230 babuya ekudingisweni

ikakhulukazi laba aba-

ngazange balithole ithu-,

| ba lokughuba imfund

| yabo besekudingisweni SMnanga isethembiso semali

empini "X\ engu-R2 225 ababethe-

1 . Ngokombiko welinyeÂ® njiswe ukunikwa yona

ngoba babesempini.

iphephabhuku laseGoli

: g{Ãï-\201hnma ixyqâ\200\230ggazonke,

e bangu 30% kuphela

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| ni abafundile, ikakhulu- .

- kazi labaâ\200\234abashiya leli r -Omuniye othi wayitho-

- emuva kuka 1976 ekuqu- *

- bukeni kwmâ\200\231nhlushunxu-[u

~,

shu zaseSoweto.

Kulel_iphephabhuku

abanye ababuya ekudi-

ngisweni iningi labo oku-

ngamalunga e-African

ational Congress

\(ANC), bakhala ngoku-

thi lenhlangano ayisigci-

uma befika kuleli. Bathi

babethenjiswe nemali

engu-R800 ngenyanga

ï-\201lim;iphï-\202isa uma befika

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la lemali engu-R2 225,

uthi wavele wayokhokhe-

| la ingane yakhe esikoleni

- esixube izinhlanga esise-

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liphephabhuku bathe no-
kuba bayaphila sebesizwa
yimali engu-R400 abayi-
thola ekomitini elibheke-
ne nababuya ekudingi-
sweni. Uthe lelikomiti
mhla befika labanika
imali engu-R300. Bathe
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udingisweni bakhungethwe lusizi

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kwababuya ekudingiswe-
ni wukungayitholi inda-
wo yokuhlala nemisebe-
nzi. Abanye bafica aba-
zali babo sebashona.

Abanye babuya sebenezi- -
~ngane nomakoti eLusa-

- ka, kwathi noma amaku-
bo, bewafica esekhona,
kodwa kwalukhuni uky-
â\200\230gewalisa indlu ngomunye

umndeni. Abanye bahla-
la emafulethini edolo-

bheni, nawo amba eqolo.

Ababuya ekudingi-

sweni okuthiwa base-
â\200\230thubeni lempilo engcono
kuleli, yilaba abaghubeka mali

â\200\230hhovisi e-ANC aseThe-

nemfundo yabo beseku-
dingisweni. Ababenga-
malunga ezempi basa-
bhekene nengwadla
okwamanje. i
Kuzokhumbuleka
ukuthi nalapha eThekwi- |
ni ababuya ekudingiswe-
ni sebeke banikela ema-

kwini bekhala ngakho
ukunganikwa imali aba-
beyethenjisiwe besuka,
emazweni angaphandle,
Bakhala nangokuthi iNa-
tal iyabandlululwa ngoba
abanye bakwezinye izifu-
ndazwe bayayithola le-

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oesak not allowed to

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become â\200\230minister again

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWNâ\200\224The General Synodal Commission - (GSC) of the NG Sendingkerk has turned down an â\200\230application by Dr Allan Boesak to be reinstated as a minister.

He resigned as a minister - and the Moderator of the NG Sendingkerk on July 8 last year following a storm over his extramarital relationship with television producer Elna

Botha, to whom he is now.

married.

A spokesman for the NG'

Television producer Elna Botha and Dr Allan Boesak.

Sendingkerk confirmed yesterday that Dr Boesakâ\200\231s application was turned down last

- week by the GSC.

The most significant reason for the rejection of Dr Boe-

sakâ\200\231s application is a church article which states that ministers lose their status if they stand for election for, or become members of, a political organisation.

Dr Boesak was recently elected as the Western Cape leader of the ANC.

Asked whether Dr Boesakâ\200\231s affair with Ms Botha played a role in the rejection of his application, the spokesman said GSC discussions are confidential.

However, it â\200\234wasnâ\200\231t even necessaryâ\200\231â\200\235 to discuss other reasons than those given, he

said.

A spokeswoman at the Foundation for Peace and Justice, of which Dr Boesak is the director, said yesterday he was "not contactable" and had "no comment" on his failed application.

'PF delegates
played into

. e - -

Political Reporter ok
DELEGATES to the Patriotic Front
conference last weekend had played
right into the Government's hands by
declaring their willingness to enter into
; negotiations and by making those nego-

tiations easier for the Government be.
cause the PF was not fully inclusive of
all black liberation organisations, says
the Azanian People's Organisation -

(Azapo). At Bith RISEES, TR i

In its official reaction to the PF de-
liberations in Durban, Azapo said: "To
Azapo a front has always been a front
to oppose and force the regime to relin-
quish power, and not a front to negoti-
ate." % & 45

Azapo said in a statement that it
found it disturbing that the front that
was formed in Durban would be enter-
ing negotiations with the "regime"
within three weeks. PP

Although the idea of forming a PF
was in line with Azapo's longstanding
policies and principles on the matter,
| the statement said, Azapo believed it
- was the overall strategy of the Govern-
~ ment to divide the liberation move-

ments. At y svec

"In this context the regime would
find it convenient and advantageous to
deal with a section of the liberation
movement excluding Azapo and the
BCMA (Black Consciousness Move-
ment)." %

The only kind of negotiations Azapo
and the BCMA would be amenable to,
the statement said, was to discuss the
transfer of power from the minority to
the majority through a Constituent As-
sembly. ;

Azapo said while it welcomed the de-
cision of the PF meeting on the ques-
tion of the transfer of power, it was
however surprised that a neutral venue
"had not been part of the PF declara-

" tion. ' :

It said the idea of a consultative
forum as spelt out in the PF declara-
tion fell short of the consultation need-
ed between the liberation movement |

and working class organisations. |

- The consultative forum (mooted by the PF) will include even the owners of capital and those who come from the structures that are oppressing the working class a contradiction indeed.

The organisation said it considered a fighting front of true patriots as the

only legitimate vehicle towards the creation of a Constituent Assembly

â\200\230The Patriotic

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NEw

Pledging ourselves to ensure that these designs shall be defeated, we demand that the regime ceases such action forthwith and acknowledges it has no right to unilaterally take such measures;

Commit ourselves to create the necessary mechanism to harmonize our approach to socio-economic transformation;

Condemn the introduction of Value Added Tax (VAT) and call upon all our people to support and participate fully in the national strike on the 4th and 5th November 1991 and all other forms of united action on this and other issues;

Noting that de Klerkâ\200\231s constitutional proposals are intended to entrench minor-

ity privilege and the current power structure and represent nothing else but a dying order which seeks to give itself a veto power over the future of our country.

Noting further that the violence raging

throughout our country to day has been initiated and sponsored by the apartheid state, including the use of foreign mercenaries, and that it has the power to stop it, we demand that it does so forthwith; further that there should be the immediate and verifiable expulsion of all foreign mercenaries from our soil;

Call upon our people to refuse to become tools of the regime, assert our inherent desire for peace and take all measures to contain and eliminate the violence which constitutes a prime obstacle to the establishment of a genuine democratic order;

Accordingly pledge to ensure that all peace initiatives, including the Peace Accord, aimed at assisting in securing peace among our people are fully exploited at every level of our community;

Sharing the agony of those in sorrow over their dead and injured and searching

Front Declaration

for their lost ones and concerned that the violence has rendered our women and children the main victims of the carnage;

Call for the normalisation of the relations between our people and our traditional chiefs;

Commit ourselves, side by side with our people, to bring peace by all means at our disposal including helping in the creation of self defence units and embarking upon programmes to assist the victims of violence.

NOW THEREFORE

In order to ensure that elections to the constituent assembly are free and fair we insist upon the establishment of an interim Government/Transitional Authority to ensure that the de Klerk regime does not preside over or manipulate the transition through the misuse of its de facto control over state power and resources;

114

Commit ourselves to a sovereign Interim Government/Transitional Authority that shall at the very least control security forces and related matters, the electoral process, state media and defined areas of budget and finance, as well as secure international participation;

DEMAND the holding as soon as possible of a All Party Congress/Pre-Constituent Assembly Meeting (APC/PCAM) which shall be brought together by independent and neutral convenors as a necessary mechanism to set into motion the process leading to a democratically elected Constituent Assembly which shall effect the transfer of power;

Confirm our common understanding that the APC/PCAM shall underwrite the constitutional Principles, find the modalities for drawing up the constitution through the Constituent Assembly, realise the es-

%ablishment of the IG/TA, ensure there-in-

corporation of the bantustans, define the role of the international community and agree upon the time to bring about a democratic order.

Resolve further that the joint liaison committee established by the co-convenors of this conference be maintained to facilitate post-Conference follow up as well as look into ways and means, including the establishment of a Consultative Forum and the convening of a further Patriotic/United Front Conference within six months in order to involve all the organisations gathered here today into closer consultation, joint action and the drawing in of formations still outside this process.

Outraged at the failure of the regime to fully comply with the demand, endorsed by the whole international community for the unconditional release of all political prisoners and for general amnesty for all exiles;

DEMAND that the regime complies

PLEDGE to campaign for the immediate realisation of these aims.

United by these common positions maintaining our separate identities independence, we assembled at this Patriotic/United Front Conference now, therefore, separately and collectively, dedicated

- ourselves to intensify the struggle on every front and every terrain to realise, within immediate future, a truly democratic order in which every individual is assured place and a say as an equal and in which non-sexism, non-racialism and democratic majority rule shall be non-negotiable : be realised in practice.

To this end, and acknowledging that there remain areas where consensus among us still needs to be reached, we pledge ourselves to continue our search for unity action and widening the areas of common understanding;

And call upon our people where they are to join and engage in this process

emanating from our Conference to create

with these requirements forthwith; AND ! nation that will be at peace with itself.

On the road .

WHEN Nelson Mandela was granted the freedom of the City of Dublin in September 1988, he was still prisoner 446/64 in Paarl's Victor Verster jail.

A space was left on the distinguished Roll of Honour at city hall to await his signature.

to Dublin, he joined a select band Who have

the Irish capital. They include the emperor of Japan, the late US President John F Kennedy, playwright George Bernard Shaw and Pope John Paul. '

~ But Mandela must have been astonished at the size of the turn-out on the way to the city

When he finally added his name on his visit been similarly honoured with the freedom of

Nelson Mandela's OWN SOLDIER

same day as the triumphant homecoming off the Irish national soccer team, which reached the quarter finals of the World Cup in Italy creating football hysteria across the country. In his speech Mandela paid special tribute to your wonderful soccer team ... and won a cheer that was almost as loud as that which greeted Kevin Sheedy's equalising goal. England in Ireland's opening World

HE could hardly be blamed for being was

somewhat confused by the use of Gaelic during

take place the next day, but President De Klerk had several immediate engagements, among them a church service, lunch at an 18th century tavern in nearby

Virginia and later an evening braai at the South African Embassy.

But the De Klerks skipped eating at the braai as they and the Bothas were dining with vice-president Dan Quayle and his wife at their official residence, the Naval Observatory.

Dinner guests included former secretaryâ\200\230

of state Henry Kissinger and Chester Crocker, a previous assistant secretary of state for Africa. ,

An important opportunity presented itself during the evening when Quayle asked Pik Botha what the South African government sought and what gesture the US administration could, at that stage, make to encourage reform. " S vk d

It [}

Tough Bargaining
Nzv FraGe ~ 241 Â¢

Statesmanship by ANC and PAC leaders saved PF Conference

| By Fraser Mtshali
| TOUGH bargaining and statesmanship
| by the top brass of the ANC and the PAC
| saved the historic Patriotic Front (PF)

differences on the all-party talks with the government arose.

As the conference progressed on Saturday, about 500 delegates and observers representing 92 organisations were unaware of the involved talking taking place when the leadership of the two main conveners retreated to caucus. Frene

Ginwala of the ANC took over as chairperson while the urgent talks were in

progress.

Atop PAC officml based in Europe who asked not to be named, said: â\200\230Some | of our guys were ready to walk out on the issue of all-party talks with the government. It took a bit of talking from both sides to iron out matters and Iâ\200\231m glad that at the end we were able to emerge united. If we did not achieve unity the enemy would have rejoiced.â\200\231

The New African was told that hardliners within the PAC did not feel comfortable with talking to the government even under the auspices of the Patriotic Front and threatened that the

' | conference in Durban from collapse when |

" PAC would â\200\230go it alone if need beâ\200\231.

Interviewed at the end of the conference, Cyril Ramaphosa said the conference was â\200\230never near collapseâ\200\231.

Ramaphosa added: â\200\230You see, you must not look at the dark side of things. The most important aspect is that both of us (PAC and ANC) succeeded in getting the biggest number of organisations to unite and be part of a common political melting pot. It is a first in our country.â\200\231

Second deputy president of the PAC, Dikgang Moseneke agreed there were difficulties.

â\200\230But no one threatened a walkout. Our members just needed to clarify, and

satisfy themselves on, certain aspects
related to our overall policy.â\200\231

Benney Alexander was quoted by a
Sunday newspaper as saying the leader-
ship found it necessary to take time out of
the conference to arrive at some agree-
ment on the all-party talks because, un-
less it was resolved, it would make fur-
ther discussion in the conference futile.

The New African was given to un- |
derstand the shift of the PAC towards a
harder line than that adopted in the build-
up to the conference took the ANC by
surprise.

â\200\230Mother asks MK to
look for missing son

he mother of one of his companions,
an African Thandwefika Radebe, was

National

Congress

(ANC) mem-
ber who went missing inÂ¥
Lesotho more than three Â©

yenrsagohasappenledtog

the movementâ\200\231s military
wing, Umkhonto weSizwe =

Nancy Ngono said she W
approached MK chief of >

staff, Chris Hani, to assist
in tracing her son, Mbulelo. -

Ngono was among three
ANC members rounded up
by the Royal Lesotho
Defence Force while trav-
elling through Lesotho in
1988.

According to reports,

killed instantly when sol-
diers lined them up and
shot at them. His other
companion,
Magekeza, survived but
was later shot dead by an

unknown assailant in his.-Lesotho prison. She has
bed at Maseruâ\200\231s Queen ; repeatedly pleaded for his
(MK), to help find her Elizabeth IT hospital.
son.

Escaped

Ngono managed to
escape, but was later
picked up by four men in
police uniforms in Roma
Village. He was taken to

Ngonoâ\200\231s girlfriend, Lin-
delwa Mabece, was also
taken into custody and

Mazizi ~had not seen him since.

.. release, but
{Y) have denied they are hold-

interrogated. She was
released two days later.

In an affidavit she

described how Ngono was
taken away, and said she

Nancy Ngono believes
her son is being held in a

prison officials

also unconfirmed claims
that he was handed over to
South African authorities.
Ngono was linked to
ANC guerrillas working in
Transkei and was associat-
ed with Mzwandile Vena,
who later became the
Western Cape commander

! ////

B

| Umbhikisho

obuhlelwe

1)

mayelana neziboshwa zombusazwe.

Kuthiwa iCosatu ye-hlulekile ukudonsa benzi ukuba ziwesekele naphezu kokuba bekulindleleke ukuba kukhulume umholi we-African

. National Congress

bhuntshile
ECAPE TOWN. - Umhlangano nombhikisho obekuhlelwe yiCongress of South African Trade Union (Cosatu) neSouth African Communist Party (SACP) eWestern Cape, ugcine ubhuntshilengesikhathi ungakutholi ukwesekelwa emphakathini wakulendawo.

Ngokombiko okhishwe yinhlangano yezi-ndaba iSapa, umhlangano weCosatu obekufane-

le ubengeSonto eledlule

bewuhlelelwe ukuzwaka-

lisa ukuchithwa kwentela .

entsha iVAT kanti owe-SACP bewuhlelelwe ukuzwakalisa ukukhalaza

| wesekelwe futhi yi-ANC
. wokukhumbula abafa

: khu-nje, abagqugquzeli.
. balombhikisho b

(ANC) kulendawo, uDr Alan Boesak, unobhala weSACP, uMnuz Joe Slovo kanye nomsizi kano-bhala weCosatu uMnuz Sam Shilowa. ,

Unobhala wesifunda
ngaphansi kweCosatu
kulendawo, uMnuz Allan
Roberts, uveze ukuthi
okuyikhona okwenze
ukuba lomhlangano
ungabinampumelelo
ngukuthi kawusakazwa-
nga kahle emphakathini
futhi nentilasipoti yokuya
kuwo ihlelwe sekuhambe
isikhathi. Uthe ngapha-
ndle kwalokhu inkundla
obuhlelelwe ukuba ube-
kuyo, iVygieskraal Sta-
dium, kayidumile.

Kuthiwa abantu aba-
fike kulomhlangano be-
bebalelwa ekhulwini ku- |
phela.)

Ebuzwa mayelana ne-
zikhulumi obekuhlelwe
ukuba zikhulume kulom- |
hlangano uMnuz Ro-
berts uthe uMnuz Joe
Slovo ubesemhlanganwe-
ni wobambiswano iPa-
triotic Front eThekwini
kanti uDr Boesak kanye
noMnuz Shilowa bebe-
khona.

Kuthiwa umhlangano
bewuhlelelwe ukudonsa
amehlo omphakathi ma-
yelana nomihankaso we-
Cosatu wokuba kubhiki-
shelwe intela entsha
iVAT, ukuhlelwa kabu-
sha kohlelo lomnotho
okwenziwa ngaphandle
kokuxhumana nabantu
kanye nokunye iCosatu
engahambisani nakho.

Okunye obekulindele-
ke ukuba kukhulunywe
kulomhlangano wudaba
IwesiVumelwano soku-
Thula sikaZwelonke,
udlame olukhungethe le-
lizwe kanye nemibhiki-
sho ehlelelwe umhlaka
November 4 no 5.

Mayelana nombhiki-
sho obuhlelwe yiSac

ezitokisini beyiziboshwa
zombusazwe, kuvezwe
ukuthi kawubange usa-
ghubeka ngenxa yokuthi
abalandeli baleligembu
nabe-ANC bakhombise
ukukhononda bekhala
ngokuthi kabazimisele
ukuba benze into ezoba-

bophisa. bt
Kanti kwenzeka lo-

ole
imvume emkhandlwini
wedolobha kodwa benga-
yitholanga emantshini
yesifunda. - - (Sapa)