

2

~ By Tony Stirling
INFORMED sources
~within - the National
Party are not expecting
formal negotiations
with the African Nat- â\200\234talks in Cape Town were s
~ jonal Congress and Wâ\200\230â\200\234,m course
other interested parties
"on a new constitution : o
Tk Sonth Affica 10Be . g KNG U A
- under way before next were expected in the IS
- Party members who at- tions would not get under
â\200\230tended a weekend think way before next year.
tank at which last week's Even the NP had at this

Negotiations next year?.- [

events would now have to nego T lll and ey
: same spplied 10

FROM PAGE 1

could get under way.

For instance, the ANC
wanted an elected con-
stituent assembly to for-
mulate a new constitution
and its implementation to
be effected by an interim
government. â\200\230

The NP, on the other
hand, was of the opinion
that the existing Parlia-
ment would have to be
the body which imple-
mented a new negotiated
constitution.

As indicated by the
Cape Town minute, the
climate of violence would
also have to be brought
under control, although
in this regard measures
taken appeared to be hav-
ing an effect, with Natal
the major exception.

The NP had pledged it-
self to go back to the elec-
torate with any new con-
stitution to get its man-
date, either by way of an

election or referendum, -

another aspect with which the ANC was unhappy.

Asked how a majority would be determined in any referendum on the subject, the sources said they believed it would be by a count of votes among Whites, Indians and Coloureds meaning that a White majority against the proposals could be defeated by the combined yes vote of the three population groups together.

Such an eventuality would be bound to have major repercussions, the sources said.

Factors which could also delay the start of negotiations included the formation of alliances between various groups.

In this regard, both the major participants, the ANC and the NP, could be expected to forge alliances with other participants, both in the negotiations and in any elec-

tions. This could also

take time, the sources said.

Even aspects such as how the negotiations will take place and how they will be structured and given legal effect still have to be worked out.

States out of ste

When even the workers start opposing the one-party state it would seem to be in trouble, if not doomed. |,

Demands for the concept to be abandoned have come recently from trade unions in both. Zambia, where President Kaunda's Ump has

outlawed any rivals for the past 17

. years, and Zimbabwe, which President Mugabe seems determined to make the exclusive preserve of his Zanu (PF):

The trade unionists's demands re-

- flect a growing tendency in Africa to question the viability of the one-party rule that has predominated in the continent and to look at alternatives that are closer to the Western definition of democracy.

In Zimbabwe even university students have demanded that Mr Mu-

gabe abandon his plans for a one- party state.

Departing radically from his long-maintained stance, President Kaunda last month promised to hold a referendum on whether Zambia should continue under Unip's exclu-

sive rule or allow other political '

parties to seek election. :
Rather than having revised his

own views, he appears to have

bowed to pressure for change from - within, not only from trade union-
_ists but also from businessmen and

. others.- His promise to hold a referendum came only six weeks after he.

" had firmly rejected at a Unip convention any thought of a multi-party':

and following a demand for one by the chairman of the Congress of Trade Unions.

Whether both sides of the controversy will be fairly canvassed before any referendum is held remains to be seen. If they are, how-

ever, the voters will become aware:
of the dilemma that has bothered
political leaders in Africa ever
since the end of the colonial era.

African politicians have often had -
grave doubts about whether multi-
party systems and Western-style de-
mocracy are suitable for Africa,

SVAR

The one- party system _

AN A[90
seems to

doomed

Advocates of the one-party state are getting increasingly out of
step with the rest of Africa as disillusionment with the concept

grows, writes GERALD LANGE, editor of the The Star's Africa
News Service

s

especially in the early years of inde-
pendence.

Some leaders have never been
overly concerned about the issue;
they simply saw the single-party
system as a way to entrench them-
selves in power and feed their van-
ity and their Swiss bank accounts
without interruption.

Others, of a kind, probably repre-
sented. by Mr Mugabe, genuinely
felt that multi-party systems would

, not serve the interests of their peo-

ple as well single-party systems.
They felt that a multiplicity of par-
ties, rather than promoting stability
and prosperity, would tend to pro-
mote the factionalism and conflict
inherent in African states, which in-

variably are composed of fragments
of different, and often mutually hos-

tile, who still idealise the one-party
state might consider the fact that a
list of one-party states that have
brought peace and prosperity to
their people would be very short,
if it could be compiled at all. ©

One of the main advantages of a multi-party system is, of course, that if the ruling party's policies are seen to have failed, and human imperfection dictates that often they will, the people can try those of another party.

The counter argument is that that very imperfection dictates that the people will end up with nothing but a succession of weak or incompetent governm

Multi-party systems do have more advantages, however, than mere variety of misgovernance.

tile, tribes thrown together within. Historically, they have been far less the artificial boundaries drawn by European colonialists. ;

In countries where liberation movements won power, they have invariably enforced a one-party system but there are signs that even this trend is being reversed, notably in Mozambique.

But it has still to be shown that multi-party systems will be any more beneficial to the peoples of Africa than single ones have been. Considering the dismal record of the latter, however, the people of many African states; including Zambia,

- might well feel they have nothing to

lose by giving multi-partyism a go.
~ Those in Africa, and in South Afri-

-prone to the arrogance and corruption that seem inevitably to overtake even the most high-principled party when it knows it cannot be "unseated by the voters, as Africans

have come to know their bit-

"ter cost.

No more effective way of making

government responsive to the de-

sires of the governed has ever been

~found than the threat of dismissal - by a dissatisfied electorate.

And no better way has been found

for a government to be kept from

straying into excesses and follies -

than the existence of a parliament-

ry opposition, and, of course, the
existence of a %reu free to criticise
p in Africa

the government; the two usually go
together in truly democratic states.

The failure of the one-party sys-
tem in Africa, as elsewhere in the
world, is due mainly to the absence

accountability to the people.

Invariably, Africaâ\200\231s governments
have ended up, even if they did not
start that way, beyond the reach of

- the people they professed to govern

and answerable to nobody except

- the military, who ultimately threw

them out of office, and then, being
even less accountable to the people
than the politicians, ran the govern-
ment themselves with even more
disregard for the popular will..

The traditional rationale behind
monopartyism in Africa was put in
a nutshell by President Mugabe last
week when he said multi-party sys-

_ tems caused unnecessary rivalry

and that if people were to differ â\200\234let
us differ in one house, in one fami-
lyv!

Proponents of multi-party sys-
tems would argue, however, that it
is the very absence of rivalry, of
competition, that has made single-
party systems prone to inefficiency,
complacency, corruption, official
bullying and disregard of juman
and individual rights.

The multx party systems
enshrined in most â\200\230Western countries
evolved over centuries of often
bloody trial and painful error which
led eventually to the realisation that
there is no better way than strict
accountability of governments to
peoples through regular elections
open to all.

Most African countries are stillâ\200\235
far less developed than those of the
West. Whether the systems em-
ployed in the' West can work in Afri-
ca, including South Africa, is one of
the major questions to be answered
in the next few decades.

But there is no good evidence to suggest that Africa will be better: off without Western-style democracy any more than the countries of Europe were. Or that they will evolve a better system.

All unions now' 106k for more muscle

The immediate task in the current hospital crisis has been to restore normal patient care â\200\224 but the strike wave has broader implications for South Africaâ\200\231s 730000 public servants. '

Union and legal sources believe the hospital unrest, following hard on the heels of the railway â\200\230strike, may bring home that a special labour dis-

tion for State and semi-, State sectors will not work.

State employees are now co- â\200\230

vered by the Public Service Act, a statute drafted by men who apparently thought public sector unions an outlandish idea. PP

This provides for the recognition of staff associations at the discretion of the Commission for Administration and an advisory council on which associations sit. But on union recog-

- nition and collective bargaining, it is quite silent.

At the same time, the Labour Relations Act (LRA), while providing for the registration of public service unions, denies them all its benefits. Public servants and workers in hospitals, schools, State forests and

â\200\230the security forces cannot strike lawfully or use the Actâ\200\231s dispute procedures or the Industrial Court.

â\200\230The Public Service Act has been cited by the Transvaal Provincial Administration in, refusing to the National Education, Health and

to the public

The hospital strikes have given fresh impetus to union demands for the extension of the Labour Relations Act service. The Star's LABOUR REPORTER

looks at some of the issues.

e

Allied Workers Union (Nehawu), which says it has hit a similar brick wall in dealings with the Johannesburg College of Education and Witwatersrand Technikon.

It is likely that the hospital dispute will be settled in a makeshift manner by informally granting Nehawu union rights and some form of bargaining status.

But there seems to be more flexibility than the TPA implies. Stressing that there is no specific statutory ban on union recognition, Nehawu lawyer Jonty Joffe argues that a com-

mon law deal can be reached.
- A Commission for Adminis

Hospital workers stage a protest march.

tration spokesman effectively conceded the point this week

by saying that the non-recognition of public service unions

was policy rather than a legal requirement. z

The Government is aware of the weakness of the present dispensation. In the wings is the Public Service Amendment Bill, tabled in Parliament last year and currently with State law advisers, which effectively provides for union recognition and a Public Service Central Bargaining Council.)

Whether it will meet the needs of public servants, or indeed ever be enacted, are moot points.

Modelled on the South African Transport Services (Sats) Conditions of Service Act, the Bill proposes a ban on State

sector strikes. As on the rail-

ways, this is likely to be ineffective, Mr Joffe stresses.

He adds that the proposed bargaining forum, the product of Government decree rather than agreement, will suffer from the same defects as the Transnet Labour Council. These include equal votes for unions of unequal size.

At talks with the employer body Saccola, black unions have consistently pressed for the LRA's extension to all workers. Special provision could be made for essential services, though much more

closely defined than at present.

Talks between Cosatu/Nactu and the responsible Minister, Dr Wim de Villiers, are planned shortly.

And in its preliminary proposals for the consolidation of the LRA, published last month, the National Manpower Commission also argues for one labour Act for all.

A Commission for Adminis-

tration spokesman said' this

week that the State had given recognised public service associations a pledge to push through the Public Service Amendment Bill.

â\200\230 :

If it is enacted â\200\224 and he conceded that the situation was

â\200\234very fluidâ\200\235 â\200\224 it could well be -

- Oyeriaken by revamped LRA

Mandela sent la

Pruances by,

remove youths

NELSON Mandela sent lawyer
Ismael Ayob to his wife Winnie's
house to remove two young men
days after they were allegedly
abducted from the home of the
Rev Paul Verryn and assaulted
by her and members of her foot-
ball team, the Rand Supreme
Court was told yesterday.

This was the evidence of Barend
Thabiso Mono, one of the two youths
Ayob was instructed to take into his
care by the then imprisoned ANC
leader. Mono was testifying at the
murder trial former Mandela foot-
ball coach Jerry Richardson. .

He has pleaded not guilty to mur-
dering James 'Stompie' Seipei on
January 1/2 last year.

Richardson, 41, has also pleaded
not guilty to kidnapping Mono, Seipei,
Gabriel Pelo Mekgwe and Kenneth
Kgase from the Soweto home of
Methodist minister Verryn on De-
cember 29 1988 and assaulting them
at the Mandela house.

The former coach has also pleaded
not guilty to attempting to murder

Lerotodi Andrew Ikaneng on J. anuaryy

3 last year.

Mono yesterday told the court Sei-
"pei was taken away by Richardson on
Sunday, January 1, after he was told
he was being taken home.
'Stompie's face was swollen and
his eyes were not as wide open as
usual,' Mono said.

_the coa

[SUSAN RUSSELL |

Mono testified the remaining three
were taken on an expedition by Rich-
ardson and members of the team to a
house in Soweto, from where a man
fetched them. He said he had held one
of the man's legs while Richardson
stabbed the man in the neck.

Asked by State counsel Chris van

Vuuren why he had participated in the attempted murder of Ikaneng, Mono replied he had done it because had instructed him to do so.

â\200\234I was afraid of him at the time.â\200\235

He told the court the three of them were told to stand guard at the Mandela house after this incident.

Impression

Guard duty was done in pairs, he said, and he, Pelo and Kgase were paired with people who had been at the house before their arrival.

â\200\234He (Richardson) said if any of us

â\200\230three escaped he did not know what would happen to those who re--

mained.â\200\235

Van Vuuren: How did you understand this?

Mono: By then I'd seen what of

Richardson he was and what heâ\200\231d done.

My impression I got was that should one of us escape, those remaining would be dumped.â\200\235

Mono said after Kgase escaped,

AN VAL

court

Richardson told

Richardson did not want to leave Pelo and himself alone.

Some days later Ayob arrived at the house and they were introduced to the lawyer by Winnie Mandela.

â\200\234Ismael Ayob told Winnie that (Bish 151) Peter Storey wanted to see her,â\200\235 Mono said.

Ayob then returned to the house a day or two later. Richardson told him and Pelo they were supposed to be going to another place with Ayob and were to refuse to do so.

At this stage attorney Krish Naidoo arrived:

He said Richardson told them they were to make a statement to Naidoo

and should tell him Verryn used to sleep with them. Mono said Richardson also told them not to say anything about the assaults.

Mono testified that the next day Ayob arrived and told Richardson he was instructed by Nelson Mandela to take the pair to stay with him (Ayob).

After being removed from the house by other people there for short while, they were returned there and delivered to Ayob's house on Winnie Mandela's instructions.

He and Pelo were eventually taken to Naidoo's offices in town on January 16. From there they were taken from to a meeting in Soweto by Storey. He told the court he gave the meeting an account of what had happened to him as he had told the court.

The trial continues today.

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past foyr months werq in
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Sitting of Parhâ\200\230ament this

ECAPE TOWN:-

UKhomanda wezombu-
tho we-ANC, Umkhonto
We Sizwe, uMnuz. Joe
Modise, utshele abebese-

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ukuthi amalunga ole-
nhlangano alolongwa
ngaphakathi eSouth Afri-

ca. ; Â\$

- Ubekhuluma emhla-

nganweni obusehhotela

elithile eCape Town, la-

pho bekubuthene khona
amalunga e-ANC nga-
phambi kokuba abenezi-
ngxoxo noHulumeni wa-
seSouth Africa.

Kubikwa ukuthi isimo
sokuphepha besiginiswe
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ngendlela yokuthi ama-
lunga abemenyiwe beku-
qikelelwa ukuthi anobu-
fakazi obugcwele bokuba

Utonto

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fugSizwe

avaningisiswa kwabama-
phephandaba kanye na-
bobonke abebemenyiwe.
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sha umbutho woMkho-
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longa amalunga ayo nga-
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- Ughube wathi uma
kunjalo i-ANC ingavi-
njwa yini ukuthi nayo
iqhubeke nokulolonga
amalunga ngaphakathi

eSouth Africa. Uthe ku-
- meie wonke umuntu abe
amakhadi esimemo abe- namalungelo afanayo.

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selrstlng

the school.

hildren of Thabisong Creche in Diepkloof Soweto, were all smiles yest;day viilan .their cen
tre

received equipment worth R5 000 from Joy Manufacturing Company. The equipment included

drawing boards, painting powder, educational toys puzzles and furniture. Mr Dave Bekker, (f
ourth

from left in the back row) PRO for Joy Manufacturing said his company was proud to be a

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PAC, AN

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fatal shoo

THE widow of the
special constable shot
dead in Crossroads
on Saturday believes
he was killed because
of his strong pro- Pan
Africanist

(PAC) views which
often led to bitter ex-
changes with others.

Mr Mostert Ngozi, 48,
who worked at the nearby
Crossroads committee of-
fices, was gunned down
about 5pm in the troubled
township on Saturday.

He was shot through
the stomach and head and
died at the Crossroads po-
lice station before heâ\200\231
could be taken to hospital.

Widow

The dead manâ\200\231s
widow, Mrs Nolusapho
Ngozi, 40, of Section
Three, said her husband
had been off-duty and
was at a house when two
men he knew asked him
to accompany them to an-
other part of the

township.

She said the three went outside and a few minutes later a youth told her "that her husband had been shot dead, about seven houses from their shack.

When we went to the scene he was lying in a pool of blood but was still alive. He died at the police station before he could be taken to hospital. He had holes in the

~%

SOWETAN
Correspondent.

stomach and forehead, she said. :

She said a man was later arrested.

Mrs Ngozi said her husband who supported the PAC often quarreled with ANC supporters.

Differences

On many * occasions they nearly come to blows because of their ideological differences.

She said her husband never took sides in the feuding between the township's controversial mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana and his rival Mr Jeffrey Nongwe

because he despised them. Mrs Ngozi was

adamant that her husband's slaying was directly connected to his political views.

. She said although her husband had never been a PAC member, he supported the organisation
with all his heart.
Father of five, her husband had never wanted to be a special constable but

, ANC row
med for
ing

breakaway headmen said yesterday demands by Crossroads residents that the Crossroads committee be dissolved had not been met. i

However, residents who marched to the Nyanga police station on Sunday had been assured that a response to their demands would soon be available.

â\200\224_â\200\224

had joined the controversial force in 1986 as he had been unemployed for a long period.

He had often spoken against the force's alleged abuses, much to the dismay of some of his colleagues, she claimed.

Funeral arrangements have not been made.

Mr Jeffrey Nongwe,
leadex:~ of " â\200\230theâ\200\231 ~ 14

aid,

MASSIVE economic
and management
resource intervention
was needed from the pri-
vate sector if black busi-
ness was to strengthen
and contribute to . the
economy, the newly-
elected president of the
â\200\231 Foundation For African
Â» Business and Consumer
. Services, Mr James
Ngcoya, said this week.

Ngcoya, who'is also
president of SABTA,
said black business had

.no credible involvement
in any major sectors of
the South African econ-
omy.

Major obstacles to
the growth of black
busmess, politics aside,

, were the numerous con-

â\200\231 straints under which the

,black entrepreneur had

p to operate.

Prosper

These â\200\230constraints in-
cluded the lack of access
) to legislature, bureau
Â» cratic ham-handedness,
) over-regulation, the
) Group Areas Act and
. no, or poor, access lo fi-
Â» nance, he said.

' <For South Africa to
Â© prosper and grow it is
' necessary for blacks to

Â» enjoy a meaningful

â\200\231 stake in the economy.

)

: â\200\230â\200\234â\200\234A clear strategy
) needs to be developed
which _includes
) insâ\200\231â\200\231, â\200\234â\200\230joint venturesâ\200\231â\200\231,
"â\200\230partnershlps and
â\200\234â\200\230share parthpatxon in
â\200\231whltc organisations and
) companiesâ\200\231â\200\231.

He said the success
) of SABTA was a classic

>example of a â\200\230â\200\230success

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~*buy- -

P storyâ\200\231â\200\231 involving people

----- Al s bt bt b h b B h A dh S

Black busmess
needs massive

By JOSHUA
RABOROKO

at grassroots levels, an
attempt to unify similar

interests, - t0 provlde
political clout and give
black business

â\200\230â\200\234economic muscleâ\200\231â\200\231 on
the business front while
simultaneously uplifting
the quality of its mem-
bers and addressing the
unemployment -problem
in South Africa.

The formation of an
association - of associa-
tions to form a major
organisation - Fabcos -
with clear and well
defined aims, would
help provide the neces-
sary political clout and
coordinated approach so
badly needed.

Mr James Ngcoya

~tive structures of Fabcos

Mogale (secretary gen- \$

s'â\200\234aâ\200\234?ï¬\201sqNgcoya

He said the innova-

had been specifically
designed to leave the
political and decision-
â\200\230making process in the
hands of blacks.

Others who were
elected are: Dr Ellen
Kuzwayo (first vice
president); Mr Sam Â¢
Ntuntubele (second vice 1
president); - Mr Joas 4

PO P P P PPV VYV Y

eral); Mr Pat Mbatha Â¢
(treasurer); Mr James \$
Lenyehle (Public Rela- Â¢
tions Officer); executive 4
members are Mr A
Tambo, Mrs N Ramp- Â¢
omane and Mr A Luk-
hele and all representa-
tives of the 12 affiliates
form part of the execu-
tive.

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South Africa

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- Economics and the future

POLITICAL settlement is our current national objective. However, the economic priorities of the major parties appear to be hugely polarised. They are therefore placing the prospect of a political settlement at risk. !

The conflicting economic objectives reflect valid viewpoints. Black political leadership is faced with the fact that the constituency it intends to represent is relatively very poor, has limited land resources, is burdened by a massive housing shortage and is educationally disadvantaged. For them politics has to be about economics and wealth redistribution. Thus the ANCâ\200\231s insistence that nationalisation of the mines and major industry must remain on the agenda. This call is often interpreted as only being early rhetorical

positioning. Yet it reflects the political â\200\234pressures generated inside this organisation.

On the other side, the new economic policies of government, which for the first time in 40 years broadly coincide with private sector growth needs, are equally compelling. In order to lower taxes to stimulate investment and productivity, central government spending is being curbed. Money supply is on a tight rein, with high interest rates directed at combating inflation. Privatisation is planned for various enterprises; deregulation is proceeding.

Serious attempts are being made to create conditions under which the economy can return to rates of growth above four percent and five percent â\200\224 the minimum level needed to absorb new entrants into the labour market. In many ways South Africa is beginning to follow the figurative IMF handbook on how to restimulate development. The bitter irony is that immediate welfare needs among blacks cannot be assured by medium-term growth-oriented economics. Hence calls from the trade unions and majority-based movements for more government intervention, pos-

sible naiio_nalisation or even a command economy.

Many South Africans who have agi-

tated for fundamental change but who believe in economic freedom are in a crisis of conscience. Worse still, the re-

" requirements of a political settlement

are made hugely more complex by the economic conflict. Our lack of serious attention to black socio-economic development in the past has come

_ hometo roost with a vengeance.

Some resurrect the contention that South Africa is not ready for a political settlement. Others, in defiance of the clear lessons from the Eastern European economic experience, still argue that only socialism, or a system like it, can achieve the required economic justice. This approach is unacceptable; indeed, it is non-negotiable, not only for government, but for the overwhelming majority of haves & both black and white & in South Africa. It is becoming clear how closely general welfare and democracy are interlinked. The failure of democracy in so many Third World countries is clear testimony in this respect.

There are signs of a move away from

: thinking about race groups as the focus

of protection in a new constitution. There is a new emphasis on quality of government as a goal. This is more important than group protection in the narrow sense. This argument is expounding the need for what is termed &balance in government& without there having to be a racially segregated form of participation as the basis of the constitution. The often articulated commitment to non-racial democracy from leaders of the black communities is equally encouraging.

However, the need to give content to the concepts comprising the phrases &protection of minorities& and &non-racial democracy& is urgent. A stage will be reached, quite soon perhaps, at

&Many South Africans who have agitated for fundamental change but who believe in economic freedom are in a crisis

~ of conscience. Worse still, the requirements of a political settlement are made hugely more complex by the economic conflict. Our lack

of serious attention to
black socio-economic
development in the past
has come home to roost
with a vengeance.â\200\235

which constitutional proposals of gov-
-ernment will be depicted by critics as
political'apartheid in a new form. The
debate about this has already started.
Because this debate will be emo-
tional and the various viewpoints
liable to misinterpretation, I would
like to articulate an observerâ\200\231s objec-
tive viewpoint. I do so as much to
encourage new thinking in government
as I am responding to their opposition.

The new constitution should not be
constructed so as to entrench the speci-
fic interests of whites. Neither should
it protect any category of the popu-
lation formally defined in racial terms.
If, however, the constitution negotiated
can, without reducing the impact of ma-
jority choice or the value of votes: make
provision_for the effective participa-
tion of all significant interest groups ir-
respective of race; create a situation in
which all talent and leadership re-
sources can work together in solving
our problems of development; and pro-

tect individual rights, for example
through a bill of rights; then we can
have good government.

Essential checks and balances will
help ensure that whatever leadership
emerges in South Africa seeks creative
compromises which will promote the
interests of the:disadvantaged, but
without damaging the legitimate inter-
ests, economic confidence and will-
ingness to co-operate of those who com-
mand the resources to invest and those
who currently have the skills to con-
tribute to a process of dynamic devel-
. opment.

Europe has achieved a political bal-
ance through development, social mo-
bility and progress. This has reduced
gaps between haves and have-nots and
produced gradations of interests. Euro-
peans have in their basic demography
that which is termed â\200\234cross-cutting
lines of divisionâ\200\235 which produce dy-
namic balance. We in South Africa do

not yet have the demography and the development to secure this balance automatically. Any settlement of political disputes has to attempt to build it in. However, we dare not use the offensive and conflict-generating criterion of race to do it.

-Whatever the grounds for political optimism, we dare not leave it to the political processes only. We cannot - place representatives of the disadvantaged communities in a position in which they feel obliged to challenge the interests of advantaged South Africans to seek redress.

We face a challenge in the field of development equal to our political challenge. The challenge has to be

. faced and these needs addressed,

otherwise the conflicting demands of politics and development will destroy each other. It is a sign of hope that decision-makers also believe there is a solution. The recent announcement of a R2 billion independent development

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. Natal violence

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By = A

Radley Keys, head of the DP Monitoring Group in the Natal Midlands, addressed the Southern African Society of Journalists's 200\231 annual congress in Pietermaritzburg last week. This article is an ex-

cerpt from his talk: :
THE role of any govern-

ment in a situation of
civil -unrest -and con-

flict is to ensure that -

the rule of law prevails.
This is done through its
police force and
severe cases with the
help of its - defence
force. The courts are
there to ensure that cit-
izens's 200\231 civil rights are
protected. Both execu-
tive and the judicial
arms of government are
there to protect the
lives and the property
of each citizen.

~We in Pietermaritz-
burg are faced with,
and have been experi-
encing, a situation of
unrest for almost three
years. Here I would
like to expose a few
facts relating to law
and order.

in Â°

In and around the .

city there are eight

police stations â\200\224 the |
population is approxi--
mately 180 000 people |

(Pietermaritzburg,
Northdale, Sobantu,
Eastwood, Woodlands,

|
y
i
?

Allandale, Raise- |
thorpe, Hilton,

Bishopstowe). These

police stations include
Loop Street, Alexandra
Road, Mountain Rise,
Prestbury, Hilton,
Town Hill, Thornville

and the Riot Unit at |

Oribi Village when
needed.

From Plessislaer/Im-
bali right through to
Elandskon. i.e. the

Â¥

Edendale Valley and
KwaZulu areas, there
is one police station,

#

may

: - mately 300000 people |
| "(official statistics, but -

| â\200\230estimates be

| closer to one and a half |

' million people). The
Riot Unit is used exten-
sively to manage the
unrest, and violence

. and has a CID unit at-

ched to it to investi-

| gateâ\200\234unrestcrimesâ\200\235.

In the almost three
years of protracted vio-
lence in the midlands
there have been about

1800 reported and re-

corded cases of murder

(some reports state that

the death toll may be

up to 3000 considering
the unreported cases)

The number of convic-

tions for murder in our

courts number, at most,
ten. :

We must now ask our-

selves: what has the
role of the state been in
all of this conflict? Con-
stitutionally, as
have seen, the home-
lands were created by
the South African Gov-

\

ernment; therefore the

| Government is consti-
tutionally bound to
support the actions
taken by the homeland
Government of Kwa-
Zulu. At the same time,
the ANC was banned
and we remember the

we

and the population that
this serves is approxi-

e

terminology that was

- used at the time of ter-
rorists, revolutiona-

.. ries, communists, etc.
-The UDF was identi-
fied by the state as the

internal wing of the
ANC and therefore had
to be obliterated.

All the actions of the
police, therefore, were
aimed at - ridding
society of the UDF, or
at least making it inef-
fective and powerless,
and at the same time to
prop up the KwaZulu
Government. =

" Let us not be de-
ceived that the Govern-
ment had the good of
KwaZulu at heart. Con-
sider the daunting sce-
nario of a united black
force in Natal, and the

- threat that would have

and the population that
this serves is approxi-
|
osing confidence in the |

ment. Therefore, perceiving the differences; between the two organisations, the -rove a wedge in between them which re-

" sulted in the massive

chasm that now exists.
More importantly,

the state did not want

Inkatha to become too

| influential and neither
' did they want to see the

!

posed for the Govern-

Dbolice. mare

UDF grow in strength.

_Concerning the â\200\230po-
licing of the violence,
the Democratic Party
has many reports, affidavits and petitions al-

leging gy
Police jn 131s i+
To cite three
hing i
Ashdown and alfovxpnto
an Inkatha crowd,
Intimidate

state

S\ M&\S

Women leave trouble-torn Maqongqo, near Pietermaritzburg, in 'Februa;y. f

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" over 1800 murders).

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community in what was

known to be a UDF

WA

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rea; three police

_â\200\230vehicles accompanying

more than 200 toyi-toy-

ing ~ Inkatha

very tense time for that

area; and allegations |
from Inkatha thatâ\200\230the |
police have taken sides

with UDF sympathis-
ers, and that the army

is biased against Inka- |

tha.

The courts operate to
ensure that our rights
are protected. The fol-
lowing facts point to a
severe breakdown in

' the judicial system: as

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el;!f

examples;

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. mentioned above, we

have not been able to
trace more than 10
been convictions f

murder (remembering

the Joca) that there have been

youths
" through an area at a |

cases where theres ha&zâ\200\231Ã© :

N

w enforcers

Also, cases that reach
the courts take ex-
ceedingly long to reach
the actual trial day,

Â« 'thus giving the accused â\200\234
time to either intim- '

idgte: witnesses or
eliminate them; and

prosecutors are poorly =

prepared for the seri-
ousness of the cases.
they have to prosecute
while defence counsels
are prepared thor-

| oughly over the months
' of adjournments.

_ Consequently there
is a breakdown of con-

. fidence in the impani.â\200\224â\200\230.'

tiality of the police â\204¢
force and a total lack of
credibility in the
courtsâ\200\231 ability to en-
sure that justice is !
done, This is a break- !
down in law and order |
â\200\224nothingless.

In this perspective
. citizens who are at-
tacked, and have
moved away from their
homes to avoid the con-
flict, and are attacked
again, and receive no
respite from the insti-
tutions of law and
order, have no other
choice but to defend
themselves as best they
can with whatever they
can lay their hands on.
Clearly this is a recipe
for anarchy and civil
war.

Where the forces of
law and order and the
courts are discredited |
because of the lack of
protection of life and
property, communities
and organisations re-

sort to ensuring that |

some order is retained
and a medium of law
instituted to enforce
that. The phenomenon
of the peoplesâ\200\231 courts
has filled the vacuum
â\200\224 exacting a justice .
â\200\230that, at times, borders
on being classed as
atrocities to humanity.
Yet what can a smitten |
community do to pro-
tect itself? :

What the conflict has produced is a massive shift of population.

- Previously people of differing political persuasions would live next door to each other, but now through attack, or fear of attack, individuals and families

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have moved: Inkatha

supporters from UDF -

. areas to safe Inkatha |

areas; UDF supporters

from Inkatha areas to

safe UDF areas; com-

.munity members from

strong Inkatha areas to

safe neutral territory

or UDF areas. These

are the displaced

people an estimated

65 000 individuals have

had to move to safer

areas.

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FEHE fTADEPENOEENT S MAY \D%0

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own baby. A budget travelogue
and shot inside four walls.
INSIDE STORY (530 BBC1)
reports on the â\200\234black on blackâ\200\235
violence in Natal, a thorn in the
side of unity-seeking Nelson
Mandela but a godsend to the
â\200\231L Pretoria government. Using eye-
witness testimony the film
shows how the ordinary Zulu
people have become caught up
in the power struggle between
waning Inkatha warlords and
the increasingly popular ANC,
i STEPHEN POPE

"â\200\234â\200\230555â\200\230,â\200\231!"â\200\231,7-' PRV

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e DA TELE SRATH & 9. MAY 4oE

Today's choice
By Peter Knight

inside Story â\200\224 South Africaâ\200\231s Killing Ground -
BBCI:9.30pm

A disturbing, often quite shocking report on the conflict within the Zulu tribe, the largest black tribe in South Africa, which has resulted in the deaths of over 3,000 people in the Natal province in the last three years in a bitter struggle for political power, The â\200\230warring factions are the Inkatha of the Zulu organisation of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the African National Congress, with each using quite mindless violence to try to establish their political leadership of the Zulu tribe. Tonight's film uses eyewitness testimony to show how many of the ordinary people of Natal have become the innocent victims of the violent conflict. :

MAY B9 9@ 14:55

THE GULARDIAN 9 AN 930

9.30 Inside Story: South Afri-
caâ\200\231s Killing Ground. It you
read The Guardian yester-
day, you will already know
something about this un-

heard-of war in the province

of Natal, between the Afri-
can National Congressâ\200\231s
young Comrades, and In-
katha, Chief Buthelezi's po-
litical organisation, backed
by the South African police.

A struggle not much

reported, despite 3,000

deaths in three years. %

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EME TIMES

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3.50 Caterpillar Trail. Stuart Bradley with
another in the children's wildlife series

4.05 Around the World with Willy
Fog. Animated adventure serial (r) 4.30
The Movie Gams. Inter-school film
and video quiz

5.00 Newsround 5.05 Moondial, Episode
-one of a repeat of the children's drama
serial in which a tragedy leads a

young girl back in time to face witches,

. evil spirits and perhaps the devil
himself. (Ceefax)

5.35 Neighbours (r). {Ceefax}. Northern
Ireland: Sportswide 5.40-6.00 Inside
Ulster i R

6.00 Six O'Clock News with Anna Ford

: -and Andrew Harvey, Weather

6.30 Regional news magazines.
Northern Ireland: Neighbours

7.00 Wogan. With guests Frank Muir, who
has a book to plug, Nina Myskow and
Sarah Freeman

7.40 The Kon-Tiki Man: Thor Heyerdahl

- the Story of 8 Great Adventurer. This

week he tries to unravel the mystery
of Easter Island's stone statues

8.05 Dallas, (Ceefax) -

8.50 Points of View with Miles Kington

9.00 Nine O'Clock News with Martyn
Lewis. Regional news and weather

8.30 Inside Story: South Africa's Killing
Ground.

@ A horrifying report from the
province of Natal, where 3,000 people
have been killed in the past years in
a tragic struggle between black and
black. On one side are the Inkatha,
the political organization of Chief
Buthelezi, on the other the African
National Congress. Buthelezi may have
been applauded by Mrs Thatcher for
his moderate line on sanctions. But the

film alleges that prominent members
of the Inkatha central committee have

personally carried out murders and

10.20 Sportenight introduced by

supported attacks by vigilantes, with the
. connivance of the South African
police. The ANC, feeling that the police
offer them no protection, kil in
revenge. The human tragsdy is
graphucally brought home in the eye
witness accounts of women who have
seen their own children being
murdered. The political tragedy is that
by fighting each other, the blacks
are diverting their energies from the
much more important struggle :

- 8gainst apartheid. (Ceefax)

ne

A victim of NetaT's violent stroggle (3.90pm)

Steve Ricer, Boxing: Britain's Kirkland
_Laing challenges for the European -
middieweight title against the holder
Antoing Fernandez of France. Hamy
Carpenter is at the ringside; Football:
praviaws of this weekend's FA Cup
final between Crystal Palace and
â\200\230Manchester Unitedand of next = .
monin's World Cup; Rugby Union: a
report from this year's Whitbread ~ -
Rugby World awards -

11.45 Waathar. Northam lreland: Cricket

(reland v New Zsaland). To 12.15am

Newil'fzt

LONDON: The South African Communist Party (SACP) has taken virtually every position of influence in the African National Congress, according to a report published here.

Africa Confidential claims that earlier this year only eight of the African National Congress's 35 National Executive Committee were not members of the South African Communist Party (SACP).

The respected monthly newsletter, published here, says in its May 4 edition that the unbanning of the party on February 2 this year has exposed it to a dilemma.

Coming above ground and re-

vey says ANC's, run by Communist Party

Daily News
Foreign Service

vealing its membership and
confirm Pretoria's well-worn accusation that the party, during Nelson Mandela's long incarceration, came to dominate the ANC.

In effect, the party and the ANC have ceased to be two allied organisations and have become one body with two heads, says Africa Confidential. All party members are also members of the ANC. The party uses the ANC as a pool in which to recruit the best and the brightest for party membership. It is essentially a parasitic relationship.

ANC's three offices at the Presi-

SACP general secretary Joe Slovo and Chris Hani are thought

-have masterminded the party's domination of the ANC.

Before Mr Mandela's release in February only the following of the National Executive Committee were not party members: Oliver Tambo, Joe Modise, Thomas Nkobi, Pallo Jordan, Mzwai Piliso, Ruth Mompoti, Joe Nhlanhla, Jackie Molefe.

The journal says a glance at the

dent-Generalâ\200\231s Office, the Secre-
tary-Generalâ\200\231s Office and the Trea-
surer-Generalâ\200\231s office â\200\224 â\200\234reveals
the Partyâ\200\231s overwhelming domi-
nanceâ\200\235.

126 killed i
April viol

Doy News
eÃ©nce

Nicola Cunningham-Brown, Political Reporter

AT LEAST 126 people
died in the Natal coastal
region alone during April
â\200\224 the highest recorded
death figure for the area
so far this year.

The Democratic
Partyâ\200\231s regional director,
Mr Roy Ainslie, said the
worst-hit areas were
Port Shepstone (33
deaths), Hibberdene (12),
Umlazi (18), KwaMakhu-
ta (12), Stanger (seven),
Ndwedwe (nine) and
Esikhaweni (nine).

Other areas affected
by the violence included
Margate, Paddock, Inan-
da, Hambanathi, Mol-
weni, KwaMashu, Cler-
mont and Chesterville.

Mr Ainslie said at
least 55 deaths had oc-
curred along the Natal

South Coast.

At least 25 deaths in
the region had resulted
from clashes with the se-

â\200\234curity forces, while vigi-
lantes had caused two
deaths and â\200\230â\200\230terror
squadsâ\200\235 had caused an-
other two.

â\200\234We've alerted the se-

curity forces to the fact that a major meeting of chiefs is planned for this Sunday, May 13, in the Empangeni area,â\200\235 he said, â\200\230â\200\230because weâ\200\231ve seen a pattern of violence developing before and after such meetings.

â\200\234Weâ\200\231ve also alerted them to the fact that well-armed amabutho (warriors) are already arriving in the area and have threatened African National Congress, Unit-

ed Democratic Front and Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosa-tu) supporters.

â\200\234Refugees, in particular young people, are already leaving Enseleni, Ntambanana, KwaSokhula, Ebuleni and Obanjeni, which are all near Empangeni.â\200\235 :

Mr Aijnslie said a senior chief in the area had publicly threatened to wipe out the ANC and UDF supporters in his area. :

â\200\234In the Port Shepstone area, the young comrades are continuing to attack anyone remotely connected to Inkatha, or anyone who opposes them, and are apparently out of control,â\200\235 he said.