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THE STAR, WEDNESDAY 1 SEPTEMBER 1992

Sisulu
drops a
bombshell

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that the top leadership is not sufficiently representative of South Africa's population, was accused in 1991 of having intervened to ensure the election of Dr Allan Boesak to the western Cape regional chairmanship.

In terms of the ANC's structure, the national chairmanship is the third rung on the ladder, following the presidency and deputy presidency. =
. Now Mbeki's promotion means the national chairmanship is a position held by his father Govan before the banning of the ANC changes from a purely ceremonial to a powerful, non-ceremonial post.*

Many observers believe it now outranks the deputy presidency in practical terms, making Mbeki number two to Mandela.

There is no certainty as to when Sisulu will retire, and who would be in line for his post when he does.

It is understood that Ramaphosa would make himself available for the position but many insiders see the deputy presidency as Mbeki's

- next logical step is Mandela's heir-apparent. :

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e Star

Established 1887
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Giving with
one hand ...

'{lee ANC has failed itself, and South
Africa, by not having the courage to
act against the human rights
abusers in its ranks.

HE ANC, on the brink of assuming a
" â\200\234key roie in government, has chosen a

disingenuous option which raises
: deep Âconcerns about political aceount-
ability in the future South Africa.
. At Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s own insistence, the
ANC set up he Skweyiya Commission to in-
Vestigate human rights abuses (â\200\234atrocitiesâ\200\235 is
Bn accurate description in many cases). This
report frankly conceded that horrors had oc-
curred in the camps, but failed to name those
guilty of perpetrating them. The ANC then
promised that the Motsuenyane inquiry would
dig further, and apportion blame. This it did
with great application, albeit imperfectly.
1 Now the ANC has given its formal response
to Motsuenyane's findings. The leadership
has apologised to the victims, and accepted
collective responsibility. Yet it balks at tak-
ing the next, essential step: acting against the
guilty, and compensating the victims. This
failure of courage devalues, at a stroke, all
the earliier efforts.

- THE STAR, WEDNESDAY 1 SEPTEMBER 1997

i The proposal for a â\200\234truth commissionâ\204¢ is
pothmg_ more than a smokescreen to buy yet
jore time; it diffuses the bright spotlight
shining on the guilty ones. Southâ\200\231Africa may
or may, not at some stage need such a com-
mission, but.that {5 a separate issue, The ANC.
ows now which of its members grossly vio-
lated its stated principles, and cowld remove
lthezn {rom office immediately.
+ In plain language, the: ANC has fudged the
Issue for reasons of political expediency. In
)dpâ\200\230mg 50, {t has fallen back on the kind of
shameless obfuscation that brought infamy on
successive â\200\230Nationalist governments. We
;herefom_ face the prospect of moving into the

Eew society with the moral reputations of
oth major players seriously sultied â\200\224 the
one much more than the other, of course.
Â¢ The ANC should read Motsuenyaneâ\200\231s find-
ings again, and apply the notion of â\200\234account-
abilityâ\200\235 in its true sense, not that perverted
version perfected by Nationalist ministers.
Those ANC members who bear responsibility,
fvhether they are in the leadership or the
rank end file, should be removed from the
Prg&msai¬\201on's books forthwith. - e

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THE STAR, WEDNESDAY 1 SEPTEMBER 1993

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W BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONCENT

Walter Sisulu stunned dele-
gates at & crucial ANC execu-
tive meeting by proposing that
Professor Kader Asmal replace
the late Oliver Tambo as ANC

" national chairman.â\200\235

. â\200\234The proposal by Sisulu, ANC

* deputy president, was defeated-
- as the majority of the national

executive committee (NEC)
rallied around foreign affairs
director Thabo Mbeki, whose
elevation to the national chair-
manship was announced on -
Monday. :

Impeccable sources within
the ANC's leadership told The
Star that Sisulu stunned the
NEC at jts meeting on Sunday
outside Kempton Park when
he moved that Asmal â\200\224 an
NEC member and University
of the Western Cape academ-
jc â\200\224 should succeed Tambo
as national chairman.

According to the sources, St-
sulu had apparently been
asked by ANC president Nel-
son Mandela â\200\224 who did not
enter the debate himself â\200\224 to

broach the subject of Asmal's candidacy.

The sources believe the top five at the apex of the organisation's hierarchy Mandela. Sisulu, treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and his deputy Jacob Zuma had discussed the issue in advance and wanted a non-Xhosa, and preferably someone other than a black African, for the position.

It was hoped this would.

ANC was a black-dominated, African

Xhosa-dominated body, &C- - Begins in

- ed him."

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THE ANC executive stepped in to thwart a move to have an academic appointed national chairman

ie L
dent Peter Mokaba had put
paid to the plan. - "1 -

Opposing the proposal, Mokaba said the national chairmanship was an important position for which an election should be held by secret ballot.

. lot In the NEC.

. Mokaba's argument in favour of an election instead of a unanimous, unopposed appointment was backed by most NEC members. Mbeki was then elected by an overwhelming majority, defeating Asmal, the only other candidate. Sources said Asmal performed very badly.

Some delegates expressed surprise that Asmal had been proposed for the position. "I don't know why they thought of Asmal," said one. Not even his region would have support-

Another added: "In terms of addressing racial imbalances in the organisation, I have no

problem with whites, coloureds
and Indians rising to senior
positions. But they, like Afri-
cans, must also go through the
ranks and prove themselves.â\200\235

The Mbeki-Asmal debate is
believed to reflect the serious
concern at the very top of the
ANC that the organisationâ\200\231s

leadership should become

more, racially, representative |
before the election campaign
ends.â\200\235

iy 28 U STAVNRS "HAS OHen e

" 3a o e
Constitutional lawyer-Asmalâ\200\235

fitted the bill. they believed; -
but ANC' Youth League ppgâ\200\230si-

pressed, his concern. publicly

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- THE STAR, WEDNESDAY 1 SEPTEMBER 19983

Legislation agreement

@ BY ESTHER WAUGH
and CHRIS WHITFIELD

South Africa yesterday moved a step closer to the April 27 elections when the Negotiating Council agreed on important parts of a package of draft legislation.

After months of debate at the World Trade Centre, the council by general consensus accepted drafts of legislation

for a non-dependent electoral commission and an independent media commission.

The drafts, to be submitted to Parliament, consist of proposed legislation to ensure that free and fair elections will take place, and that all parties will have equitable access to . State-controlled media.

And in Bloemfontein at the

» ToPage3 .- !
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< From Page 1

National Party's Free State Congress, Constitutional Development Minister Roell Meyer yesterday said legislation making provision for a transitional executive council (TEC) effectively the

could be finalised early next week at the World Trade Centre.

But Meyer said it was impossible to judge precisely how far negotiators had to go until completing the Interim Constitution.

There has been strong resistance from the Inkatha Freedom Party and other Concerned . South Africans Group members to the TEC. However, if they do approve the Interim Constitution it is

first step towards joint rule .

Vital draft legislation approved

likely that they will come on board on the TEC â\200\224 a possibility that Meyer appeared to have in mind yesterday.

He said the _legislation making provision for the TEC and other interim structures - being shaped in the Negotiating Council would be put before Parliament as soon as

- possible â\200\224 possibly at the

scheduled September 13 sitting.

However, he said, it would be pointless to go ahead with the other _structures before agreement was reached on the Interim Constitution.

Today, negotiators at the World Trade Centre are scheduled to finalise drafts of two other vital pieces of proposed legislation â\200\224 for an independent broadcasting authority and the TEC.

. THE STAR, WEDNESDAY 1 SEPTEMBER 1993

Lebowa loses
financial control

B BY MCKEED KOTLOLO
and NORMAN CHANDLER

In an unprecedented step,
South Africa today takes

control over financial control of Le-

bowa because the local Leg-
islative Assembly failed to
pass a budget for the 1993-94
financial year.

This was announced yes-
terday in Pretoria by Local
Government Minister Andre
Fourie. He said "no authori-
sation exists (for Lebowa) to
incur any expenditure or to
make any payments."

This means cheques is-
sued to homeland officials,
contractors and others with
a claim on Lebowa will not be
met until the situation has
been satisfactorily resolved.

"Lebowa government min-
isters whom I met in Pretoria
yesterday appeared to be
surprised at our decision but
later, after discussions, they
accepted the taking over of
the financial situation as
being in the interests of all,"
Fourie said.

The homeland's budget
was R3,6 billion and addition-
al funds requested in April
amounted to R360 million.
later doubling to R722 million
before Lebowa. after & fur-

THE South African
Government takes
unprecedented
steps against

a homeland that has
failed to pass a
budget

ther meeting in May, reduced it to R306 million.

The decision means that in order to ensure the efficient continuation of services, the Minister, with the approval of the Cabinet and in accordance with the authority vested in him by Section 25 of the Constitution of the Self Governing Territories, was compelled to exercise control over Lebowa's financial administration.

The South Africa Government said it appeared that the financial management of the Lebowa government had deteriorated to such an extent that intervention had become inevitable.

Fourie said the first indication that Lebowa was in financial trouble came in April when a request for additional funds was received.

The department would act in close co-operation with the Lebowa government and its officials.

An investigation would be launched into irregularities which evidently have been assuming alarming proportions over the past few months, he said.

Fourie who said the decision was not vindictive disclosed that a financial task force was being sent to Lebowa to assist in the investigation.

The Government has appealed to the Lebowa government and its officials as well as civilians, political groupings and others to remain calm and provide co-operation.

It warned however that officials, existing recipients of welfare allowances and suppliers who would have received payment yesterday may encounter problems in cashing their Lebowa government cheques.

The South African Government has undertaken to make all legitimate payments

as soon as possible.

Other homeland states,
whom Fourie did not name,
had submitted their budgets
in time. N o

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Peace fever |

B BY HELEN GRANGE

The Peace Day campaign tomorrow has grasped the imagination of people and It is expected that the day will be marked by a wide variety of activities, according to the National Peace Campaign (NPC).

â\200\230The NPC's offices in Braamfontein and Rosebank have been inundated with calls from companies and members of the public wanting details of planned events and suggesting further activities.

Ribbons

Everyone has been asked to wear a blue ribbon to symbolise their commitment to peace.

Johannesburg mayor Les

Dishy decided weeks ago that
the city council staff should

wear yellow ribbons, but he has

now requested staff also to

TOMORROW is Peace
Day and South
Africans are expected
to mark the occasion
by taking part in a
wide range of
activities

wear blue ribbons for the sake
of conformity.

The nation will come to a
standstill for five minutes starting

at noon, and it is expected
that long human chains will

form in Johannesburg's central
business district.

The first minute will be one
of silence to focus people's
minds on those who have died
in the violence which has
racked the country for months.

Motorists have been asked to
pull over for the five-minute

standstill and to hoot their
horns or flash their headlights.

Peace songs will be played on
TV and radio stations.

National Peace Secretariat
chairman Dr Antonie Gilden-
huys will address at SABC
peace function in Johannesburg
where a human chain will be
formed and the peace flag
hoisted. :

CCV-TV and TV1 will observe
a five-minute silence at noon be-
fore broadcasting the peace
song. 'TV1 will then resume its
cricket commentary from 1.30

the nation

Lanka. CCV will continue its
peace programme, broadcast-
ing interviews with community
leaders and choir music with a
peace theme from 11.30 am to 1.31
pm., S

Companies and institutions
have made their own arrange-
ments to mark the day as a
commitment to peace.

Pamphlets are being distributed

and a number of employ-
ees will be holding meetings
with unions. :

Schoolteachers have also
planned a variety of activities:
for pupils throughout the day. -

President de Klerk has or-
dered all national flags to be
 flown from all government
 buildings in South Africa and
 abroad as a mark of respect for
 those who have died in political
 violence.

He called on all South Afri-
cans to join the campaign.

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oA«

Miss South Africa Jacqui Mo-

keng will have a bird's-eye.

view of the spectacle she will
be circling Johannesburg in a
helicopter organised by Eskom.

The NPC yesterday stressed

that tomorrow was just the be-

ginning of a peace campaign
that is expected to continue this
month and in October.

Disadvantaged -

"I am ending, in Eskom and Tel-

ekom have embarked on a cam-

aign to electrify and provide
phone services to as many
homes as possible in disadvan-
taged communities. After 2
W It you're short of a blue rib-
bon, head down to The Star's
building on Sauer Street. Rib-
bons will be handed out to
members of the public by pro-

motions department stallers.
The Star's switchboard will not

operate from noon to 12.05 pm.

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De Klerk plans new bid

to bring IFP back to talks

B BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

. Bloemfontein 4\200\224 President de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will sit down soon for a day of talks in. an eleventh-hour effort to bridge their negotiations iimpasse.

De Klerk announced at a public meeting last night: 4\200\2344\200\230Chief Minister Buthelezi and I have agreed to have extended talks with each other soon.4\200\235

- The president also launched his most bitter attack yet on 4\200\234barbaric4\200\235 right-wing elements and dismissed the ANC's reaction to the Motsuenysne report as "weak4\200\235 and 4\200\234unconvincing4\200\235,

De Klerk was addressing about 300 people 4\200\224 with a fairly substantial black presence 4\200\224 at the opening of the National Party4\200\231's OFS congress in the Bloemfontein City Hall

De Klerk strongly criticised elements of the right wing, say-

S

e At the-World Trade Centre :

DRAFT LEGISLATION: The Negotiating Council accepted by general consensus two draft Bills , on an independent electoral commission and an independent media commission yesterday.+
TEN The debate on the 4\200\231 -, hour while the IMC was accepted in less than 60 minutes..The. =" !
- Afrikaner Volksunie reserved s position on the iEL, ek e
- TODAY: The council is expected to finalise.the draft IBA and)
= Transitional Executive Council Bills. it is also scheduled to adopt .

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IEC tock just more tharan

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- the four Bills by tonight.

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ing he was â\200\234ashamed by what
is done in the name of Afrikaans
by some Afrikanersâ\200\235. He re-
ferred to â\200\234barbarismâ\200\235 in the
AWB-led attack on the World
Trade Centre.

The president poured scorn

- ESTHER WAUGH .

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on the Afrikaner Volksfront's i
map for & white volkstaat, say-|
ing it was â\200\234so transparently ar-!
tificial that it woud be hilaripus!
if it were not so tragicâ\200\235, -

Â» Let culprits go,

says Kobie â\200\224 Page 7

SOA JHMHZNS 280

- THE STAR, WEDNESDAY 1 SEPTEMBER 199:

Ex-activist
pair killed
: in UK crash

Durban â\200\224 Antl-apart- |â\200\231 ;
heid campaigners Dr
Anthony Barker and his
wife Dr Maggie Barker
were Killed when 8 truck {'
hit their tandem bicycle
in & borror crash near
London at the weekend.

The couple. who
worked in remote parts
of KwaZulu for 30 years
and refused to take amy

. pay, were eventusally
forced to leave South
Africa in 1974, and set-
tled in Wimbledon, where
they worked in & govero-
ment hospital.

e â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

SOA FMHHZNS S0:60

R, 70 43s

studying affirmative action

- -t - - .-

E

F POLITICAL STAFF

' - Laying the groundwork for the
reconciliation of all armed for-
mations. a combined SADF-
â\200\230mKhonto we Sizwe study tour
to the United States is under
way with other and more repre-
sentative plâ\200\2300 < alrnines cormm{ in
the months ahead.

: Diplomatic sources have deâ\200\224
scribed the joint visit to the US
now by four MK staff officers
and two brigadiers and two cal-
onels from the SADF as â\200\234excit-
ing" and constructive because
the eight men work with their
American hosts.

. The officers are not undergo-
ing any military training, the
purpose of their visit being to study

â\200\230affirmative action programmes

in the US military. .

- Dr Jakkie Cilliers of the Insti-
tute for Defence Policy, who
played a role in facilitating the
mission going back to February
this year, described it as the
first {five series of confidence-
building.â\200\230 exercises. Â¢

The idea for the trip gelled at
a social occasion in Pretoria re-
cently at which both senior
members of! MK and the SADF
reported they realised that their de-
â\200\230ba.e &bou the future of the

Em

T
â\200\224
(2 Â¢

SADF, MK jo
in US study

THE US armed forces
are the most
integrated institution
in American society,
and we can learn much
from them

armed forces needed experience outside their own immediate frame of reference.

Dr Cilllers said the trip to the US followed on the work done during a visit to South Africa a month ago by two US military experts, Professor Charles Moskos and Major-General Chuck Bussey.

The latter, now retired, was also a black American who, in the course of discussions with MK, SADF and the Transkei Defence Force (TDF), gave a personal account of his experience of affirmative action in the military.

Dr Cilliers said the eight soldiers in the US now would be examining the sociological experience of what he described as the most integrated institution in American society.

They would also be studying

to

the US experience of moving from a conscript to a volunteer defence force.

MK chief of staff Siphile Nyanda confirmed participation of four of his staff officers and said they had gone to see what

. they can learn.

The only shadow over this groundbreaking mission was the last-minute withdrawal of a colonel from the KwaZulu Police who had been invited to accompany the group.

KwaZulu Chief Minister xhlangosuthu Buthelezi was angered that a member of his statutory police force had been placed on 8 par with MK terrorists and ordered the officer to withdraw.

Observers have commented that at this stage in South Africa's transition, there was not the

time to be squeamish about stat--

utory end non-statutory bodies.
It was a non-statutory body at
the World Trade Centre, the
multiparty Negotiation Council,
which was presently drawing up
the shape of the new SA.

It is hoped though that the
next joint study tour abroad by
South Africa's many armed
groups will be fully representa-
tive and will include delegates
from all four TBVC states.

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THE STAR, WEDNESDAY 1 SEPTEMBER 199

EDNESDAY 1 SEPTEMBER 199

They're playing
words to win

Constitutional! lawyers,
when they tire of constitu-
tion-making, sometimes
relax by playing a word game.
The game is to find one word to

capture the value given primacy

by a constitution or its Bill of

Rights.
Some players, for instance,
say that the value primacy in the

American Constitution is liberty, .

in the German dignity, and in
the Canadian multiculturalism.
South Africans now have a docu-
ment with which they, too, can
play.

It is the Chapter on Funda-

mental Rights in the Interim. |

Constitution now being drafted

by a technical committee at the |
World Trade Centre at 224 the Bill |
of Rights which will govern the |

transition, and furnish an in-
fluential model for the final Bill
of Rights. :

On the surface, a most promis-
ing candidate for the vaive com-

manding first place in this Bill is |
"equality. The Bill guarantees not |
just equality before the law, but
equal protection of the law; and |

not just against the State, but,

potentially, against private indi- |
viduals.

» The Bill puts an arguably

looser rein on affirmative action |
programmes than even the .
ANC's draft Bill of Rights. And it !
gives one who complains of un- |
fair discrimination (in certain :
kinds of proceedings) an unusu- !

al advantage by requiring the

party defending the charge to
carry a special burden of proof.

The Bill, moreover, permits
the rights it gives to be limited
by legislation if the limitation is
reasonable, and justifiable in a
free, open and democratic so-
ciety â\200\234based on the principle of
equalityâ\204ç.

It also directs that it is to be
interpreted to promote the
values which underlie a free,
open and democratic society
based, again, â\200\234on the principle of
equalityâ\200\235.

But any democratic society is
â\200\234based on the principle of equal-
ityâ\200\231', in some sense or another of
those capacious words. The use-
ful question is, which particular
sense. The Bill does not try to
8NSWELr.

Merely to invoke the general
idea of equality here adds very
little to the meaning. â\200\230

The content of â\200\234equalityâ\200\235 has
been debated so fully that the
word is used these days to {den-
tify a section of a library, not to
determine specific choices. Its
presence in these clauses is

largely futile and somewhat gra-

tuitous.

This propensity to adorn
clauses with unhelpful invoca-
tions of equality strengthens the
impression that the document is
uncommonly preoccupied with
that value. :

All of which might lead one to
expect that on the great ques-

tions of principle, this Bill would
consistently choose the egalitari-

an path. Curiously, however, on

~ THE draft Bill of
Rights for the
transition appeals to
the idea of equality,
but overlooks the
concept of equal
rights, argues Etienne
Mureinik (right)

two of the oldest questions of |

equal rights & equality of religious freedom and equality of freedom of speech & the Bill

comes down on the side of discrimination.

The religion clause says that religious observances may be conducted at State or State-aided institutions ... provided

that such observances are con-

ducted on an equitable basis, and attendance thereat is free and voluntary&.

It is far from clear what it .

means to conduct a religious observance, but since the most fa-

rious contemporary controver-

sies in this area are about officially organised prayer in government schools, the Bill presumably means to endorse that practice. :

It is not inconceivable that the clause will be taken as authority . also for religious education in

State schools, and for any num-

ber of as yet unenumerable

practices committing the State to |

& particular religious perspec-

" Nor is it clear whether the . clause permits the State to discriminate between religions.

. That depends on the force to be

given to the enigmatic condition & on an equitable basis&. 3

It is plain from the contrast &

. between & equitable& and the

& equality& which punctuates the !
argues that the Bill that something less than equal treatment of the religions is intended. How much less, few can say. i)

But what is clear is that the State may discriminate between the religious and the irreligious; otherwise, the clause would have no point. o ;

The point of the clause is o
permit the State to endorse rel-
gious practices. s
. The effect of that is to signal !
greater State approval of believ-

â\200\234ers than of non-believers; and

the etfect of that is.to empower
believers and weeken non-believ- -
ers.. , & 2

" The classical example is .
school prayer. When the govern-
ment endorses prayer, as it does
when it authorises a State-es-
ployed teacher to lead a service,
it announces its support for the
religlous.

To that it is. no answer to Â°
make participation voluntary, as-
the clause does. For one thing,
State endorsement itsel{ oper-
ates in subtly coercive ways.

For another; State endorse-

" ment of echool prayer divides

the student body into {nsiders â\200\224
those who participate â\200\224 and |
outsiders. those who do not. In -
{mportant. ways, that discrimi-
pates on the ground of religion.
Religious equality requires the :
State to favour nefther Christian :
over Muslim nor devout. over
fnlthless i . g

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THE STAR, WEDNESDAY 1 SEPTEMBER 199:

This clause arguably falls to
r?m-\ 'l the first kind of

vouritism, and it certainly fails
to guard against the second. !

Indeed, going to the other ex- !
treme, {t pre-empts the debates |
in constitutional courts else-
where that have proved so illu-
minating, and extrenches reli-
gious discrimination

By doing that it betrays the
Bill's apparent devotion to equal-

Much the same is true of free- |!
dom of speech. The greatest |
threat to free speech is, and al- |
ways has been, that government
comes to dominate the means of
communication, so that its mes-
sage is heard considerably bet-
ter than those of its rivals.

The most obvious way for gov-
ernment to do that is to censor;
and the free speech clause in the
Bill will guard against censor-
ship (provided that its enforce-
ment is given to trustworthy
judges).

But censorship is not the only
way for government to dominate
the means of communication.
Another is to use its control of
some of the media to favour it-
self. The dismal history of the
SABC makes that obvious.

To meet that danger, it was
suggested to the Technical Com-
mittee that it include in the free
speech clause a provision requir-
ing the State, in the exercise
of any control it may have over
the public media, to ensure di-
versity of expression and opin-
ion.

The object was to protect
against radically unequal access

to the State-controlled media,
and so to protect against what
our history shows to be possibly
the greatest threat to freedom of
speech. To this, the committee
nonchalantly replied that such a
clause would be inappropriate
in a chapter on fundamental
rights.

The nebulous negative â\200\234inappropriateâ\200\235 is, of course, a common refuge for those who cannot articulate a reason.

If the government's voice is heard much louder than everyone elseâ\200\231s, speech is not free, and democracy is an illusion.

Far from being â\200\234inappropriateâ\200\235, this is a matter which lies at the core of the responsibility of those entrusted with constitutional protection of fundamental rights,

Freedom of speech, which they are charged with entrench-

ing, requires some measure of equality in access to the means of communication. Here, too, the Bill has missed a question of equality basic to the protection of fundamental rights.

It must be understood that the Technical Committee drafts under political direction, and that responsibility for the deficiencies of the Bill is unclear.

But whoever is responsible, the document reflects a process which has been so busy decorating the Bill with empty appeals to the idea of equality that it has overlooked concrete questions of equal rights central to true democracy.

It is surely time now for attention to move from ornamental equality to real equality.

W Etienne Mureinik is a professor of law at the University of the Witwatersrand.

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'THE STAR, WEDDAY 1 SEPT 1993 (CITY LATE

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Sisulu
move
stuns
NEC

H BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
PCLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Walter Sisulu stunned delegates at a crucial ANC executive meeting on Sunday by proposing that Professor Kader Asmal replace the late Qtiver Tambo as ANC national chairman

The proposal by Sisulu, ANC deputy president, was defeated as the majority of the national executive com-

. mittee (NEC) rallied around : foreign affairs director Thabo . Mbek, whose elevation to the

national chairmanship was announced on Monday.

[repeccable sources within the ANC's leadership told The Star that Sisulu stunned the NEC at its meeting outside. Kempton Park when he removed that Asmal â\200\224 an NEC, member and University of the Western Cape academic ~â\200\224 should succeed Tambo as national chairman,

According to the sources, Sisulu had apparently been asked by ANC president Nelson Mandela -~ who did not enter the debate himself â\200\224 to broach the subject of Asmal's candidacy.

The sources believe the â\200\234top fiveâ\200\235 at the apex of the organisationâ\200\231s hierarchy â\200\224 Mandela, Sisulu, treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and his deputy Jacob Zuma â\200\224 had discussed the issue in advance and wanted 2 non-Xhosa, and preferably someone other than a black African, for the position.

It was hoped this would counter perceptions that the ANC was a black-dominated, Xhosa-dominated. body, ac-

cording to the sources.)
. Constitutional lawyer Asmal fitted the bill, they be-

lieved, but ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba put paid to the plan.

N v e

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Very badly

. Mokaba's argument in favour of an election instead of a unanimous, unopposed appointment was backed by most NEC members. Mbeki was then elected by an overwhelming majority, defeating Asmal, the only other candidate. Sources said Asmal scored very badly.

A delegate said: have more problem with whites, coloureds and Indians rising to senior positions. But they, like Africans, must also go through the ranks and prove themselves.

The Mbeki-Asma! debate is believed to reflect the serious concern at the very top of the ANC that the leadership should become more racially representative. -

In terms of the ANC's structure, the national chairmanship is the third rung on the ladder, following the presidency and deputy presidency.

Mbeki's promotion means the national chairmanship changes from a purely ceremonial post. Many observers believe it now outranks the deputy presidency in practical

terms, making Mbeki number

two to Mandela. :

There is no certainty as to when Sisulu will retire but it is understood that Rameapho-

sa would make himself avail- |
able for the position.

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e STAR, WED.DAY 1 SEPT 1993 (CITY LATE

P

B BY BRONWYN WILKINSON

,Â» Police shol a man dead and

= wounded three others when
ihey were attacked on a train

__ at Grosvenor Stalion in Jo-
hannesburg {oday.

. On the Â¥ast Rand, the bo-

;Â¥ dies of three men were found

.. in a railway coach travelling

Sy - .Â« e ~ .

between Kwesini and Gerinis-

_pn OTL

I Witwatersrand police

,.: spokesman Colonel Dave

Bruce said commuters report-
ed hearing shots fired in the
carriage near Wadeville Sta-
tion.

In the Grosvener Slation at-
tack, plainclothes policemen
were atincked by a gang of
men. One of the policemen
{ried to fire at one of the at-
lackers, bul his gun jammed
and the attacker grabbed it.

Severa! shots were ex-
changed and the allackers
ran through the (rain.

Three people, including the
man who took the gun, were
arrested.

Star employee lerfaan Li-
vingstone, who lives near {he
station, said he heard 13
shois at about 5.40am. He
saw several people jumping
out of the (rain in panic as it
pulled into the station.

Residenls ol flats across
the road from the station said
they heard the shots bul did
not sec whal happened.

0!

Police sealed off the third and fourth compartments of the train, keeping passengers inside while the train stood at the platform. Police could not allow the passengers to speak to the press.

In the second carriage lay the body of the man shot by police. Police removed the body and put it in a waiting room on the platform, covered with a white sheet.

At the door of the third car-

Four killed in violence on Reef trains

riage, which was sealed off, was a pool of blood, with a trail of blood leading on to the platform.

There was a smaller pool of blood on the floor of the empty fifth compartment.

The train was held at Grosvener Station until 7.15 am, when it left and the witnesses in the two carriages were taken on to Johannesburg Station.

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THE STAR, WED.DAY 1 SEPT 1993 (CITY LATE)

. Kierk and Chief Mangosuihu

De Klerk plans new bid

to bring

B BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Bloemfontein 224 President

! Buthelez will sit down soon for

a day of talks in an eleventh-
hour effort to bridge their nego-
tiations impasse.

De Klerk announced at a pub-
lic meeting last night: 234Chief
Minister Buthelezi and I have
agreed to have extended talks
with each other soon. 235

The president also launched

his most bitter attack yet on

234barbaric 235 right-wing elements
and dismissed the ANC 231s reac-
tion to the Motsuenyane report
as "weak" and 234unconvincing 235.
De Klerk was addressing
about 800 people 224 with a fair-

ly substantial black presence 224

at the opening of the National
Party's OFS congress in the
Bloemfontein City Hall

De Klerk strongly criticised
elements of the right wing, say-

gl
224
'8

P back to talks

_ the four Bills by tonight.

THE TALKS AND YOU AN

At the World Trade Centre BNT

DRAFTIâ\200\231 LEGISLAHON The Negotiating Council
accepted by general consensus two draft bills :
on an independent electoral commission and an :
independent media commission yesterday. Â© â\200\231
: The debate on the IEC took | Jv. more than an -
- hour while the IMC was accepted in less than 50 minutes. The '
" Afrikaner Volksunie reserved its position on the 'Â&C. F '
â\200\234 TODAY: The council is expected to finalise the draft
Transitional Executive Council Bills. it is also scheduled to adopt |

{BAand -

ing he was â\200\234ashamed by what
is done in the name of Afrikaans

by some Afrikanersâ\200\235. He re-
ferred to â\200\234barbarismâ\200\231 in the
AWR-led attack on the World
Trade Centre.

The president poured scorn

ESTHER WAUGH :

â\200\230
. !

,
on the Afrikaner Volksfront's ,
map for 2 white volkstaat, say- 1
ing it was â\200\234so transparently ar- .
tificial that it would be hua.nouq :
if it were not so tragicâ\200\235.

Â» Let culprits go, oo

says Kobie â\200\224 Page 7

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Vital draft Bills approved

Y

S BY ESTHER WAUGH
arid CHRIS WHITFIELD

Scuth Africa moved a
e zloser to the Aprd

2lactions when the Ne-
ting Councu agreed
terday on important
erts of the draft legisla-
n peckage.
A {1er 'nomâ\200\230xs of debate
the â\200\234World Trade Cen-
the councl by gener-

2l consensus acceptec
c;re.:â\200\234.s of legislation for

independent electoral
comm ..s ion and an inde-
pendent media commis-
sion.

Trz draits. o be sub-
10 Parllament,

osist of proposed leg-
islazion to ensure that
ree and fair elections
will age place and that
.L :s::â\200\231.-â\200\231s will have eq-

o} d media.

A: the National Partyâ\200\231s
F:â\200\230ee tate Congress in
Bloemiontown yesterday,

\ THE N Vegotiating

Council is making
progress with
draft legislation
leading up to
elections in 1994

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said legislation making provision for a transitional executive council (TEC) would effectively be the first step towards joint rule could be finalised early next week at the World Trade Centre.

He said it was impossible to judge precisely how far negotiators had to go until completion of the Interim Constitution,

There has been strong resistance to the TEC from the Inkatha Freedom Party and other

throughout
by negotiators

Concerned South Africans Group members. However, if they do approve the Interim Constitution it was likely they would come on board the TEC.

Meyer said the legislation making provision for the TEC and other interim structures being shaped in the Negotiating Council would be put before Parliament as soon as possible during the September 13 sitting,

it would be pointless, he said, to go ahead with the other structures before agreement was reached on the Interim Constitution.

Negotiators at the World Trade Centre were scheduled today to finalise drafts of two other vital pieces of proposed legislation for an independent broadcasting authority and the TEC.

S04 3HNNZNS 00:00:ER

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Union seeks
wage hearings

#BY PAUL BELL

LABOUR CORRESPONDENT -

The SA Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (Saccawu) is seeking conciliation board hearings in its wage disputes with the Metcash and Dion groups, and plans to ballot its members at CNA-Gallo on strike action.

In the CNA-Gallo dispute, now several months old, Saccawu rejected an offer of R165 across the board, or 12 percent, and demanded R230. Its 5000 members will begin a strike ballot next week.

From the Metcash group the union wants R230 across the board, or 20 percent, instead of management's 5 and 11 percent.

The dispute involves about 6 000 workers at 180 outlets, who have already begun industrial action including go-slows and the jamming of tills. A conciliation board

â\200\230hearing is set for September 17.

At Dion, Saccawu's 1000 members want R220 while the company is offering R138.

Meanwhile, Saccawu has welcomed the establishment of a sister union in Bophuthatswana whose members work

mostly for Sun International.

Saccewu initially condemned it as a surrogate of the Bop government. But this was because anti-Cosatu remarks in a Bop government statement were wrongly attributed to a union official

SOA FHHHINS Z0ien

.THE STAR, WED.DAY 1 SEPT 1993 (CITY LATE)

Modise, Zuma were not linked to torture
by arresting him without cause.

High-ranking ANC officials relay Modise. with any form of torture or ill-
Jacob Zuma and Joe Modise To a lesser extent, people still treatment
Zuma, then security and me
Both Zuma and Modise have intelligence chief, was found that
fatally to adequately su

who were listed among serving in the ANC's security
in the ANC-appointed Military and intelligence department remained lig
ht-lipped brought have
sue the Commission into Including ANC president Nelson out his controversy, and at- pcrv
ise "an investigation into the
human rights violations in the Mandela bodyguard Basil Ma- tempts to reach them
yesterday activities of David Mbatia and
organisation's camps in exile were also the focus of fail
led. Zuma was said to be out to assure its prompt resolution
were not personally linked to the shrill calls. of down until today and Modise tion". Mbat
ha was detained for 1.
did not return numerous months in 1988 on suspicion
of being "an enemy agent".

any form of torture or ill-treatment According to the ANC, neither
Zuma nor Modise was implicated - sages left for him. .
Those who still serve in the

ment, says the ANC.

Calls on the ANC leadership led by the Molsuenyane Commis- "The commission found Modise,
concerning the who was then an Umkhonto we ANC's security and intelligence
department despite allegations

to take punitive action against in any way con
people implicated in human gross violations ... nor was Sizwe commander, to have vio-

rights abuses have focused par- (here anything in the report to laied the rights of Dumisan
i against them are Mavuso, Grif-,
ticularly on deputy secretary- indicate in any way that they Oupa Khosa
who was de- fiths Seboni and Golden Rahupe.
general Zuma and defence sec- were linked directly or indirectlyained between 1981 and
1984 Political Correspondent. i

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ANC urged to punish those guilty of abusing detainees

â\200\230Punish camps culpritsâ\200\231 Â\$

B BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POUITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The ANC has come under
beavy fire from various political
aud human righls organisations
for ils decislon not to punish
those In its ranks implicaed in
buman rights abuses.

Although some yesterday wel-
comed the ANCâ\200\231s eall for the
establishment of a national
â\200\234eommission of frulhâ\200\235 to inves-
tigale human rights abuses
across the political specirum,
they have nevertheless ex-
pressed disappointment at the
ANCâ\200\231s failure to punish the â\200\234cul-
pritsâ\200\235.

Demoeratic Partly Hougihon
MP and justice spokesinan Tony
Leon said: "It seems that the
ANC's quest for power and lbe
primacy of the looming eleclion
campaign override any other
consideration of deceney and re-

sponsibility.â\200\235 ;

Problems

National Parly spokesman
Marthinus van Schalkwyk slam-
med the ANC's "incapability or

â\200\234unwillingness to deal with the

Motsuenyane reportâ\200\235.

He said the ANCâ\200\231s proposal
for a "comumission of {ruthâ\200\235 was
an atlemp1 (o avoid dealing with
its Infernal problems before the
election,

In its response to the com-

missionâ\200\231s report, the ANC apo-
logised publicly for human rights
abuses in its camps in exile, but
insisted no immediate action
would be taken against individu-
als implicated in {he documented
abuses.

Instead, the ANC called for
the establishment of a national
â\200\234commission of truthâ\200\235 to con-
duct an across-the-board inves-
tigation into all human rights
violations and make recommen-
dations on compensation and
possible punitive measures.

Van Schalkwyk said the NP
was opposed (o & â\200\234commission
of {ruthâ\200\235 which, despite the
ANCâ\200\231s denials, would amount o
Nuremberg-type trials.

He said enough instruments
â\200\224 such as commissions of in-
quiry, legal inquests and crimi-
nal investigations â\200\224 existed to
deal with alleged malpractices.

Leon said it was now clear
the ANC had no intention of ap-
plying any sanction or expres-
sion of disapproval (o those of
its members whom its own com-
mission had found guilty of alre-
cities.

Like his Jeadar Dr Zach de
Beer, Leon welcomed the call
for the establishment of a "com-
mission of truthâ\200\235, saying it was
a good idea for achieving a full
disclosure on rights abuses by
all sides.

Leon was concerned, however,
that the ANC appeared {o be

Tony Leon ... guest for
power overrides decency.

using the idea "as an escape
hatch from its own responsibility
to discipline its own officials".

Addressing the NP Free State
congress in Bloemfontein yesterday,
Justice and Defence Minister
Kobie Coetsee said the Motsweneng
Commission's findings
showed the ANC needed full
indemnity.

Coetsee said the commission's
report should be sent to the
governments in whose countries
the violations had occurred. If their

~

courts found reason to prosecute,
they would have to apply,
{or extradition. Mas
Considering the recent history,
if I am required to consider
extradition applications, my
attitude is that the time has
come to finally clear the slate
and close the book on the past.
Let us close all the books on
a line of our history that we
must write off, Coetsee said. -
Lawyers for Human Rights.
National director Brian Currin;
said that while it was commendable
that the ANC leadership
had accepted collective responsibility
for the atrocities; the ANC
had to be reminded that it could
not accept collective accountability;
it's too late.
Currin, who also supported
the idea of a commission of
truth, said the individuals who
had carried out the atrocities
had to be acted against. '

L

Farce

The German-based International
Society for Human Rights
(ISHR) said yesterday the ANC's
response to the Motsweneng
Commission rendered the probe
a farce, adding that those
involved in the investigations
had been misused.

The ISHR said it would seek
European Community support
for rehabilitating and
safeguarding abuse victims.

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SAP â\200\230monitored

â\200\230most in world~â\200\224

2 STAFF REPORTER

The SAP, which is subjected
12 2 mass of independent scru-
tiny, is the most wonitored po-

oificer said yesterday.

Brigadjer Steve vau Rooyen,
commender of the SAP's newly
established Biateral and Muiti-
lateral Agreements Urit, told a
Srfefing of editors that there
were more than 20 forms of 00-
servation focused ou the SAP.

The SAP was bound oy the
sarms of the National Peace Ac-
cord znd this implied & certain
Zegree of monitoring to ensure
that SAP members complied
#ith their code of conduct.

Regional and local peace
committees establishecd in
terms of the National Peace Ac-
cord also provided closs woni-
roring at grassroots level.
fniernationalsl mouitors {rom
the United Nations, the Euro-
pean Community and the Or-
ganisation of African Unity

specific goal of providing 2
â\200\234trgmework and basis for put-
tng an end to violence in the
countryâ\200\235 Their tasks jncluded
close scrutiny of the SAP

lice force in the world, & potice-

were in South Africa with the -

Senior policemen [rom other
countrles had alsn been cailed

. in to moritor specific SAP n-

vestigations, Van Rooyen said.

The Interpational Commitiee
of the Red Cross had been

given unlimited access to police stations and police cells..

Internally, the Police Board made recommendations on aspects of policing in order to reconcile the interests of the community and the SAP. This was, in effect, a form of internal monitoring, Van Rooyen said.

Police reporting officers had been appointed to deal specifically with complaints of alleged police misconduct. Complaints could also be reported directly to the SAP Commissioner, General Johan van der Merwe.

Other organisations that kept a close watch on the SAP included the media, attorneys-general, peace committees and local peace monitors.

The SAP is presently the most monitored police force in the international community. Van Rooyen said. Those who made continuous allegations of police involvement in violence should take note of this and lodge their complaints through these channels.

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:Intervention a hope of speedy return to normal

C backs Wits students

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*M BY PHIL MOLEFE
EDUCATION REPORTER

The ANC-led alliance yesterday threw its weight behind students' demands at Wits University and urged the institution's management to agree to the establishment of a credible transformation forum.

ANC PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale, speaking on behalf of a wide range of community and education organisations aligned to the liberation movement, said the alliance had been spurred on in its activity by the desire for a speedy return to a normal situation.

After a late night meeting yesterday, a Wits University spokesman said a response to an ANC request for a meeting could be expected today.

THE ANC has urged the establishment of a transformation forum and wants to meet the university authorities as soon as possible.

The council meanwhile rejected demands for its resignation and reaffirmed its "legitimacy as the highest decision-making body in the university."

The council expressed confidence in all its senior administrators and added that its supported action taken by them.

It urged them to seek ways of setting up a consultative structure to consider concerns of the university community.

The National Education,

Health and Allied Workers Union, which represents the majority of blue-collar workers on campus, resolved yesterday to go on strike in solidarity with the students' demands.

The South African Students Congress is demanding, among other things, the withdrawal of a court interdict prohibiting the organisation from damaging property or interfering with lectures during demonstrations.

Peace monitors helped avert confrontation between students after clashes erupted when white students tried to clear the littered grounds yesterday.

Sexwale said that, while sup-

pording the studentsâ\200\231 demands,
the ANC alliance dissociated il-
sell from all acts of violence,
the destruction of property and
assaults on individuals.

The ANC-led education alli-
ance is to lead a march to Wils
today to highlight the studentsâ\200\231
demands and put pressure on
the administration to reopen ne-
gotiations.

The National Party Youth Ac-
tion yesterday demanded that
the ANC keep out of the Wils
crisis and give students and ad-
ministrators time to resolve their
problems during the week-long
holiday starting on Friday.

Meanwhile, the protests have
been extended. Yesterday, the
Mamelodi campus of Vista Uni-
versity was closed indefinitely
after students broke doors and
windows and littered the adminis-
tration block.

â\200\230The Western Cape region of
Sasol said yesterday that it
would be announcing an pro-
gramme of action soon.

_THE STAR, WEDDAY 1 SEPT 1993 (CITY LATE

Scepticism over !
ANC rebuttal 7Â\$

It is with much scepticism that:

I read of Peter Mokaba's rebut..
> tal by the ANC of a speech he!

had made earlier in Tembisa

(The Star, August 17 and 18).

[have no doubt that what rev-.
olutioparies like Mokaba say-
they ardently believe, and a re-.
buke by the ANC is merely the.
proverbial water off the duck'sâ\200\231
back. It is also ominous that the -
SACP have maintained a sigifi-*
cant silence whenever Mokaba'
sallies forth, for he cleims mem- .
bership of that organistion too. i

John Schaffner -
Pretoria :

SOM FMHHZOS DEER ER, 20 S35

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THE STAR, WEDDAY 1 SEPT 1893 (CITY LATE

DP part of â\200\230demonisationâ\200\231 campaign

The African National Congress Youth League noles the statement by the Democralic Party Youdth about their intentions to stage a â\200\234hit-back campaignâ\200\235 against us,

Their complaints arise from the disruption of {heir meelings in Orange FFarm and at the University of the Western Cape.

The ANC Youlh l.eague and the ANC are on record eondemning the disruption of meetings of any organisation.

The ANC Youth League condemns the conceptl ol no-go areas for ceriain organisations.

it has accepled a request by the leadership of the DP Youlh for a meeling to discuss ihe problems of inolerance in particular areas. As far as we Know, it is the DP Youth that is delaying this meefing by insisting on a neutral chairperson and a neu-

tral venue. We insist that it is paramount that we meel so that a solution lo the problem can be founql.

We, howoever, wish lo Wi the DP Youlh to rvefrain from two things:

8 To initiate campaigns that are designed in such a way that they may resull in violence being used agmainst our straciures and communities. This has mainiy been the provines of the Nation:d Party rvegime and its allies. e DP can only join these forces at ils own peril.

M To base its political and clection campaign on attacking the integrity of the ANC Youth League and the ANC. We wan against this because the DI has been part of the demonisation campalgn of ANC leaders, some of whom huve been assassinated or missed death by a few inches.

Pemonised, then assassinated .. : ,
was referred to as the â\200\234Saddam Hussein of South Afrn- :

A remarkable example is the late general secretary of the SACP, Coemrade Chris Hani, whom some DP leaders referred to as the Saddam llussein of South Africa.

We reiterate our willingness to meet with the DP Youih at the earliest opportunity.

Yes we chased the DI out of j SBYA0s openly claiming {o sup-
Orange Farm. We make no apo-1{ll Port the ANC and PAC.
logies. We warned them before | We should perhaps thank
The DP mus{ understand ihat Â\$} these young savages hecause
there is no place in the {own- I} many decent folk out there are
ships for Their policies. asking: Do we wunt o be asso-
We have not stiuggled for cigled with such barbarism?
years againsi the regime fo The same decent folk are
allow them to implement racial- steadilyswelling the ranks of the
capitalist policies. We wamd a so- | p because {hey have come to
cialist {ransformation. We want realise that here we have a polit-
the complete transfer of wealih ical set-up that is, has and al-
from whites o the oppressed. | \ays wil practise democracy in
We want to follow the shining ts truest sense and nol just pay
path to freedom. lip service to the concept. s
Justice Sithole
Joubert! Park, gerly egged on by Peter Mokaba
Johannesburg and the like are doing a great
OO OO oO job.
Auotlher Democralic Party
meefing broken up and DP sup-

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.THE STAR, WED.DAY 1 SEPT 1993 (CITY LATE)

worked out: hammer the ANC repea-

tedly on its policies and lack thereof
and convince the electorate that only a NP
government can guarantee economic growth
and win acceptance in many western capi-
tals.

This is a message South Africa will hear
over and over again in the run-up to the elec-
tion, and [Foreign Affairs Minister and Trans-
vaal NP leader Pik Botha has made no secret
of that.

The NP's election machine is well oiled
and ready to switch to a higher gear, and the
party is in a combative mood. As President
de Klerk said in his capacity as NP leader in
Durban recently, for the NP the ANC is the
primary opponent in the April 27 general election of
all elections.

And all indications are that things are
going to be ugly, and accusations and count-
er-accusations will fly. Despite massive in-
imidation in the townships, the NP will go all
out to woo black voters, and Botha will play
no small part in this.

Now the longest serving Foreign Affairs
Minister in the world, and De Klerk's most
senior Cabinet colleague, Botha has as his
advantage the fact that he has always been
known to be one of the wiser Ministers
who have at times spoken out against the
policy of apartheid.

The National Party has got its strategy
for next year's general election

Probably South Africa's most adept politi-
cian when it comes to dealing with the
media, Botha, who as Foreign Minister had
to parry questions from a hostile foreign
press in the heydays of apartheid, has now
appropriated some African idioms and the
vocabulary of anti-apartheid activists.

He describes apartheid as the biggest
mistake the Nats have made since coming
to power in 1948; and apologises unreserved-
ly for it :

He calls De Klerk "a strong chieftain who will
pull up a brave fight for traditional leaders' rights, and he calls the governments of
Kagame and Mbeki, which have close
ties with the ANC and have been critical of
Pretoria, nothing but puppets which were
creatures of apartheid.

He does not spare the ANC, either. He ac-
cuses it of a lack of vision and policies, and
says it has lived off apartheid. i

Botha says that while the NP has turned
its back on apartheid, the ANC remains in an

alliance with the South African Communist Party which still adheres to the failed economic policies.

And he puts his experience as Foreign Minister to good use, warning that representatives of many industrialised nations he has spoken to want the NP to be part of a new government.

The ANC cannot supply this country with a policy, because it never had one as it

lived on apartheid. The animal apartheid was shot, and now the licks are leaving, Botha said recently.

The ANC, of course, will hit back and point at the levels of corruption which have been uncovered in the public service. It will remind blacks of the suffering and humiliation visited upon them by apartheid over the years, to which the NP will say it is now a new party.

Unveiling his party's strategy for the election in the Transvaal, Botha said there would be national policy statements enunciated by De Klerk and various members of his Cabinet, and then the regions would diversify their campaigns to suit local conditions.

Significantly, heading these campaigns will be local people, such as David Chuneane in Soweto.

And here lies the problem. With NP and Democratic Party leaders declared persona non grata in the townships, recruiting in these areas will be a major headache for the two parties. But the NP knows that if it is to have a respectable showing in the election, it will have to make major inroads into the black constituency.

That is why the Natal NP congress in Durban and Botha in Johannesburg a few days later said the question of intimidation will have to be taken up at the multiparty negotiations at the World Trade Centre.

Again, the blame for the widescale intimidation is laid at the ANC's door.

The DP, whose meetings have been disrupted by people claiming to be members of the liberation movements, has called on

the ANC to guarantee that its members will not be intimidated.

But the southern Transvaal region of the South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), which want the townships to be NP- and DP-free, have made it plain they have no such intentions.

Sanco southern Transvaal president Kga-bisi Mosunkutu has stoutly defended the recent disruption of a DP meeting at Orange Farm, south of Johannesburg, saying the party was repeatedly warned "to stay out of the townships" as its interference will be regarded as an invasion.

And so the road ahead for the NP is strewn with all kinds of thorns, but the NP and Botha in particular is not about to let it curdle up and die.

With some of its traditional supporters leaving it in droves for the Right, the NP is aware its salvation might lie with yesterday's political lepers: blacks.

And that explains why Botha in particular happily welcomes the greying of the NP.

He told about 700 youths attending a NP Transvaal youth congress at Naboomspruit on the weekend that the day the majority of NP members were black would be "my day of greatest joy".

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NE multiparty negotiations

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ceed than Codesa. Are yow

=Â¥ gopeful that lhis process

will reach a conclusion without
another breakdow

The parties have Â¢osne Ihzengh an
impos tand Jeanning process. There is
a preater degeee of reahism and tess
posturing Ml the most impoziant
development 3Â\$ the ANCS slaf{ on a
government ol nalional wnity. That
londamenlally alfectcd the style of
nepotialions, opening the way (o
wards cleating ot cerlain priorilies.

One of them js the coisis 2l Lransi-
tional stability. | cannot see how Lhe
ANC and goveramtenl can begotiate
consbulional rules of Irarsilisin i
they haven't clatified their commun
posilion on violence snd the insliu-
ments of violence,

Ve sil) have a farge number of
delence Jozces, |m|mâ\200\230 lotees and pai-
vate imlitia with diilerent chans of
command, who Bebeve ey are go-
ing lesolve the prublem ol {ransilion
on behalf o their conslituents. This
is an unlenadle sitiation,

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s ihar ahe major obstarle fo an
agreement - lthe externa) question
ol stabiley?

Therve are vthers, sich as regiona)
rovernement. The Inkalha Freedom
Party and ANC dilfer fundamentally
cn tlus isswe The IFP wants a dol-
term-np solution tel regions decide
which posers they want lo hold, and
{Len pave the sest to cenleal govern
nienl Jlmiskes cense in the case ol
ialal, bul it is volerable) Lhe rest
of the coinlry, hecause it begs the
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are. Youcan'l give the sameregional
stalus to Qwaqwa or Bophutha-
Iswana lhat yor can give io Nalal

But the obstacles hie lo a large
extent oa lthe level of violence. Vio
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wntecoleal issues For cxziple, vio
Jence eannol be divorced (zom the
stale of e reonmy, lom the
baltle for political toe! â\200\230The agrer-
menl between the parties on how lo
deal with violence on a farmal basis
is lthe beginng of the piocess of
gettiing ol of practival ebhstacles all
along lthe way. | iwvonld say wwlnce
is (the inapor ebzlacie o negotialioins,
You seem lo he talking adowl o re-
utdering of the negotiating process,

Our dilenmna is lhat we have lo

A united stand on
achieving stability
must come first

Van Zyl Siabbert arguos ihat SAâ\200\231s transition to demecracy will probably
not succoed unloss the issuos of violonce and stobility are placod at the
lop of the negotiating agonda. RIAAN DE VILLIERS spoko to him.

aral concurrently with four wrob
Je:ns ol lransition which are all enh-
cal lo als sereesss lthe problems of
stability, legitimacy, growth and re-
istuibution. Yo will uel be allow st
the fuxury of ignonng any of them,
wr focusing exclusively on one,

We have tieated an endnring cri-

sis of legitimacy, and pard and parce)
and it is the problem of stability That
is why we cannot develop; because
development is still linked to Follis-
cal modilisation,
When President 1st W de Klerk an-
nounced intensified security mea-
sures, he said he had consulted other
parties. Is that adequate?

This is an issue that both the ANC
and government have ignored (from
the outset: to find consensus on the
role of the security forces in transi-
tion, is a priority in negotiation You
CANNOT lose a constitutional
space where the issue of security is
-1.\'mild because then you will e
1\200\230nl space apart

Three of the four problems I have
mentioned -- security, growth and
redistribution -- were ignored right
up to Codesa II. The national peace
Agreement was instituted, but the politi-
cians never look at seriously. In fact,
the whole issue of violence became
the subject of political posturing.
The longer Codesa sat, the more the
violence escalated. In that sense it

was a good thing that Codesa II
erupted, because it put all the nego-
tiating issues into one basket,

The debate also focused almost
exclusively on the constitutional cry-
sis. Since the break-up of Codesa I a
National Economic Forum and
National Housing Forum have been
established, other forums are emerg-
ing. In other words, there has been a
proliferation of sites of bargaining
and negotiation, pulling in a much
wider range of expertise, to discuss
political issues. But there still is no
forum to negotiate stability.

You're going to have fringe par-
ties, you're going to have militiaman
fringes. But if you have a coalles-
cing coalition that will agree on securi-
ty, and how to deal with fringe radi-
cals? That is the critical question.

1\200\230!Am the multiparty talks be-
the context of the for negotiating this
kind of consensus?

The multiparty forum will talk
about security; it all depends on who
they pull into these discussions. The
fact is not consist only of politi-
cians. You must have the high com-
mand of the APLA, MK, even the ANC. And

yon kst have the perctals Yon also
have o clear vp the slalus of the

2rmics ard poher Jorces of Lhe
hemelands and TBVC 4

Yoew may apree onall the |lu' rules
clthe pame Sul o vou donâ\200\231t iman
L stabelity, if vou don't have some:
Iotce to teinforee whal youve
apreed, then forgel i,
You seem to hold out very little hope
for the lransitiona) provess aa it bas
becn sketched ont natit now,

Every time I look at the agenda, I
stard asking, is thotl thne frame rea)-
iste i lermos of what is happemng at
the moment? What would have to
kagpen outside of thal agenda lo
make il feasible? Eleclions sre being
pianned Int Aptid. P nol zaging it's
smpossible - - 'm just saying, il il has
lo becose possible, ur probable, nth-
â\202~1 things have o happen,
And (he major one is scitling the
sne of stabiliy

Nes. You van distisguish analyti-
cally he n e areas | have men-
Loned â\200\224 stadibly, lepiimacy,
pzowth, redistvibution, Dut you can-
nol redrstribule i Dier e is o growth;
you caniol have growth il there is no
legilimacy, you cannol bave Jegili-
macy il theie 35 00 stabidity
\\'lm da you believe shoold be done

vhng siability?

u\"bo lj Mandela, (Mangosulhv)

thelez, Dy Kivtk and whoeyer
else)z p-)llu(â\200\230nllly relevanl <honkd
Jock Iherselyes wp i 3 bosberaad

with the generals of all the nubiiia
Those who exclude themselves musi
face (e consequences of whalevers
consensns, is reached

The army and the pelice have lo be
ownrd by all the major political
players, they cannct be owned by vne
becavse then stability beromes 3 po-
litically partisan issue.
Jiow could une chaoge he orlenta.
tivo ol the SADF "Tor example?

3y saying o em, what's past is
past. You can beceme e greairst
peacekreping foree in Africa, But
you have Lo tell Them that they have
a rale. PV Botha made il so thad-
ingly clear (o thean thal They bad an
absolutely critical role - the lota)
sttategy Now, the pnliticians are ne-
gotiating with the very people who
were responsible [or the â\200\234lotal on-

slaughtâ\200\235. I mean, it's the greatest
form of goal displacement you can
think of. One moment, they were go-
ing to get promoted by shooting Altâ\200\235
members on sight; now, they've got
to protect them when they march to
the Union Buildings. They have no
clear picture of their role.

in this kind of approach seems to

depart from the Westphalian-type
model where the military and police
are part of civil service and there-
fore supposedly impartially neutral,
No; in fact, you're re-establishing
that role. You canâ\200\231 simply say the
defence force must remain loyal to
the regime of the day, because the
task of the day is not a process of
transformation. The ANC is correct
-- you have to negotiate civilian con-
trol over the security forces, so the
Juvics can say: that multilaterally
means, that's what I now give my
allegiance to, because it's in the pro-
cess of transition (something like
This is where the concept of â\200\234suffi-
cient consensusâ\200\235 is going to be honed.,
Decide, letâ\200\231 say the government,
ANC and Inkatha agree to rational-
ize and the seemingly foreign and all
practices related to the SADF, and to
â\200\231 jump down on all the other private
militias that do not want to be re-
named in the name of what do you
do this? I must say in the name of the
transitional Jepititnacy that you
have created through bargaining
The Thin is an added extinct of an
article in the latest edition of the
Institute for Multi-Party Democra-
cyâ\200\231s Journal Towards Democracy.

THE STAR, WED.DAY 1 SEPT 1893 (CITY LATE

's April 27 election. political partiesâ\200\231 election
ondent Kaizer Nyatsumba looks at

Szâ\200\231ncez the announcement of next year
machines have swung into action. Political Corresp
the NPâ\200\231s strategy

The chiefs,
puppets and the

black vote

;P.tk' Botha ... acquired African David Chuenyane . . . will head NP
Â» idioms to woo blacks to the NP. campalgn in Soweto.

S0 JNNEZINS r5iE0

BEUSINESS DAY, WEDDAY 1 SEPTEMBER 1993

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JANC takes tlak for
inaction on abuse)

WASHINGTON â\200\224 The US attorney
who served on the Motsuenyane com-
mission vesterday criticised the
ANC's handling of the comumissionâ\200\231s
findirigs â\200\224 as did SA human rights
groups.

And Sapa reports President FW de
Klerk calied the ANC's reacticn weak acd
inccavineing

Atorney Margaret Burnham said she
was disapeointed by the ANC's response to
the recommendation that disciplinary ac-
ticn be taken against human rights viola-
ters ramed i the report, which found that
murder and torture had been perpetrated
in the organisa:ionâ\200\231s camps.

Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) and
the Human Rigats Commission {HRC} both
criticised the ANC's call for a truth com-
mission i place of disciplinary aciion. The
HRC said the ANC â\200\234appears to be exoner-

ting iwself tarcugh a comparison with the
appalling human rights record of the pre-
sent SA governmentâ\200\235.

Although Burnham stopped short of eri-
ticising the ANC, she said the ANC's re-
sponse â\200\234was not how we felt the thing
should be resolvedâ\200\235.

Ske said she Â¿ould understand the ANC's
call for a truth commission.

â\200\234The matter has to be contextualised ...
ali have 1o feel that their grievances are
being attended to0.â\200\235

Eowawvar, sh2 hoped there would not be
too leng @ delay ia granting redress to
those who had suifered in the Â¿camps. and
tha: if the ANC could not afford financial
compeacsaticn. other means be found.

These mizht inciude providing â\200\234educa-
tiona: opporiunitiesâ\200\235 for victims aod
Yopening arms to those who s:il want to
belong 10 the orgazisatior but who have
beec labeled enemies.

â\200\234a lot Â¿f the people who came defore us
wers icrarested in bhaving their names
cleared.â\200\235

As for what penalties might be assessed
against those identified as baving commit-
ted abuses. that had been beyond the Â¿om-

missionâ\200\231s briel.

SIMON BARBER and
PATRICK BULGER

Nonetheless, she and her fellow commis-
sioners felt that while there was a need for
the ANC to take â\200\234collective responsibilityâ\200\235
for the abuses, â\200\234if human rights are to be
rigorously enforced, individual responsi-
bility is also requiredâ\200\235.

De Klerk told the NP Free State con-
gress the ANC was always quick to accuse
the NP and government. but there was ro
doubt that it knew about the atrocities
committed at its camps, and yet it tried to
say it did not know.

When the NP became aware of incidents
that had to be investigated, it took steps
against each and every individual against
whom such evidence came to the fore, said
De Klerk.

NP spokesman Marthinus van Schalk-
wyk said the NP derived no pleasure from
the ANC's inability or unwillingness to
deal with the Motsuenyane report. He said
the ANC was engaged in an exercise to
avoid its responsibilities.

DP Justice spokesman Tony Leon said
the ANC â\200\230as using the idea of a truth
commission as an escape hatch.

â\200\234Its substitution of pious words for deci-
sive action is cynical in the extreme,â\200\235 he
said

Lawyers for Human Rights national di-
rector Brian Cursin said yesterday: â\200\234The
LER believes the ANC is shirking its re-
sponsibility and calls upon the organisa-
tion to take action against those members
found to have been responsible for human
rights abuses and provide assurance that
these individuals will not be considered
eligible for party or public office in the
future.â\200\235

Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Ed
Tiitlert said the ANC decision was â\200\234a
breath-taking slap in the face for the nu-
merous victims who suffered cruel treat-
ment and often death at the hands of their
ANC captorsâ\204.

The German-based International
Society for Human Rights said the decision
not to act on the report rendered the probe

a farce.

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BLOEMFONTEIN â\200\224 President F W de Klerk announced yesterday that he and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosutho Buthelezi would meet for extended discussions soon in a last-ditch effort to patch up their differences.

De Klerk told about 800 NP supporters he Xnew there was coccern atour the relationship between the NP ard Inkatha, saying the NP would continue to adopt a corstructive ap-sroach. â\200\234We would like to co-operate on matters on which we agree and wish to continue talking about those on which we differ. The NP recognises Inkatha as an important roie player that has to be party to agree-meats,â\200\235 he said. -

He axd Buthelezi had agreed both sices would be assisted by teams of senior advizers and negotiators.

The date of the meeting was still to be determined.

Part of De Klerk's speech was transiated into Setswana, including 2 passage ia which he said the NP had â\200\234elearnsad itself from within of that which was morally indefensibleâ\200\235.

De Klerk said the NP was the only narty able to â\200\234counter the reality of the ANC efiectivelyâ\200\235. He repeated previous statements taat the ANC was â\200\234dangerous and unrehableâ\200\235.

Thare was an enormous gulf be-

â\200\230soonâ\200\231 bj'

[TIM COHEN

tween the sometimes {ine utieraaces of ANC ieaders and the actions of its members Âçn the groucd.

â\200\234Talk of peace and justice covers up acts of violence 2nd iatimidation.â\200\235

Ke also took swipee at the CP, which he said was â\200\234â\200\230totteringâ\200\235. The partyâ\200\231s leader, Ferd: Eartzenbers, did rot â\200\234inspire cornfiderceâ\200\235 and was

fast losing support within the CP. The
Afrikaner Volksfront map was so
transparently artificial that it would
be hilarious if it were not so tragic.

He lauded his own party, saying
there were grounds for praising the
NP's eccentric management under
difficult circumstances.

Inflation had declined from 16% to
10%, tax rates had been reduced. Interest
rates had declined from
more than 20% to 16%, import sur-
charges had been lowered, JSE share
indices had risen by one third and
foreign debt had declined from \$20bn
to \$15bn.

There had been considerable pro-
gress in the promotion of small and
informal business and the deregula-
tion of the financial sector.

Government had commercialised
most of its business enterprises in a
step towards privatisation and re-
duced consumption spending, he said.

St John's

BUSINESS DAY, WEDNESDAY 1 SEPTEMBER 1993

43%

BEUSINESS DAY, WEDDAY 1 SEPTEMBER 1893

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Homeland bid to recover cash

WASEINGTON â\200\224 Senior members of the
Seroutratstana cadiner are on the board
ol a clesaly told US company set up to
ratrieve milisns of dollars the homelan
wms =ere Iraudulently misaporopriated
singten o bâ\200\231*vzs~ and a law {irm.
. Achievers [nvestments,
aiter the State Depart-
â\200\230niswanacould netfile a
e 5ificlal US view, it dves

perior Court Judge Eve-
since Bophutha-
swara l.d .s:.s..ed all rights and title 0
"{c tze zew firm, it could sve in

iu, the company stayds to re-
ve mcre thaz Â\$6m conye-xsa ion.
T..-.- is oo guarantee the mocey will
Tever lo the Ssphullalswara treasury or
wnve"-- austenty assumes its piace ue-
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comic Affalss Mizister Ephraim Koike-
jame, actizg s thelr prlvate capacities
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Edward r.ebe-::e.d whos2 law firm
Werceniaid as Â»S Roorey is ren:ese':::â\200\230.:g the
dazlzed to identify its share

AAmamae..
Jemlaly.

i SIMON BARSER a
holders But said they would be meeting
S00 L

t 10 elect a new board.
Â¢ acknowledged there could be ques-
ticns adout who wcuid receive the pre-
ceeds; of a judgment, ..'.1' "o'n.sed t would
Â¢ the homeland ,;ecp e, :
princizal defeadants in the case,
ing:on lawyers Sieven Karelekas ard

McCahill. intend to appeal against
tioraey Robert Hes.

selbacher said.

The suit alleges lobbyist James Denson.

and the a::a..Aexs advised the homeland to

purchase an â\200\234embassyâ\200\235 in \'wasbngton'

Since the State Department: would not al-
low Bophuthatswana to own property, they
suggested forming an â\200\234educationalâ\200\235 trust.
In 1989, Bophuthatswana sent the trust
\$625 000 to purchase a house and \$2m for
improvements.

Since Bophuthatswana could never take
title to the land: it â\200\230ad unwittingly
1.....the gift of the property to the trust, as

.

â\200\231

it discovered when it was to clarify
own the land.

and accordingly to the suit, the trust must:-
pay the balance... while at the same time

leasing it to James Denson, who had the
\$6 00 monthly rent to Mmatatho.

Srin IERIREL S

Agreed legislation could be delayed

LOEMFONTEIN â\200\224 Cocstitutional
Development Minister Reeif Meyer
said yesterday: 'sy cerwaiz leg.slat'on
agreed at the World Trade Centre
would not necessarily come into ef-
fect until agreement was reached on
the transitional constitution.

Meyer, addressing the congress,

adopted a more guarded stance than
in the past on the planned legislation
on the xnde;â\200\224and:.. electoral and me-
dia commissions, which was agreed
at Kempteca Park yesterday.

Agreement could be reached on the

[' TIM COHEN

interim broadcasting authority tã\200\230\'s
week, and it was possible legislation
could also be presented on the pro-
posed transitional executive commit-
tee (TEC) during the short session of
Parliament this month.

Meyer said implementation of the
proposed legislation could be post-
poned until agreement was reached
on the constitution.

He told about 200 NP delegates
government would not leave the

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Meyer

â\200\230i-\201 world Trade Centre negotiating
council until agreement was reached
on the new constitution, and it would
not make sense for the proposed leg-
islation to come into effect â\200\230until the
constitution was agreed.

Afterwards Meyer clarified his
statement by saying the uâ\200\230t.mate de-
cision on when the legislation would
come into effect would be taken by
the negotiating council, although gov-
ernment would be arguing that im-
plementation of some of the legisla-
tion should not be immediate.

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BUSINESS DAY, WEDDAY 1 SEPTEMBER 1993

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Changes to
the Police
Act likely

STEPHANE BOTHMA

THE Police Act was likely
to be amended during the
September parliamentary
session to allow policemen
to become members of
trade unions, Police Commissioner Gen Johar van
der Merwe said yesterday.

However, while consideration would be given to the
principle of free association, union membership
would be properly regulated, Van der Merwe said.

He warned that policemen who were guilty of
misconduct in the past during union marches and
demonstrations would still
face the consequences

Those guilty of misconduct must not entertain the
hope that political influences will prevent us from
acting against them in accordance with the law, he
said.

It was accepted that
members of a police service could not be dealt with
in the same manner as,
members of other organisations and that the right to
strike was excluded.

Referring to recent protest action by policemen
participating in a Police and Prison Civil Rights
Union (Peperu) march, Van der Merwe said the SAP
had been investigating steps to improve the position
of police assistants.

Most policemen who held
membership of Popcru were police assistants, he
added

A process was in operation whereby assistants
who were suitable for service as fully fledged
members were selected with a view to retraining and per-

maneat employment, Van
der Merwe said.

Investigations, into in-
sticces where policemen
had already takem part in
marches and demonstra-
tions bad almost reached fi-
nality and departmental
trials and inquiries would
follow soon.

Van der Merwe sald the
law would take jt3 course in
cases where members were
found to have contravered
departmental policy.

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BUSINESS DAY, WEDDAY 1 SEPTEMBER 1993

e -
ANC plays big role
in foreign affairs
in foreign affairs

PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC was deeply involved in SA's:
foreign affairs on both a political and economic level. ANC national chairman
Thabo Mbeki said yesterday. -

Speaking at an African-American Institute breakfast in Johannesburg 2. Mbeki said
He was not sure how successful:
had been in informing South Africa's
efforts in the foreign affairs field,
The ANC's initiatives include:

One attempt to negotiate an end to the
Angolan and Mozambican conflicts;

Continuing negotiations with banks in Switzerland
about the handling of SA's foreign debt:
Discussions with the Russian government
about SA's and that country's near-
monopoly of precious raw materials:

Continuing discussions with the major
economic powers such as the US, Germany
and Japan about SA's role in the world
economy; and

Strengthening ties with countries and
movements traditionally hostile to SA.
such as the Palestinian Liberation Organi-
sation, Libya and Cuba.

Mbeki said about 3% of his foreign
negotiations concerned economics. with
only 40% being about politics. It was im-
portant that South Africa took advantage of
the place it had come to
in the minds of international political
leaders.

"We are trying to define SA's
world. We don't want a situation:
where we lose that special place in people's
minds." he said.

Cussing with the ANC his attempts to re-
negotiate SA's foreign debt and had headed
over 20 the ANC documentation relating
these negotiations.

To Page 2

I\â\200\231IbEki) Frorln F'ag>o 1

xing lo Swiss bankers about this would need to maks a more sutstan_tial
25 they ask me: 'On whose Bekalf â\200\230 copiridution td peacekeeping in Africa.

reply: â\200\230On bedalf of thelli However, it could et retain its present

A goverament arnd the ANC',â\200\235 Mbeki said.i military capacizy as tais would push otbe
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The ANC Âçould make a much greater! southern African countries {nto retaining
impact on US iavestars than SAâ\200\231s foreiga â\200\230|| military forces bevond their m
eans.

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ve dzplomatiq tiese with t.â\200\230;e

tâ\200\234:: ?cb?';';â\200\231el;'ic' â\200\231:;â\200\230:insm:f".af ex:î¬\201g: China an
d lower-level ties with Taiwan, in

ive ccuncil with its for fairs B ik tarAbnant ice. Mbeki

councili would accelerate i:e process of ke%pxng with interrational practice, Mbeki

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iavolving the ANC ln foreign aâ\200\230fairs,

The ANC expected (2at SA's government Â® Pleturs: Page 3

SO B IMZRS

DUSINESS DAY, WEDDAY { SEPTEMBER 1993

â\200\230Unanimous; -
agreement on
draft- Bills 5

BILLY PADTCCX

BN THE - Gigt tanstla

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iracicity Ippioved 53 31 1 amies & Draft Bills D Frem Page 1
3ÂçersIocd t8at k2 ia transitional bodies, will be determined fi- The commissich will moniz
or all broad.
Ty gave : i rally by the eommission. casting services and enforce compliance
* & o8 ent iss with the Bill in tdrms of party troadecasts
and advertising,
No party broadeast will be permitzed
curing the last 43 hours before tha election.
bedy, â\200\234whe. The commissica can force broadcasters
enting th to give all partigs equal opporiunity to
terasts of any syo? { Bill reads, respend o political advertisements, ag
On the TEC's advice, rte President will | weil as opponerntsâ\200\231 Âçlaims. ;
Up an intersationa; i â\200\231 All pubications will have lo give the |
advise the commission [commission copies within 43 hours of |
2rding the perfrm i ; printing, and ro advertisemen: cr â\200\234other
Ris commities will determine Âç maserial which is intended or caleuiated to L
rocedures it will follow ta assist the support or advance the interests of apy &
ussion in ensuring tha: o i political partyâ\200\235 wall be allowed.
are internatisnally ted. Ceniravention of.the Act, or won-cempli-
: 2nce with 2 commission order, can be pun-

ished with 3 fine of up to R100 009,
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Car suspend a breddcaster's licence,

DP broadeasting; negotiator Peter Soal
d it was a â\200\234mest significant Bill as the
tlation can now fee] assured that states
olied media would be moaitored an
ked carefully to eliminate al] bizs".

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BUSINESS DAY, WEDDAY 1 SEPTEMBER 1993

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Time ripe for military ggvt

2A The time was ripe for an

Ltavy government to take
it SA to restore law and crder,

231 Agricultural Union president
ruwer said last night.

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"I am asking, do we not have to stop
interfering in ethnic clashes?"

Bruwer said the defence forces were
divided and all kinds of plans were being
made to restore law and order,

However SA was caught up in a revolu-
tionary war and, in certain townships, full-
scale ethnic war was being waged.

The SA scene was dominated by a power
struggle which had an adverse effect on
the country's well-being,

In future the struggle would centre
around the possession of land. Guarantees
about property rights from the current
government would mean nothing under a

lot and it was senseless for
to continue fooling themselves.

E. - DIRK VAN EEDEN !

J

I want to warn that a bloody struggle
could be started in the Transvaal, and SA,
if the land issue is not handled with the
utmost care.

Wars had been fought over such issues in
the past, he said. .

Bruwer said agriculture was bleeding to
death, but economic recovery was not pos-
sible with the current level of violence.

On labour legislation, he said the con-
stitution would have to come to a firm

decision.

â\200\234 Evarything is being deregulated. but
labour is regulated.â\200\235

He repeated his eariier Â¢all for labour
camps where vagrants could de senmt to
learn skills. Labour camzs should also be
established ior volunteers in a bid to stem
the current rate of uremployrment,

This was one of the requirements for
halting the violeace t:at thrsatened
farmers,

SN JHNHITS

'BUSINESS DAY, WEDDAY 1 SEPTEMBER 1993

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Ggozo won't resign
BRIG Oupa Gzoze would not
consider resigning as Ciskei's
leader following an inquest
finding that he and his security
staff were responsible for the
death of the Mandela

.";G.x
e
former military chief,
Cape

Maj-Gen Charles Sete.

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BUSINESS DAY, WED.DAY 1 SEPTEMBER 19

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rating financial

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ol by about R722m, ke said.
:gation info fizancial irregu.
d also be launched olâ\200\230ow.ng
at graft and sslf- -enrickment
veached â\200\234alarm ...x...g progor-
ce that o{fâ\200\230c ials had been
pos.sa autgorising sala'
had been co'z.â\200\230u'u*ed
al's office, Fourie sa'd
gislative Assernblyâ\200\231s fail.
Â¢9 0/94 budget withia the
ave SA Lâ\200\234e stalutory
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ltories Act of 1971,
Tequest fcr R360m
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b.e t0 cash cheques, as all Lebowa gov-
ernmazit expenditure would be tnauthor-
ise:â\200\234. {zom today.

The SA goverzment, which would draw
east frem Letowaâ\200\231's expe"cht.u- aceount

Â¢ meet t e terTitory's immediate odliga.

tics, undertock 13 make all legitimate
Payments as socz as possible, Fourie said.
ppealed o Ladowan officials, in-

hatitazis, political groupings a=d coa-
cernec parties to remain calm: 2gd co-
operas < in seltizg up a sourd fina=cial
F*Lr â\200\230Â said Lebowan government repre-
sentatives had expressed sur rprise yester-
day 'â\200\224c''z. '5 Whes warned of SA's u:â\200\230er-
v . K2 had icÃ@crmed 2 delagal

glugs rg Chjef '' ster Nelson Ramo-
d.xe \$hat ghe move was not vindictive, but
Was taken â\200\234in the imrerssis of the tax-
payers of SA",

PATRICK BULGER reperis Ramodike
daseribed Fourie's allegatioss as â\200\234a dia-
bolical ileâ\204ç He 2ac been under the Lnpras-
sicz Tourie had wanted 1o disÂçuss the
homelindâ\200\231s budget ang was surprised tha
a decisicn bad been taxeg 3 already.

Rarzedixe said secopced SA fizanes offi-
cials were â\200\234incompe He was being

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Talter oyt ofaIâ\200\230 proportion.
g t0 bideâ\200\235 he said,

Ports that President F &

:e \P Free State Congress

< From Page 1

that the SA takeover should zct be regard-â\200\231
ed 3s 2 izdicatien thar goveromes! intend-
ed to dismantle the homejand govern.
ments. Existing | instituiicns would remain
until FEW Siructires were establishad in

negotiations.

DP laad affairs Spokesman Peter Soal
said the LeSowa goveroment had been ir.
respoesible and iscomperest ig allowmg
f.rancAal chaos to develop. But the crisis
Was a direa: coasequence of NP poch and
it was government's duty to intervene.

SOA JHIMHEITE

. THE CITIZEN, WEDNESDAY 1 SEPTEMBER 19

waZulu Police killed
suspects: Evidence

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ANC deputy
Chatrman Reggis

were ignored.

XZP lcgai represcnic-
tive Mr Louis Visser, SC.
yesterday p'omnc, 9
furnish the authcrities
with information on the
G-3 rifles belonging o
Inkatha leaders Mr Du-
misani Khuzwayo, Mr
Nkhosi Mkhize and Kwa-
Zulu Agricultucs Minister
Prince Diamini

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Information about G-3 i

rifles belonging to Mr
Mkhize's son. Eric. and
his bodyguards, Mr B
Mabaso, and Mr Â\$ Miul,
was also requested by the
SAP.

M: Hadebe was sht
with 2 .303 rifle while re.
turning from 2 peacs
mesting imolving Inka-
tha. the ANC. and SAT
n Ixopon O\tO\"C- 1642

Spent G-3 nifle
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. THE CITIZEN, WEDNESDAY 1 SEPTEMBER 19Â¢

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and Sapa

smuggling of il-
firzarms, mainly
asszuelte rifles,
ecome big busie
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Kilemetres of . uncon-
trolled border lines.
Â© The most promi::n:
routes used were the Lo
ders with Swuziland an d
Mozambique.

The following routss
for smuggling are know=n:

Â® Zimbabwe via Beit
Bridge to the PWV re-
gion.

Âç Zimbabwe via Bo-
tswana through Bophu.
thatswana to the PWV ra.
gion.

Â® Zimbabwe wia Mao-
zambique through Swazi.
land to the Eastern Trans-
vaal and Natal.

Â® Zambia via Mozam-
bigue through Swaziiaad

Â® Transkei to sourh-
ern Natal,

Âç Transkei to Ciskei
and Eastarn Cape.

Trans.

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Zimoabwe to LÂ°5"â\200\234â\200\234
from where the weapons
are transported (o Trans-
<21 for further distriku-
tion.

Gen Du Toit said the
use of iliegal firearms e
political violence had

reachad alm-mrg propor-
uons

During 1592 al(mc. 495
persons were killed and
another 574 injured in 651

which AK-475

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THE CITIZEN, WEDNESDAY 1 SEPTEMBER 19:

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Â® Criminal elements

using N2 praseal political

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site as can be their advance-

and 200\230 won't stop violence and 200\231

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stage.

Â® Inkatha Freedom
Party and SDU-members
as well as illegal Mozam-
bican | nixarult\ were
oemw arrc;:cd i Connec-
nnn with the illegal pos-

session of firearms. So and 200\224v
MÂ«, zambians also offer
training 10 SDU members
in the use of AK27 rifles,

Â® SCU members
also involved in murders
on policemen and severs!
and 3

were

been arrested. O

The conflict in Natal
was dominated by an F2/
ANC power struggle

nick was further compli-
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cated by the free avail-
ability of firearms. inter-
n2 22 struggles in oy-
gan 1S, the activities
of DL's criminality, ai-
ac on the security
forces. violence in squat-

ter camps and around
settles 3y well as tribal

wasified the con-

South Africa.

Ninety eight forms of
non-violent action had
been identified by the far

Right-wing groups for use
in the event of an unsatis-
factory negotiated settle-
ment and election...

Those actions include

strikes, occupauen and
disrdprion of Âssential in-
dustries and masy meel.
mâ\200\230_.';.

The far Right-wiag also
did not exclude the use of
violence if the â\200\234desired

those, thre2 had beea izt \uax tl... mobilisation effectâ\200\235 was not accom-
charged. cf the Far Right-wing in plished.
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Transition Bills might

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the Minister of
' ~â\200\230nal Develop-
\Â«! Roelf Mever,

the NP Free State

gress in Bloemfonzein.
He said agresmen:

had already been

reached on two Bilis

which would go before

Parhament.

Media
They concerned the

[ndependeant Emgor..i
Commissioa and an Ia-

dependent Media Com-

mission.

â\200\234They are busy
the lndependent Broad-
Casting Commission
Bill, and it looks as if
agrÃ©zment can be

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sit:onal Executive
Ceounciis

â\200\234We mli then have
four Bills for the tran-

ition process.

Important

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onc is the canstitution
teeif, which will be the
culmination of negetia-

;. ancâ\200\230 we are busy
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WEDNESDAY 1 SEPTEâ\200\235BER 19

compensation

â\200\234They have killed nu.
merous policemen in the
townships. Clearly they
wouldn't have the kudget
to compensate their fami-
ftes.â\204ç

In its reaction, the IFP
said it was â\200\234scandalously
incomprehensibleâ\204ç that
ANC officials identified
by â\200\234even the warered.
downâ\204ç Motsuznyane
Commission, would con.
tinue lo occupy politically
Sensitive posts in the
ANC.

[FP spokesman Mr Ed
Tillet said the NEC'
â\200\234sanctimoniousâ\200\235 aaccept-
ance of collective re.
sponsibility for atrocities
Was not, and could not
be. a substitute for tough
penalties against those di.
rectly responsible.

â\200\234The ANC's appeal for
2 blanket cartharis of
South African SOciety in
which all political Organi-
satons confront its inner
emons before it ook dis.
ciplinary actions against
those directly responsible
for its own abuses, wiil
not wasit with the public
23d has shattered forever
the illusion of ANC mora!
superiority.â\200\235 he said.

- Although the ANC
IPpLars. convinced that
openness and profound

aying

regret is sufficient utone-
ment for it litany of
abuses. this is however as in.
sufficient to appease the

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it human rights abuses i

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RUMEROUS victims who

suffered cruel treatment,
* often death. at th

National Party director
of media, Mr Martinus
van Schalkwyk MP, said
the organisation's call for
the establishment of a
commission of truth was
an attempt to delay deal-
ing with the ANC's internal
problems before the
election. Such a commis-
sion would be impractical
and would cause more
conflict than it would set-
tle.

Even though
ANC's national
man, M: Thak
denied that such a
mission would culminate
in Nu:emburg-style trials,
the organisation had

clear that the

made it
commission could call

witnesses and
punishment.

"The idea that future
taxpayers should be held
responsible for the
wrongs committed by pol-
itical pariahs in the past. is
totally unacceptable," M
Van Schalkwyk said.

It is the opinion of the
National Party that the
new South Africa has to
be entered with the past
already handled in a bal-
anced and disciplined
manner.

DP justice spokesman,
Mr Tony Leon. said the
ANC's response rep-
resented another sorry
page in a sordid chapter
of human rights abuses
and violations.

He said it was clear the
ANC had no intention of
applying any sanctions or
expressions of disappro-
val to those of its mem-
bers whom its own com-
mission had fingered as
being guilty of atrocities,
Japan.

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Play active role, Kohl

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tictn process.

Taey met in Benn at
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Dr Konl
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said that u

Theyv agreed that every-
tâ\200\234lm" posst inle should be
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in South Africa. and Â©
ecure a peacsful future

for the country.

The meeting fosused
on pressnt and future &2-
velopments ia South A.:x-
ca as well as efforts 0 5
cure a political soâ\200\230u".

for internal conflict in the country.

Chief Buthelezi explained the Inkatha Freedom Party's position, especially with regard to the present multi-party negotiations

The federal chancellor praised the IFP's role Dr Buthelezi's contribution in abolishing apartheid and reaching 2 steps: a 200\230u! and democratic future for South Africa. a 200\224 Sapa.

| E'W: Reaction
to ANC probe

LOEMFEGNTEIN

"hc. African National
Cengress' reaction to
the commussion it insti-
tuted to investigate
cdeaths in detention
camps 'was wzak and un-
canvincing, State Presi-
dent De Klerk said last
night.

It also fell short of
what the ANC should
have done, he said at
the Free Stare National
Party congress in
Bloemfontein.

M: De Klerk said the

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Mr De Klerk szid that
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tion camps had nat bezr
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the killing and torture or
thetr own peopie. â\200\224

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ANC was always quick
lo accuse the NP and
he govenment. hut
here was no Joubt that
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When the NP became
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100K steps azainst each
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Support for peace
campaign pours in

V De Rlerk also national conven Mr: Â¢ public has been re-
or all South Afri- Jayendra Naidoo sal-, \$::d to wear blue rib-
2 and all political, terday. n the dav.
community and religious At a Press briefiag i
give their full Johannssburg, Mr
the letter and doo said the peace cam.
the National paign was auracung Y'.â\200\230.:â\200\230.
interest of South Ainicaâ\200\231
it was crucial people and had the sv.._-:-
X fer the future of South port of all golincal par.
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Mr De Kl=rk vwderad democratic society thatall South Africaâ\200\231s radio of Orhedox Sy
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ations across the
will be holding
special evening services
wemorrow in support of |
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THE CITIZEN, WEDNESDAY 1 SEPTEMBER 1997

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differences but which,
nonetheless, will compete
against us for votes.â\200\235

It was important that
the NP and these parties
acted in such a way as not
to harm the moderate
cause for which they all
stood.

Giving his vision of the
new South Africa, Mr De
Klerk said the new consti-
tution would have to pro-
vide from the outset the
basis for stability, non-
domination and true
democracy.

It included strong re-

ional government. be-
cause that was what South
Africans wanted. â\200\234Strong
regional government
means a federal dispensa-
tion,â\200\235 he added.

â\200\234it also means that the
Free State will have its
own legislative assembly,
its own regional govern-
ment and its own regional
constitution,

â\200\234That means a high de-
gree of autonomy. your

own cease-fire sources

hancellor;H-EL
IMANGOSUTHU BUTHELE

OEL meets the president of the Inkatha
national chancellery yesterday for talks on the political situa-

tion of taxation. meaningful
functions 2 2 wide range
of matters, exclusive pow-
ers in respect of certain

functions, and the security that these things will not be taken away from you.

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The old dream of separate. sovereign staies
had becn shattered fur sli
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By Brian Stuart

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THE CITIZEN, WEDNESDAY 1 SEPTEMBER 199:

2 draft Bills
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aeral con- ise and adjudieate the
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) RCws that &

You couldnâ\200\231t allow
the SABC w0 cvn\mnc as
it was,â\200\235 added Mr Soul,
the DP's spokesman on
the media.

Negotiators linked to
the African Nationa

olitical par- Congress and its allies at

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i tate- .â\200\2301- tion of the two draft B.m
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"eonfliet beetween Zawlu groups

TOURIST guides
take visitors
through the
numerous-bloody
battlegrounds in
Natal

B BY LINDSEY SANDERSON

Northern Natal is making a
strong bid to attract tourists
both from overseas and local

.ly And the drawcard is war.

With South Africaâ\200\231s tourist

_ problems owing much to the

conflict hattering the country
at present, this may seem a
little out of place, but the wars
that are drawing the tour
groups - and individuals are
those which took place in the
last century.

The area of northern Natal

;. stretching from Escovurt and

Colenso in the south, Lady-
mith and Newcasile in the
west and Vryheid and Utrecht
in the north-east is a region

"â\200\234that has seen more battles in
its history than any other re-

gion in South Africa

,ae

Even before the encroach-
ment of white settlers in the
it was the scene of

fighting for supremacy in the

area. In the late 1830s it saw

the conflict between the Zulus

and the Voortrekkers, fol-
lowed in 1879 by the brutal
wars of British's Zulu Cam-

Zulu victory .
under the Stone Cairns.

paigned and then by the clashes
between the Boers and British
in the Anglo-Boer wars to-
wards the end of the cen-
tury

The countryside is studded
with battle sites, cemeteries,
monuments and memorials to
those who fell in war. Among
the most famous sites are

Seen in on its 19th century battles

weard for tourism

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Blood River, Isandlwana,
Rorke's Drift, Talana and the
siege town of Ladysmith. Iron-
ically, the region is regarded
as one of the most peaceful in
South Africa today. /

During the Anglo-Zulu War
and the Anglo-Boer wars it
was an area to which thou-
sands of British soldiers came

eagerly to fight for "Queen
and Country" and to which
the Boers flocked in defence
of their fatherland. Now it is
an area visited by the children
and grandchildren of those
who fought each other.

In 1980 an official Battle-
fields Route was established
with the towns of Ladysmith,

isardlwana is when the British forces were beaten. The remains of the soldiers lie

PICTURE LINDSEY SANDERSON

Newcastle, Dundee and Vry-
heid joining forces to promote
the area as a tourist attrac-
tion. Over the last three years
the number of participating
towns has grown to nine with
Volksrust (just across the bor-
der in the Transvaal) Utrecht,
Colenso, Estcourt and Glen-
coe joining in. Yundi in Kwa-

Zulu is to join shortly.

In July a parliament
towns linked up at a joint
function with the SA Defence
Force and Caltex at Talan's
Museum at Dundee where a
new route was launched, to-
gether with a brochure which
includes maps, a pen sketch
of the battles and information
on where to stay and who to
contact in connection with
tours,

The SADF's role is large!
one of practical support and
liaison with participating
members. Examples of this
are the help given by the
SADF in measuring distances
which are provided for self-
guide tours, leading up the
sides and assisting overseas
visitors to get in touch with
their organisers,

Caltex has committed itself
to a five-year sponsorship of
the route with the initial step
being the sponsorship of those
brochures which will be avail-
able at the company's 22 ser-
vice stations along the route.

Although the centenary of
the outbreak of the second
Anglo-Boer War (Oct 1897) is
six years away, preparations
are already in progress to
mark the anniversary. Thou-
sands of overseas tourists are
expected to visit the area and,
bookings have already been
made by people who will be
visiting the sites where their
forefathers clashed during the
conflict.

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~ B BY HELEN GRANGE

â\200\230Spirit of peace

The Peace Day campaign tomorrow has grasped the imagination of people and it is expected that the day will be marked by a wide variety of activities, says the National Peace Campaign (NPC).

The NPC's offices in Braamfontein and Rosebank have been inundated with calls from companies and people

wanting details of planned events.

Everyone has been asked to wear a blue ribbon to symbolise their commitment to peace.

Johannesburg mayor Les Dishy decided weeks ago that city council staff should wear yellow ribbons. He has now asked staff also to wear blue ribbons for the sake of conformity.

The nation will come to a standstill for five minutes starting at noon, and it is expected that long human chains will form in central Johannesburg.

The first minute will be one of silence to focus people's minds on those who have died in the violence which has racked the country for

- months

Motorists have been asked to pull over for the five-minute standstill and to hoot their horns or flash their headlights.

Pesce songs will be played on TV and radio stations.

National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonje Gilden-

- huys will address an SABC

peace function in Johannes-
burg where a human chain
will be formed and the peace
flag hoisted.

CCV-TV and TV1 will ob-
serve a minute's silence at
noon before broadcasting the
peace song. TVL will then re-
sume its cricket commentary
from Sri- Lanka. COV will con-
tinue its peace Programime,

â\200\230grips nation

broadcasting interviews with
community leaders and choir
music with a peace theme
from 11.30 am to 1 pm.
Companies and institutions
have made their own arrange-
ments to mark the day as a
commitment to peace.
Pamphlets are being distri-
buted and a number of em-
ployers will be holding meet-
ings with unions.
Teachers have also planned
a variety of activities for
pupils throughout the day.
President de Klerk has or-
dered all national flags to be
flown half-mast to government

" buildings in South Africa and

abroad as a mark of respect

for those who have died in po-

litical violence.

He called on all South Afri-
cans to join the campaign,

' Miss South Africa Jacqui
Mofokeng will have a bird's-
eye view of the spectacle â\200\224
she will be circling Johannes-
burg in a helicopter organ-
ised by Eskom.

The NPC yesterday
stressed that tomorrow was
just the beginning of a peace
campaign that is expected to
continue this month and in
October.

To this end, Eskom and
Telkom have embarked on a
campaign to electrify and pro-
vide phone services to as
many homes as possible in
disadvantaged communities.
M [f you're short of a blue rib-
bon, head down to The Star's

building in Sauer Street. Rib-
bons will be handed out by
promotions department
staffers. The Star's switch-
board will not operate from
noon to 12.05 pm.

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..i:HE STAR, WED.DAY 1 SEPT 1993 (CITY LATE)

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