

Stop all killings

SIR - I find it hard to understand why the ANC refused to attend the peace conference called by the NP Government.

This action was probably because it was not the South African Council of Churches who called the conference - or, in fact, any other organisation except the Government.

How can the ANC preach "peace" at the executive level while at the grass-roots level there is no peace at all?

Just look at the townships. People who used to be friends are living in

conflict with one another just because they differ politically.

If you don't agree with the toyi-toyi or the viva, viva brigades you are labelled a sell-out - and you have to be well versed in the survival department.

I am no political expert, but I do know that $1+1=2$, and I believe the ANC will wake up one day and find De Klerk is still ruling the country with black support.

They (the ANC) will ask themselves "Where did we go wrong?" - and

they can then point a finger only at themselves.

The ANC is not the Government yet, not will they be if they continue on this undiplomatic and self-destructive path.

Yes, they do have a mass following, but the way they go about their politics they can expect to have mass losses.

Sir, it does not matter who calls this "Peace Conference". All that matters is for the killings to stop.

ANC (Another National Crisis)
Toekomsrus

FW's visits to Kenya and Swaziland clearly illustrate a point

Some black leaders tired of the 'dithering' in OAU

DAILY NEWS

7/6/91

PRESIDENT de Klerk's visits to Kenya this weekend and to Swaziland afterwards illustrate the growing divisions in the rest of Africa about what the approach to South Africa should be.

African leaders, like President Arab Moi of Kenya, have become tired of the dithering in the Organisation of African Unity and have decided to openly have contact with South Africa.

General Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria, for long one of the South African government's most vociferous opponents, has made no secret of the fact that he intends to meet Mr de Klerk. The idea was not opposed at the OAU conference.

Zambia is making overtures for closer trade links with South Africa and it is expected that South Africa will soon have a full-time trade office in Lusaka.

Zimbabwe, while pushing for the maintenance of sanctions, has at the same time asked for a preferential trade agreement with South Africa to be renewed. The trade between the two countries is substantial.

There are indications that Egypt will soon have open contact with South Africa. Mr de Klerk and President Hosni Mubarak met in Windhoek last year.

The Kenyan approach is



COMMENTARY BY
TOS WENTZEL

businesslike and discussions on commercial, energy affairs and agriculture will be high on the agenda. This is why Ministers dealing with these matters will be accompanying Mr de Klerk.

In Kenya there is increasing awareness of not only trade possibilities, but also of South African know-how and the possibilities for technical co-operation.

A senior Kenyan Minister recently visited South Africa and Mr Pik Botha was there last December. There are now regular SAA flights between Johannesburg and Nairobi.

Although the Abuja declaration had the OAU leaders declaring support for continued economic sanctions it had one key sentence which left the door open for contact — to the horror of the PAC who was there canvassing for a hardline approach, while the ANC had a plan for the progressive lifting of sanctions.

This key sentence said that, if the South Africa government adopted measures which led to

“positive, profound and irreversible change towards the abolition of apartheid” the question of sanctions with a view to re-admitting South Africa to the international community would be reviewed.

The Group Areas and Land Acts will have gone by the end of the month along with most of the Population Registration Act. It therefore seems as if there could be such a review soon.

A message Mr de Klerk sent to 35 OAU heads of state before the Abuja conference may well have had an influence.

It apparently contained a stirring call to the rest of Africa to recognise that significant progress in moving towards a full and just democracy is being made in South Africa.

He maintained that South Africa's interest lay primarily in where it could play a significant role.

He believed that it could especially make a contribution in its own Southern African region in areas including economic and technological development and co-operation.

The time had arrived for the rest of Africa to take note of developments in South Africa and to respond in a way calculated to encourage the transition to a new South Africa and to promote co-operation.

South Africa did not seek to dominate but could, especially as far as technological devel-

opment was concerned, assist other countries in Africa.

He also let drop that he plans to call an all-party conference to plan for negotiations in the second half of the year.

He apparently gave details of the plan to release political prisoners and mentioned the government's concern about the violence and plans to deal with it. He also pointed out that he was committed to remove the last pillars of apartheid by the end of the month.

■ The Daily News Africa Service reports President de Klerk is expected to arrive in Swaziland on Monday morning, and will have talks with King Mswati before he leaves in the afternoon, according to reliable information in Mbabane.

President de Klerk will attend a luncheon at the King's Lozitha Palace to which members of the diplomatic corps have also been invited, it is understood. No information was available on the talks with the King which will follow.

King Mswati has been in Europe this week, and is expected to return tomorrow. He went to Brussels for talks with EEC officials in his capacity as chairman of the African Preferential Trade Area organisation, which would like to set up a common market in Africa similar to the EEC. King Mswati also visited London, where he met Queen Elizabeth, and Luxembourg.

Pleasure and sadness on revisiting Mozambique

IT was with a mixture of pleasure and sadness that I flew into Mozambique two weeks ago. Pleasure because it is 16 years since my last visit to a country with which there was a deep affinity.

In 1954 I was the senior ranger in charge of Ndumu Game Reserve and worked closely with the local Chef de Poste. We helped re-stock the Maputo Elephant Park with white rhino, Nick Steele and I driving for many long hours after catching the rhino in Umfolozi Game Reserve.

I travelled too, by boat down the Pongolo, into the Usutu River with Paul Dutton, pulling a raft loaded with impala and nyala. We couldn't take them south because of the foot and mouth red line, so the Mozambicans were glad to have them for their park.

It was an adventurous journey with a file of crocodiles following the barge, hoping for a good meal, which hippo nearly provided by almost overturning our craft.

We were treated most hospitably after arriving at the Elephant Park, with a meal of Cerveja beer, Portuguese sardines, vinho verde and the best bread rolls I have ever eaten anywhere in the world, better even than those at Fishermen's Wharf in San Francisco.

We went fishing along that most beautiful of coastlines from Millibangalala to the channel that separates the mainland from Inhaca Island. We sat for hours on the small dunes overlooking the swamps that stretched to the bay of Lourenço Marques, now Maputo.

A wonderful place for bird-watching and spending a day looking at the elephants feeding on the grasslands then moving to the bush and eating the marulas and the strychnos fruit. At midday they ambled to waterholes and the young ones played like children in the mud.

At night we stayed in the primitive rest camp and swapped stories around the sweet-smelling acacia log fire. The Shangaan guards told us of the cumbacaos, the old bull elephants that ranged between the Elephant Park and the South African border near Ponto de Ouro, a name given by the survivors of Portuguese wrecks in the 16th Century.

There was a feeling of great satisfaction in the work we were doing and as more rhino were translocated we saw them on the open plains where they had been extinct since 1896. This was the pleasure.

But when I looked out of the small plane window at the landscape and we passed over the border west of Ndumu, I was filled with sadness. Kraals and fields that I had known well, were gone. I searched for the smoke of a fire, but apart from one small plume in Catuane village I could see none.

In the distance to the east the swamps of the Elephant Park glinted in the early morning sunlight. Since the revolution in 1974 all the white rhino we had so laboriously re-introduced had been killed.

Mozambique had the dubious distinction of being a country where a species had become extinct twice in one century. The same fate befell the nyala and impala we had dragged down the Usutu River and released with such expectations.

I wondered about all the people we had known in the Catuane district, good industrious folk, many who had worked on the gold mines and returned proudly with money in the hand, bicycles and radios, new clothes and a deep sense of achievement.

Conversation was always easy because the first thing they had learned was the lingua franca of the mines — Fanagalo.

What on earth had gone wrong? There had always been a good rapport between the Portuguese and the black people. The stores were filled with goods, the roads passable, clinics provided medical help and the people were well fed.

Even the revolution had been reasonably well accepted. I was in Maputo in 1974 after Frelimo had taken over and everything seemed to be running comparatively smoothly, to the outside eye at least.

Then some psychic epidemic swept the country and the civil war between Frelimo and Renamo began, followed by sheer banditry. Structures established as long ago as the 16th Century broke down and highly intelligent people were killed. Chaos followed where once order prevailed. How much of a lesson is this to South Africans? Do we want to follow that route?

Our plane landed in Maputo after circling the town and giving me a glimpse of the Polana and Cardosa hotels, once the flagships of Mozambican tourism.

An agent cleared us quickly and efficiently with Customs and Immigration, and we took off, flying north to the island of Bazaruto where I was to spend a most enjoyable week with my old colleague and friend Paul Dutton, who despite some unpleasant experiences as an innocent prisoner of Frelimo in the Machava jail, has returned to serve Mozambique conservation.

Within a few hours the plane had reached the Bazaruto archipelago, a chain of what must be some of the most beautiful islands on our planet.

The clarity of the sea, the long golden beaches, the small lakes were all enchanting and I could not think of adjectives superlative enough to describe what was below.

As the plane began its descent, I saw the lighthouse on top of the highest dune and I wondered whether the islands, like the lighthouse, might be a beacon in the struggle for the emerging post revolution Mozambique.

Continued next week

Post apartheid

Business Day 7 JUNE 1991

WHEN President de Klerk freed organisations proscribed for 30 years, and soon afterwards released Nelson Mandela, those events reverberated around the world. Major changes to the laws of this country tend to be regarded as lesser reforms, partly because the surprise element has gone. Their relevance should not be underestimated.

Parliament has now approved the repeal of the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts, which set aside a mere 13% of South Africa's land for blacks, and the Group Areas Act, which determines how the other races will occupy the remaining 87%. Their abolition will be signed into law by the end of this month; this country will then be free of racial land zoning for the first time in nearly 80 years.

Like the pass laws, the Land Acts were not the doing of a Nationalist apartheid government. Both were used to further apartheid, but they were implemented by white administrations fondly remembered as more liberal than the rigid ideologues who came to power in 1948.

Dutch and British colonial rule, and the post-Union governments of Botha, Smuts and Hertzog, laid many of the foundations for subsequent overtly racist rule. Every racial law is up for repeal; current reforms are sweeping away centuries of discrimination, not just post-1948 apartheid statutes.

There is almost nothing left of the apartheid measures begun by Malan in 1948 and entrenched by Strijdom, Verwoerd and Vorster. The Population Registration Act, on

which they were all founded, will be gone within weeks. The pass laws, job reservation, the Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act went under President Botha, as did the idea of an all-white Parliament. The abolition of separate amenities is recent history, and racial group areas will soon be illegal. The security laws designed to deal with resistance to government racism, to greed and entrenched white privilege, are being revised.

The Land Acts and the Group Areas Act are estimated to have been responsible for the forced removal of some 3.5-million South Africans. Black people were removed from ancestral land and deprived of freehold in urban areas like Alexandra and Sophiatown; they were sent to distant locations from which they still travel for hours each day to the cities where the work is. Coloured and Indian people were pushed out of suburbs subsequently declared white; District Six has become a symbol of this wholesale eviction, but it is only one example of what happened in towns across the country.

The racism of "own affairs" will go with the introduction of a new constitution, and is collapsing in the meantime. Black people do not have the vote and are unrepresented in the Parliament which taxes them. That will come; it is the specific objective of the reforms President de Klerk started last year and the subject of coming negotiations.

Let us not think that until that happens nothing has changed.

IDC and Putco

COMMUTER transport's deepening crisis has been sharply etched by the IDC's disclosure that it may take over a faltering Putco. In terms of its charter, the IDC has the prime function of creating new industries. Below that it may participate in schemes to modernise, expand or improve the organisation of existing industries.

Where Putco would fit into that is not clear. It is unlikely that the IDC could manage the bus company better than its present private sector operators. They claim to have been pushed to the edge by the removal of government subsidies — their operational management was not inefficient.

This leads to the question of why

the IDC is getting involved. Is its intervention a stopgap to tap its financial resources while the state continues to back away from subsidising the mass transport of people forced by apartheid to live many kilometres away from their work?

The question needs to be answered urgently. As importantly, government must address the issue of passenger transport. We cannot undo apartheid's legacy overnight. Throughout the world commuter transport services receive local or central government subsidies. It's time to consider restoring subsidies as an interim measure even if they do represent economic distortions. Otherwise we risk the collapse of large sections of the system while transport's mess is being sorted out.

WITH the first ANC congress of the post-banning era now less than a month away, the line-up of candidates for the top posts is becoming clearer, and reflects the organisation's political priorities and internal struggles.

While formal nominations have been made in only a minority of cases, a fair amount of lobbying is occurring and the situation is fluid.

"Nelson Mandela (as president) is probably safe. The rest of us will have to fight for our positions," a NEC member observes. It is expected Oliver Tambo, too ill to continue with the presidency, will be elected as an ordinary NEC member.

Consensus on the size of the new national executive committee was reached only two days ago, with notable concessions being made to regional (read internal as opposed to formerly exiled) leadership — particularly to cut the size of the NEC from 126 to 100. This reflects the growing power of that internal leadership, a power that will be reflected in the post-congress leadership.

The deputy presidency was originally expected to be a hawks and doves contest between Chris Hani and Thabo Mbeki. This is now unlikely; the two, and others in the organisation, appear to want to avoid creating potentially damaging divisions. Further, the ANC expects Hani to devote his full attention over the next few years to integrating Umkhonto we Sizwe with the SADF.

Mbeki, on the other hand, was likely to lose the contest anyway. Not unlike his NP counterpart Pik Botha, Mbeki is far more popular among those outside the party than those within. Like Botha during the apartheid era, Mbeki has won respect from outsiders for his moderate positions. But he has also failed to gain a following among those who vote in leadership elections.

The deputy presidency looks like becoming a testing ground for ANC

Finding a balance *Business Day 7 June 1991* is the challenge of ANC elections

ALAN FINE and TIM COHEN

policy on violence and relationships with Inkatha. Appropriately, two Natal-based leaders — Harry Gwala and Jacob Zuma — are already in the running and they represent two poles of ANC thinking.

Gwala is representative of the militaristic, hardline wing of the SACP, and is known to have expressed serious misgivings about the ANC's peace talks with Inkatha. This view is believed to enjoy a fair amount of support among the youth.

Zuma, on the other hand, was the

person who, more than anyone else in the ANC, made possible the January meeting between Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi. He was also the key ANC operator in preparations for the Groote Schuur talks between the ANC and government. Like Mbeki, he is seen by ANC militants as soft. But he has kept in touch with the grassroots following.

A late contender for the deputy presidency may be Alan Boesak. And, insiders say, one should not rule out the possibility of the post going to one of the ANC's elder statesmen — Walter Sisulu or Govan Mbeki.

If the deputy presidency is emerging as an arena where policies of violence are a key undercurrent, the post of secretary general — held by the unpopular Alfred Nzo — looks like becoming the area where the internal leadership of the '80s is going to assert itself. And it is going to do so, it appears, with the support of the "reformist" (as opposed to mili-

tarist) wing of the SACP.

Among the names mentioned as possible candidates for secretary general are Popo Molefe and Patrick Lekota (who developed the UDF as a national body from 1983 until their detention three years later), Rev Arnold Stofile, an eastern Cape UDF and now ANC leader who spent a long time in Ciskeian prisons, and unionists Sydney Mafumadi and Cyril Ramaphosa. All would be acceptable to Slovo and his supporters.

NUM general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa did not step down from his union position in April as some predicted he would do to take up an ANC post. It is argued that, while he may be a popular choice, Ramaphosa would not be willing to sacrifice his powerful labour movement position for the difficult and draining task that would befall the ANC secretary

general. Others believe he may be willing to enter national politics if it were in a sufficiently senior position, like this one.

However, Cosatu assistant general secretary Mafumadi, together with Lekota and Molefe, appear to be the most likely candidates at this stage.

Finally, ANC finance department head Vusi Khanyile is expected to challenge the ageing Thomas Nkobi as treasurer general. However, Nkobi is not as unpopular as Nzo. Both enjoy the personal support of Mandela. Their future could well depend on the extent to which Mandela is prepared to intervene in support of either during the election.

Beyond this, some insiders are watching for a surprise showing by information director Pallo Jordan. He has won respect from many internal leaders for his work in the last 18 months. "My views are closer to those of Jordan than to those of certain party comrades," an internal SACP "reformist" said last week. However, Jordan's anti-SACP views have earned him many enemies among the exiled party leadership.

As far as the rest of the NEC elec-



□ GWALA



□ MAFUMADI



□ LEKOTA



□ MOLEFE



□ ZUMA

*Finding a balance is the
challenge of ANC
elections.*

tions are concerned, the process will have to fairly reflect the regions of the country. And it appears that at least 15 of the 50 directly elected NEC members will, in terms of the constitution, be women. Internal leaders will monitor elections in the light of suspicions that the ANC has sidelined former UDF leaders.

The dilemma of ensuring a balanced ethnic make-up of the NEC will be a further issue, even though ANC members are reluctant to broach openly the question of ensuring that there are a fair number of white, Indian and coloured members on the committee.

The recent defection of Labour Party members to the NP has made a significant impression on the ANC. Two senior members raised the issue, independently and unprompted, in interviews recently. They raised the issue in the context of a future struggle for votes in a general election — displaying a fear that the ANC might be being outmanoeuvred on this front.

There is a fear, too, that potential Indian support for the ANC is slipping towards the NP. This is a reason for the continuing existence of the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses as separate bodies allied to the ANC, a decision vigorously opposed by the ANC Youth League.

Even more important — and as unmentionable — is the need for a substantial number of Zulu leaders to counter Inkatha accusations that the ANC is a “Xhosa organisation”.

Of Labour defections to the NP, NEC member Simon Makana says: “We are not alone in the field. The NP has now opened its membership to all races for the first time in our history and there are reports of some coloureds joining the NP. We want to say to them: ‘why are you joining the NP?’ But we must ask ourselves: ‘Are we doing our homework?’”

Makana says the struggle has entered a new phase, the era of “diplomatic, political struggle”. The ANC, he says, must redefine its role in this new phase.

NEC member Aziz Pahad is even more direct about the task of the new leadership: “It is going to be important for us to begin preparing for elections, whether they come in two years or three. The other side is already doing that. They are building up their electoral machines, bringing in other forces.

“If we do not emerge from this conference with a clear perspective on how to fight this battle, we would have serious problems,” Pahad says.

Mandela trip delay: USSR not dodging him: ANC

THE ANC yesterday dismissed as "spurious and mischievous" speculation that the rescheduling of ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela's visit to the Soviet Union was a result of that country's reluctance to meet him and his organisation.

Mr Mandela's proposed visit to the Soviet Union from Sunday to Thursday had been postponed because the dates were not convenient for many Soviet leaders that he would have met, said the ANC in a statement.

"The speculation, therefore, that this particular rescheduling is a result of Soviet's reluctance to meet Mr Mandela and the ANC is as spurious as it is mischievous."

The visit, added the organisation, was being rescheduled in consultation with the relevant officials in the Soviet Union.

"This trip is one of several that the deputy presi-

dent has had to reschedule due to a variety of reasons. It is inconceivable that a statesman of President Gorbachev's stature and commitment to dialogue and exchange of views could ever refuse or show any reluctance to meet one of Africa's most prominent leaders of this age."

Speculation to this effect was, therefore, preposterous, the ANC charged.

Meanwhile, in Paris yesterday, Mr Mandela said the ANC wanted to strengthen its ties with the Socialist International, which groups the world's socialist and social democratic parties.

He told journalists after a meeting with French Socialist Prime Minister, Mrs Edith Cresson, the two had discussed the ANC's relations with the Socialist International.

"As you know, we already have observer status at the Socialist International, but we are keen to put this issue on a more structured basis," he said.

"Now that we are on the verge of very significant and fundamental political changes we need very firm and close relationships not only with the broad spectrum of opinion makers inside the country but also with opinion makers outside South Africa."

Mr Mandela, on a four-day visit to France, also urged Mrs Cresson to continue applying sanctions against South Africa.

"The purpose of sanctions is to ensure that apartheid is cracked and the vote is given to every South African. That has not been achieved," he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Soviet leaders not reluctant to meet Mandela: ANC

THE ANC yesterday dismissed as "spurious and mischievous" speculation that the rescheduling of ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela's visit to the Soviet Union was a result of that country's reluctance to meet him and his organisation.

Mr Mandela's proposed visit to the Soviet Union from Sunday to Thursday had been postponed because the dates were not convenient for many Soviet leaders that

he would have met, said the ANC in a statement.

"The speculation, therefore, that this particular rescheduling is a result of Soviet's reluctance to meet Mr Mandela and the ANC is as spurious as it is mischievous."

The visit, added the organisation, was being rescheduled in consultation with the relevant officials in the Soviet Union.

"This trip is one of several that the deputy president has had to reschedule due to a variety of reasons. It is inconceivable that a statesman of President Gorbachev's stature and commitment to dialogue and exchange of views could ever refuse or show any reluctance to meet one of Africa's most prominent leaders of this age."

Speculation to this ef-

fect was, therefore, preposterous, the ANC charged.

Meanwhile, in Paris yesterday, Mr Mandela said economic sanctions against South Africa must be maintained.

Mr Mandela arrived in the French capital for a three-day private visit, during which he will meet President Francois Mitterrand and the Prime Minister, Mrs Edith Cresson.

"I am here for a few days of vacation, but I will take advantage of my stay to see President Mitterrand to inform him of the latest developments in our country," Mr Mandela said. "President Mitterrand is one of our best supporters."

Mr Mandela was on his way to the Soviet Union, before his visit there was postponed.

African leaders at a summit meeting in Nigeria voted on Wednesday to maintain economic sanctions against South Africa until the government abolishes all racist legislation and moves toward democracy.

Some African states, however, announced they would defy the vote by openly trading with South Africa. — Sapa-AP.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

7/6/91

Momentous

IT is a sign of how far reform has progressed that the repeal of the Land Acts and the Group Areas Act is not greeted with hosannas by those who have wished for the end of apartheid — and the millions who have suffered because of it.

Yet the repeal of these Acts, together with the Population Registration Act, which is about to be scrapped, will bring the apartheid era to an end.

The Right condemns the government for dismantling apartheid; the Black radicals say the laws are gone but apartheid remains, the battle for a decent, orderly and democratic society lies ahead.

To us, the repeal of the Acts is among the most momentous events we can recall, since the ground has been swept clean of the poisonous weeds of apartheid and the foundations can be laid for the new South Africa.

We can understand the bitterness of White Right-wingers, even if we don't support them.

Apartheid was their Bible. They believe in White rule. They see nothing wrong in separate development. They don't believe they are racist. They state their claim to White sovereignty. They see the only hope of White survival in a White South Africa to which they lay claim.

They still do not accept that South Africa is, in fact, Black, that the Whites are overwhelmingly outnumbered by Blacks, that Whites can no longer dominate and run the country because it is no longer possible to do so.

The world has shown, by sanctions and boycotts and by building a curtain of isolation around South Africa, that it will not allow South Africa to continue to practise apartheid.

More than that, the Blacks will no longer accept second-class citizenship in the land of their birth.

It is they, with their numbers, with their hands, with their feet, who have broken down apartheid — the pass laws, influx control, job reservation and all the other restrictions on life and work.

Apartheid was finished when South Africa began its industrial revolution and ran out of White hands.

Apartheid was doomed when Blacks did not return to the homelands, according to the grandiose plans of Dr Verwoerd, but flocked instead to the "White" towns and cities in search of work and a better life.

Apartheid was doomed when Blacks, advancing economically, sought better education for their children, better housing away from township squalor.

The government could never have stemmed this natural movement, it could never have succeeded in continuing to apply the apartheid laws designed to keep Blacks out of so-called White areas.

Now it is clear that South Africa is not White, but Black.

The government, by its reforms, acknowledges that it cannot keep the Black masses in submission, it cannot deny them equal rights, it cannot keep them out of the government or off the land.

The tragedy is that the White Right cannot accept that there can never be a return to apartheid/separate development/racial segregation/White supremacy or White rule.

A tragedy because if the White Right accepted that there can be no turning back, it might make a constructive contribution to devising the new South Africa.

Thus, in the transition the Right will play an increasingly obstructive and perhaps dangerous role in trying futilely to halt and reverse the reforms before the new South Africa dawns.

What with the ANC and other Black "liberation" movements engaged in a battle of a different kind, the months ahead look as if they will be stormy, violent and dangerous.

Unless — and that is the big point — White Right and Black Left, White centre and Black moderates, understand that there will be a new South Africa, but that it must be one born in peace and safeguarding the rights of everyone.

SACC to hold vigil at Goedgevonden

SENIOR church leaders of the South African Council of Churches, among them Dr Alan Boesak, will hold a prayer service today at the gates to Goedgevonden farm, near Ventersdorp, to pray for the "just resolution" of the plight of the 112 families occupying the land and as an act of solidarity with them.

Other clerics who have indicated willingness to participate are the Right Rev H B Senatle of the African Methodist Episcopal Church and Bishop David Nkwe of the Anglican Diocese in Klerksdorp.

The original intention was to hold a vigil from noon today, through the night to "witness" the expected removal of the community in terms of an eviction order which was granted in the Pretoria Supreme Court on Monday, SACC assistant field liaison officer, Mr Charles Ndabeni, said yesterday.

However, the lodging of an appeal by the community's attorneys against the ruling means they will not be evicted today.

It was, nevertheless,

decided to proceed with the service at noon "to provide our support" and "to strengthen the people and show we are with them", said Mr Ndabeni, who is also a field worker in the SACC's Department of Justice and Reconciliation. The meeting is expected to last about three hours.

"Two realities remain. The first is the possibility of an attack by the AWB and the second is that, in this case, should the appeal fail, the eviction order will become automatic."

Mr Ndabeni said he had heard the AWB would be holding a meeting in Ventersdorp on Tuesday and "Goedgevonden is sure to be discussed".

Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, leader of the AWB, said in Pretoria yesterday he had no comment to make on his movement's position regarding the pending appeal.

Asked about the impression gained by the family that the AWB might act against them, Mr Terre'Blanche said he was not concerned with

their impressions.

Mr Ndabeni described the community as the "under siege".

"They were very courageous."

"They took a risk in re-occupying their land in very hostile Conservative Party and AWB territory. In addition they have managed to endure pressures from all sides."

"We didn't decide to make them come back to Ventersdorp after they were removed in 1978 to Frichsgewaagd — now in Bophuthatswana. They saw fit to return to their land and we only provided the necessary assistance."

Mr Ndabeni admitted the service could be seen by Right-wing elements to be confrontationalist, but it was not intended as such. The community has to buy water in town and has been denied easy access to basic necessities, which have been delivered by, among other, Operation Hunger, Mr Ndabeni allege.

"We have conducted investigations into farmers' allegations of theft in the area and have found they are not true."

Friday 7 June 1991

Tough on sanctions, but...

Zimbabwe seeks better trade deal

HARARE. — Zimbabwe has formally requested a revision of the 27-year trade agreement with South Africa, official sources confirmed yesterday.

The request for a change to the agreement was presented by the Zimbabwe Ministry of Industry and Commerce to the South African Trade Mission in Harare on Wednesday last week, they said.

The agreement provides for low import tariffs on goods moving between the two countries, conferring "most favoured nation" status on each partner.

The sources were confirming a claim by South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha, broadcast by the BBC yesterday that the request co-incided

with the submission by the Zimbabwe delegation at the Organisation of African Unity Foreign Ministers' meeting in Abuja, Nigeria, of a hard-line draft calling for the maintenance of sanctions against South Africa.

The draft also slammed unnamed African countries for proposing that sanctions were no longer effective and should be lifted. It was significantly weakened when it was passed in the summit's plenary session.

The sources added the trade agreement, which covers thousands of individual items from meat, juices, to vulcanised rubber, had been eroded by inflation to the point where in many cases the rebate of tariffs served no purpose.

The agreement was

first implemented between South Africa and the Southern Rhodesian Government in 1964, and re-negotiated without amendment with the Zimbabwe Government in 1982.

The Zimbabwe Government is frequently seen as embarrassed by its fierce anti-apartheid stance and recommendation to other nations of punitive measures against South Africa, many of which it cannot implement because of its close economic ties with South Africa.

South Africa is the biggest market for Zimbabwean exports, and provides, after Britain, the largest volume of its imports. Last year, trade between the two countries ran to an estimated R1 000 million. — Sapa.

OAU chief willing to meet FW

Citizen
7 June 1991

ABUJA. — Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida said yesterday he would consider a meeting with State President De Klerk if it would help bring majority rule to South Africa.

"The situation is very fluid. If the need arises we are not opposed to this provided it can lead to one-man-one-vote," Gen Babangida told a news conference during an Organisation of African Unity summit.

Gen Babangida, the new OAU leader, was replying to a question on

whether he would consider a meeting with Mr De Klerk.

Nigeria has been a staunch foe of South Africa's apartheid policy.

But Gen Babangida said a meeting with Mr De Klerk would not be out of line with Nigeria's policy on South Africa.

Nigeria backed a Commonwealth mediation mission to South Africa which included former Nigerian head of state General Olusegun Obasanjo, he said.

In his acceptance speech as OAU chairman on Monday, Gen Babangida deleted a paragraph

in the circulated text which proposed sending a fact-finding team of African Foreign Ministers to South Africa.

At the news conference, Gen Babangida tried to deflect questions on the deletion but later asked his Foreign Minister, Mr Ike Nwachukwu, to respond.

"We felt it would have been an overkill if we made such a proposal at the time," Mr Nwachukwu said.

South Africa has been one of the major issues at the three-day OAU summit in Abuja, designated as Nigeria's future capital.

The South African Government yesterday sent a clear signal to the continent that it would welcome any serious attempt by the OAU to

FROM PAGE 1

come and investigate the precise nature of change in South Africa.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, hailed developments in Abuja, as "the first sign of greater realism and pragmatism on the part of important mem-

OAU-FW meeting?

bers"

He warned that there was an urgent need to counter the potential threats represented by changes in Europe and the Soviet Union, which could marginalise Africa economically.

On an OAU proposal to send a committee of senior representatives to South Africa, the government "will follow an open door policy," he said.

"It will welcome well-wishers who come to South Africa, particularly if they come from countries of stature."

Other missions had been welcomed, and "as long as they do not interpret it as if the government is dictated to, it is fine."

"The SA Government now has a clearer idea what pre-occupies Africa at this stage of our political transformation, and for the first time we are in a position to address that pre-occupation, now that apartheid is going."

"We know that numer-

ous African leaders acknowledge or accept the irreversibility of the process of change and look forward to South Africa playing a meaningful role in Africa.

When the last pillars of apartheid were withdrawn there would be a further improvement in relations with countries of stature. Among these were Senegal, Nigeria, Angola, Kenya, Ivory Coast, Egypt, Madagascar and possibly Zaire.

The government knew that the current violence was one area of pre-occupation of such nations and South Africa was in a position to deal with it in a way Africa understood. It was not directed at overthrowing the regime.

"Our African friends know it is faction fighting."

He called on African friends to note the developments that had occurred in South Africa and to respond in a positive way to encourage the transition. — Sapa-Reuter.

TO PAGE 2

Ulundi silent on Jamile conviction

A DEAFENING silence has been Ulundi's only response to its disgrace — the first government minister in South African history to be convicted of murder.

Last week KwaZulu deputy minister of the interior and Inkatha Central Committee (ICC) member Samuel Jamile was sentenced to life imprisonment for murder and attempted murder.

The judge said it was a "close call" whether to pass the death sentence. Yet more than a week later there has still been no official comment from KwaZulu's chief minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Midweek Jamile still "technically" held his ministerial post and presumably still does. His boss, the man who has repeatedly promised to root out violence whoever the perpetrator, has said nothing to distance himself and Inkatha from Jamile's actions, nor has he revealed whether Jamile is still drawing a ministerial salary, whether he has been suspended or sacked from the cabinet or the ICC.

He has not explained why he appointed Jamile to the ranks of his cabinet advisers after civil action was successfully started against him in the Supreme Court by Thoko Shabalala, the woman he has now been found guilty of trying to murder by having her throat cut.

He has not explained why, even after Jamile's conviction for murder and attempted murder, a ministerial car rolled up to court on the day of sentence, clearly with the expectation that Jamile would be freed. Nor, as minister of KwaZulu Police (KZP), has Buthelezi commented on the allegation that members of his force, claimed in the indictment to have been the killers responsible for a number of deaths, have disappeared, and could not be found when police wanted to charge them.

Are they being sought by the KZP? Will they be handed over to the courts for trial? Will there be action on the judge's comments about the "difficulties" the investigating officer experienced from members of the KZP during his investigation?

No official statement on any of these issues has been volunteered by Ulundi and a faxed list of questions has so far been unanswered. The silence is made possible partly because most of the media buried the story at least until sentencing. An exception was the small Zulu-language Natal paper UmAfrika.

Last week IFP leader Samuel Jamile was sentenced to life imprisonment for murder.

CARMEL RICKARD considers Ulundi's silence on the matter.

While academics and others who believed it was of great public interest had to beg some of the media to cover the trial, UmAfrika seconded a senior journalist, editor Cyril Madlala, to give the case saturation coverage.

For the people of Clermont, the township where Jamile was based and the home of his victims, it was the media, the legal system and the police as much as Jamile who were on trial.

Questions are being asked about whether the media would have covered the trial as they did if it were an African National Congress or National Party official of similar rank in the dock, and why

the media has tolerated Ulundi's official silence.

Many people now firmly believe KwaZulu and Inkatha have "special status" with some sectors of the media, and have drawn their own conclusions about why this is so.

Community investigation was largely responsible for the case ever getting to court and if it had been left to official channels only, Jamile would still probably be walking the streets. For example, when Jamile's co-accused Msizi Hlope escaped from custody it was members of the public who traced him and tipped off police where he could be found.

According to evidence given in the trial, the first time Jamile was arrested, SAP security police colonel James Louwrens told the investigating officer to release him — even before the preliminary investigation was complete. Later the attorney general's office withdrew charges and declined to prosecute.

Ulundi Silent on Jamile Conviction.

Official interest in the case was only re-awakened when Jamile's driver, Lawrence Ntshalintshali, wrote to the state president and the minister of law and order, telling them that his deputy minister boss had bragged about the murders he had committed.

With this background, members of the Clermont community were sceptical justice would be done — now many feel their trust in the legal system has been restored; that with impartial and efficient police investigations, it is possible for people who allegedly terrorised a whole township for five years, to be put behind bars.

Jamile wants to appeal against his conviction and sentence, but in the meantime, many questions remain, apart from Ulundi's silence and the lack of coverage in the media. The community still wants to know why the initial investigation against Jamile was called off — who issued the orders to release him and why did the AG's office withdraw charges?

Even more intriguing is Jamile's motive — he was a well-off businessman, a herbalist, national president of a traditional healers' association, property owner and influential politician with personal bodyguards and a pair of new Mercedes Benz at his beck and call. What made him a killer?

So far these questions, and many others, remain unanswered.

ANC in radical policy switch

Bomb attacks in white city areas to be stepped up

From Michael Hornsby, Lusaka

After more than a quarter of a century of exile and limited guerrilla warfare, leaders of the African National Congress — which has the somewhat double-edged reputation of being the world's oldest liberation movement — are planning to increase military action in an attempt to raise sagging black morale and to undermine whites' faith in the Government's ability to protect them.

In wide-ranging interviews here, where the ANC has its headquarters, Mr Oliver Tambo, the organization's president, and leaders of Umkonto we Sizwe (Zulu for "Spear of the Nation"), its guerrilla wing, who seldom speak to the press, agreed that 1988 was a crucial year in the fluctuating war of attrition, now in its 27th year, with the Pretoria Government.

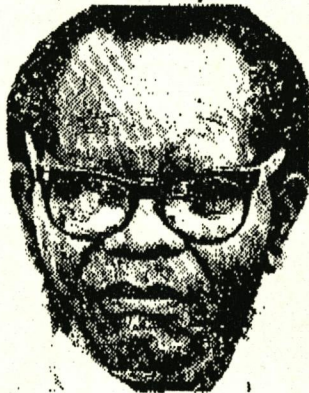
ANC leaders argued that the Government's state of emergency and its clampdown last February on most black organizations pursuing non-violent protest had left it no option but to intensify armed action. They had concluded, after the white general election last year, that most whites would stop supporting the Government only when it was no longer seen as able to guarantee their safety.

A primary aim of the ANC will be to disrupt nationwide elections on October 26 for segregated black and white municipal councils, and to ensure a mass black boycott of the polls. A large turnout by blacks would be devastating, enabling Pretoria to claim that it had successfully relaunched the government-sponsored system of black township authorities largely destroyed in the insurrectionary turmoil of 1984-1986.

"The ANC is committed to aborting the municipal elections," Mr Chris Hani, the 45-year-old chief of staff of Umkonto, also known by the initials MK, told *The Times*. "We shall not allow puppet organizations to put up candidates. We shall mobilize our people against them. But we shall also use revolutionary violence, or forceful persuasion, to stop blacks from collaborating. Those who are about to collaborate, or who have intentions of collaborat-

ing, we want to warn them that they do so at their own risk."

It is accepted that bomb attacks in white-zoned city centres must be increased (a policy shift apparently already reflected in a spate of incidents in recent weeks), and that this will inevitably mean more civilian deaths, both white and black. But there is intense debate within the ANC about how far armed action should be taken and about how broadly the con-



Mr Tambo: One of the old guard on military action.

cept of a non-civilian target should be defined.

The official policy, as outlined by Mr Tambo, is still that police and army personnel and installations remain the primary targets, and that civilian deaths in such attacks are regretted but considered unavoidable in what the ANC regards as a war situation. He said that the lunchtime bomb in a litter bin in Rodepoort, near Johannesburg, last week — which killed four people and injured some 20 others — was "not typical". He has ordered a report from MK on why it was planted there.

In recent years the ANC has steadily widened its choice of targets for guerrilla attack.

'Six' start retrial plea

Johannesburg — An application for the re-opening of the trial of the "Sharpeville Six", five black men and one black woman sentenced to death for the murder of a black township councillor, began in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday (Michael Hornsby writes). The hearing continues today.

Defence lawyers said they

wanted to recall a state witness because of allegations that he was assaulted by the police and coerced into giving false evidence.

Several foreign diplomats were in court. The case has aroused international interest because of the controversial use of the doctrine of "common purpose" in a mob killing.

from "hard" or inanimate objects such as railway lines and petrol storage tanks, to "soft" or human targets, mainly black policemen, police informers, township councillors and other black "collaborators". But men like Mr Hani, and the chief political commissar of MK, Mr Steve Tshwete, want to take the war much more visibly to the white community which, in their view, has been allowed to live for too long in a protective cocoon.

Mr Hani said that he would regard white MPs of the ruling National Party and the far-right Conservative Party, "reactionary judges who dish out death sentences on our people" and other white individuals involved directly in enforcement apartheid as legitimate targets for attack or assassination. He would also like to see the sabotage of facilities in white urban areas stepped up to make life more inconvenient and uncertain for whites.

The killing of white MPs, judges and government officials would be a radical departure from ANC policy. Mr Tambo laughed when the suggestion was put to him, as if the idea was incredible, and then said, a shade ambiguously: "I don't think that we would want to attack MPs just because they are MPs."

Mr Thabo Mbeki, head of the ANC's publicity department and one of the key figures involved in persuading Western governments that the ANC is not a terrorist organization on the lines of the IRA or the PLO, insisted that such assassinations were not, and would not become, policy.

The differences between the political and military wings of the ANC may be partly a

matter of presentation. But they also run deeper. Mr Tambo represents the ANC old guard, many of whom had mission education and were schooled in a tradition of non-violent protest before reluctantly taking up arms 27 years ago, after the ANC was banned and forced underground.

Over the past 10 years, waves of unrest in South Africa have driven an estimated 14,000 angry and impatient young blacks into the ANC's arms in exile, strengthening the position of men such as Mr Hani and Mr Tshwete.

There is, in any case, no difference of principle between Mr Tambo and Mr Hani that whites need to feel more sharply the sting of violence before the majority of them, as Mr Tambo puts it, will "start asking questions".

They accept that this seems to contradict the ANC's professed desire to win white support both at home and abroad. But they argue that most whites will stop supporting the Botha Government and parties to its right only when they see that apartheid can no longer ensure their security.

"Their (whites') life is good. They go to their cinemas, they go to their *braais* (barbecues), they go to their five-star hotels. That's why they are supporting the system. It guarantees a happy life for them, a sweet life. Part of our campaign is to prevent that sweet life," Mr Hani said.

"I don't think whites want to die for apartheid... When they are maimed and they are in hospital, others will go there to visit them and will say, 'This is the price of apartheid'. We must make apartheid expensive and costly in terms of financial resources and in terms of lives."

Mr Tshwete added: "A war must be war in South Africa, that is our point. Once it becomes war, once everyone realizes there is a war going on in the country, then Botha will start thinking because he is being nudged by his own people, 'Apartheid now is no longer protecting us. Apartheid is killing us. It has been killing blacks for the last 40 years. But it is beginning to kill whites, too, now.'"

The Times - June 7, 1988 - London

B/Day 7 June 1991

Mixed reaction follows death of apartheid laws

Business Day Reporters

THE scrapping of the Group Areas Act and Land Acts continued to attract mixed reaction locally and internationally yesterday.

Parliament voted on Wednesday to scrap the Acts by passing the Abolition of the Racially Based Land Measures Bill.

The German government said the abolition of the laws was a milestone on SA's road towards creating a non-racial and democratic country.

KIN BENTLEY reports from London that while the British government yesterday welcomed the repeal of the Acts, the move failed to make an impression on Danish political parties preventing the implementation of an EC decision to lift trade sanctions against SA.

A spokesman for the Danish Foreign Ministry said there had been "no signals" yet in response to the move from parties in a centre-left coalition that had vetoed EC moves to lift the trade sanctions.

In SA, Actstop secretary-general Pressage Nkosi yesterday welcomed the Acts' repeal but said the government had to make some restitution for the loss blacks had suffered through application of the laws.

In Durban the Inkatha Freedom Party called for further measures to redress wrongs caused by the laws.

Azapo said the scrapping of the laws had not fulfilled its demand for redistribution of land.

The ANC's National Land Committee (NLC) said provisions of the Bill were inherently racist because it allowed communities to set their own standards and norms, thereby maintaining the present situation.

GERALD REILLY reports from Pretoria that the Transvaal Agricultural Union (TAU) assured farmers the fight to protect white farmlands would continue.

● Comment: Page 8

B/Day 7 June 1991

Mandela's Soviet trip off again

TIM COHEN

FOR THE second time, a trip by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela to the Soviet Union has been postponed at the last moment, but he will be visiting South American countries, including Cuba, next month.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday the trip was postponed because the diaries of Mandela and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders could not be reconciled.

But the trip would definitely be reorganised at a later date which had not yet been decided, he said.

Mandela, currently in Paris, was due to spend four days in the Soviet Union.

B/Dan 7 June 1991

Mandela pleads for end to prison fasts

WILSON ZWANE

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday urged hunger-striking prisoners to suspend their fast.

In a statement issued by the ANC on his behalf, Mandela said he was convinced the hunger strikers had made it clear to government that all political prisoners should be released.

In another development, four government departments, the ANC, the Human Rights Commission and medical organisations on Wednesday night provisionally agreed on an eight-point protocol for the medical treatment of hunger strikers.

SA Health Workers' Congress spokesman Dr Aslam Dasoo said all parties agreed that once prisoners had been on hunger strike for two weeks or had lost over 10% of their body weight they would immediately be hospitalised, with their informed consent. After 15% of body weight was lost, or if there was any biochemical instability, prisoners should be transferred to high-care facilities.

Describing the agreement as a breakthrough, Dasoo said it could make SA's approach to hunger strikers the most progressive in the world, if accepted by government, and help solve the deadlock over political prisoners.

In terms of the provisional protocol, medical personnel may not apply pressure to prisoners to end the hunger strike and medical care must be rendered uncondi-

□ To Page 2

Mandela

□ From Page 1

tionally. Hunger strikers must have the right to a second medical opinion.

Representatives of the Health, Law and Order, Justice and Correctional Services departments agreed prisoners had to be informed of their rights and mechanisms for making complaints had to be in place.

Conflicting reports on the number of prisoners on hunger strike range from the ANC and Human Rights Commission's (HRC's) estimate of 30 to the Correctional Services Department's 16. The ANC says 14 have been fasting for 37 days, three for 36 days and six for 34 days.

In his statement issued yesterday, Mandela said: "Our movement and people require the hunger strikers as active par-

ticipants in the struggle to transform our country into a non-racial democracy.

"For this reason, we appeal to all our comrades to terminate the hunger strike so that none of them die or suffer permanent health damage."

He also called on ANC supporters to join a mass action campaign aimed at securing the release of all political prisoners and implementation of all agreements reached between the ANC and government.

Hunger Strike Committee lawyer Willie Hofmeyr said thousands of people were expected to march on Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee's Cape Town offices today to protest against the minister's statement that all political prisoners had been freed.

B/Day 7 June 1991

Huge scheme to mine Natal sands

RHOMBUS Exploration (Rhoex) and Shell SA have agreed in principle to go ahead with a R320m joint venture to mine and refine mineral sands in northern Natal.

Mineral sands are principally used in the production of titanium pigment which is used in the paint, paper and plastics industries.

Shell and Rhoex will have 60% and 40% stakes in the project respectively, with the mining exploration company able to reduce its participation to about 9% if it does not contribute further funds.

Rhoex MD Rob Still said at a news conference yesterday that production would start in the mid-1990s.

Rhoex had successfully added value to its mineral reserves, he said, but there was further work to do before the project was given the green light, a decision likely in 1992.

If the project was successful it would bring invaluable skills into SA and make a "significant contribution" to foreign exchange earnings through the export of the beneficiated products.

Still said the titanium feedstock market was relatively stable with pigment producers expanding capacity by 28% in an industry whose annual turnover was already R30bn. While there was short-term oversupply in the market, the project partners

MATTHEW CURTIN

were confident they would be able to exploit the changing structure of the market and titanium shortages in a few years time.

Titanium pigment was the major value-added market, worth 10 times more than simple mineral production. The Natal said project would be able to upgrade its operations in the longer term to exploit the more lucrative market.

Frankel Max Pollak Vinderine analyst Kevin Kartun said yesterday the project had been well researched by Shell and Rhoex. Taking into account the inevitable difficulties of converting the project from the pilot to the fully operational stage, its prospects were good.

However, Shell's support for the project of this size, undoubtedly with the backing of the Shell International, suggested the venture's prospects were good.

Still said Rhoex's role would consist of continuing geological work and monitoring the financial progress of the project. Shell was responsible for the marketing the beneficiation process along with Lurgi SA. Lurgi is a joint venture company between E L Bateman and Lurgi AG of Frankfurt.

Shell has already paid Rhoex R47m in

□ To Page 2

Natal

exploration costs and R13m worth of feasibility work is under way.

The mineral sand reserves, held by both parties, contain 7.9-million tons of ilmenite, 500 000 tons of rutile, and 1.1-million tons of zircon, expected to last for 30 years. Current exploration is expected to confirm the existence of additional reserves. These figures are about 30% higher than the proven ore reserves published in Rhoex's

□ From Page 1

1990 annual report.

The project, about 15km from SA's main operational mineral sands project conducted by Richards Bay Minerals, involves the mining of inland mineral sands under agricultural and plantation land.

Shell minerals division MD Gordon Jarman could not be contacted for comment last night.

B/Day 7 June 1991

'Feud' over Paton works

THE son of novelist Alan Paton, Wits University lecturer Jonathan Paton, said yesterday next week's auction of his father's manuscript of Cry the Beloved Country had caused a family feud.

Paton said he regarded his step-mother Anne's plan to auction the handwritten manuscript in New York as "mercenary".

However, Anne Paton denied last night there was a feud and said Jonathan had known all along about her plans.

Although she would like the manuscript to remain in SA and had offered it to Harry Oppenheimer — a deal which fell through — she thought it did not matter where it went, as long as it was preserved and accessible to students and the public.

ANC 119 held up at border

POLICE said yesterday they were holding 119 ANC members at Zeerust pending the completion of immigration formalities. The group was from Dukwe refugee camp in Botswana.

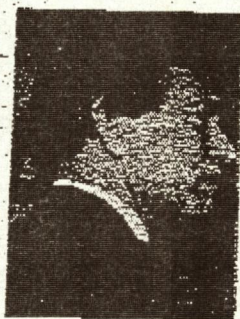
A police spokesman said Zeerust police often processed returnees' applications. Immigration formalities were sometimes disposed of in about a day, because fingerprints could be faxed to Pretoria for returning refugees' identities to be verified.

REPORTS: Business Day Reporter, Sapa-Reuters.

Weekly Mail 7 June 1991

EDDIE KOCH meets the mercenary sent to persuade Renamo to stop

A soldier of peace?



Meet Eskom's peace envoy Garth Barrett, who is also an ex-SAS soldier, a warrior for SA's special forces and an expert at knife-throwing

WHO is this man? An emissary of peace able to go into the heart of Mozambique and pacify parts of that war-wracked country or a ruthless soldier of fortune who helped turn Renamo into one of the world's most brutal rebel armies?

Meet Garth Barrett, 48. He is the envoy sent by Eskom on a mission to Renamo's headquarters in Gorongosa last month to urge rebel leader Afonso Dhlakama to put an end to sabotage attacks on the power lines that connect the hydro-electric dam at Cahorra Bassa to South Africa.

But take a look at his curriculum vitae: member of Britain's elite Special Air Services; hero of the abortive war for white supremacy in Rhodesia; warrior for special forces in the South African military, specialist in the art of knife-throwing; commander of some of Pretoria's covert raids into Mozambique; supporter of Hitler's SS; architect of a mercenary plan to invade the Seychelles; anti-communist crusader for the CIA and SADF to support Renamo and armed dissidents in Zimbabwe; and an assassin who plotted to kill President Robert Mugabe.

Is this the stuff of which pacifists are made? The question is at the heart of a growing controversy over Eskom's decision to use Barrett as go-between with Renamo.

The SAS soldier is a frank man. He admits that he did all of the above except for the plan to kill Mugabe, which he vigorously denies...and that the knife is his favoured instrument of death.

But Barrett argues with conviction that it is precisely these attributes which made him the one person capable of persuading Dhlakama to stop waging war around the pylons that are so vital to the success of the Cahorra Bassa hydro-electric scheme.

"I'll admit that I am no lover of Mugabe or Machel or Chissano. I am an anti-communist but people as a whole, especially in Africa, are oriented towards capitalism," he told *The Weekly Mail*.

"The PIC (a joint committee representing all the parties involved in running Cahorra Bassa) needed someone who had credibility with Renamo to liaise and negotiate with Dhlakama. That is why we have been able to agree that the powerlines won't be blown up and even that Renamo will provide protection for maintenance teams that operate in their territory."

Barrett says he is deeply committed to ensuring the future of the Cahorra Bassa scheme and even has an environmental motive for this.

"This part of Africa has to develop economically and the only way to do this is to bring cheap power to every person. Studies have shown that when all the Mozambican refugees go back home, for example, five- to 10-million trees will be destroyed for firewood."

He adds that his negotiations with Renamo for the PIC have been okayed by the Mozambican government, which is represented on the committee. "In fact EDM, the Mozambican electrici-

ty company, has asked me to try and set up a similar deal to protect the pylons that run from Komatipoort to Maputo."

Not everyone is convinced. "South Africa has eased back, although not ended, its supply and military command assistance to Renamo," says the latest edition of the London-based journal *Southscan*. "Barrett is well-placed to do it and Eskom officials are privately concerned that they might unintentionally be helping him to do so — to their own detriment."

The report followed a *Weekly Mail* article last month which noted that Barrett had accompanied a troupe of Eskom officials, SABC reporters and foreign correspondents to Renamo headquarters at Gorongosa in Mozambique and arranged for supplies of expensive radio equipment as well as a new uniform to be delivered to Dhlakama.

Did Barrett ever conduct covert raids into Mozambique? "Yes, as commander of the SADF's Sixth Reconnaissance Commando I led the invasion into Matola in 1981." One of his men killed in that raid was wearing a helmet bearing the emblem of a swastika. "Well you know how soldiers are. They're always plastering themselves with tattoos and regalia of that kind."

Did he lobby the South African military to continue covert support for Renamo after the 1984 Nkomati Accord and Zimbabwean dissidents led by Ndabamangi Sithole? Yes, he had dealings with the right-wing International Freedom Foundation, the Heritage Foundation and conservative senator Jesse Helms in this regard but declines to give details.

Did he draw up a plan to invade the Seychelles? "I won't deny that I was involved in the Seychelles. Some former colleagues or mine were captured during Mike Hoare's mercenary invasion and I drew up a plan to get them out."

Asked about the countless atrocities committed by Renamo, including those in which villagers are forced to eat the body parts of their dead relatives, Barrett says he is "deeply saddened" by the acts of barbarity that blacks are committing against blacks in Africa. "But we cannot be naïve about the way war is conducted on this continent."

Barrett has met Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi "about four or five times". He respects Buthelezi as a leader in the same mould as Dhlakama and Sithole and believes that Zulus will never be able to live peacefully with other black tribes in South Africa. But he says he has never worked for Inkatha or kwaZulu.

One night while he was visiting his friend, Dhlakama, at Gorongosa last month, Barrett took part in a dinner table chat. The topic was the German SS.

"A friend of mine was in the SS, and the Russians put him in a labour camp for five years after the war. Five years just for being a soldier. They treated him terribly. He didn't deserve that."

When it was pointed out that the SS had committed terrible atrocities on the Russian front, he replied: "But not all SS. This was the Waffen SS. He was just a soldier."

Barrett confirmed reports that his company, Minerva, formed after he left the SADF, earned

(2)
Weekly Mail

the sabotage

vast amounts for designing explosion suppressing bags known as "Barrett's Bomb Bags". These were used widely as security devices in local buildings as a precaution against Umkhonto weSizwe attacks in the 1980s.

Eskom, currently engaged in high-level talks with the governments of Mozambique and Zimbabwe to create a common power grid for the whole of southern Africa, says it was not aware of Barrett's political leanings or past activities when he was employed to contact Dhlakama.

But the electricity supply commission denies reports that it is embarrassed by its contact with him or that its delicate talks with the governments of Mozambique and Zimbabwe are jeopardised by it.

"Neither Eskom nor the Permanent Joint Committee on Cahorra Bassa (PJC — which represents Pretoria, Lisbon, Maputo, Eskom and EDM) has any knowledge of Mr Barrett's political leanings or his past activities, except that he was a member of the erstwhile Rhodesian Defence Force," said Eskom PR consultant Johan du Plessis.

"His services are being used solely to maintain contact between the PJC and Renamo. Since this contact is being maintained with the full knowledge of the Mozambican government, which has representation on the PJC, the credibility of the PJC cannot be affected by allegations concerning Mr Barrett."

Eskom also denied sending radio equipment to Renamo along with Barrett, but said discussion was under way for the PJC to supply communications technology to the rebels. "A direct communication link with Renamo would be invaluable at present and in the future during reconstruction work on the power lines," said Du Plessis.

● The SABC has objected to *The Weekly Mail's* report about the trip in which a team of its journalists accompanied Barrett to Renamo headquarters in Gorongosa.

PC Krutzing, editor-in-chief of television news, said the SABC "categorically denied" that the corporation was involved in an effort to "brush up Renamo's image". He also rejected suggestions that the SABC team had helped deliver expensive gifts to Dhlakama.

SABC reporter Johan Kruger denied a report that he had promised Dhlakama that he would muster support amongst white South Africans for the rebel's cause.

Chris McGreal, a foreign correspondent who reported on the trip for *The Weekly Mail*, replied: "Kruger was a representative of the SABC and made it clear through the quotes in the story that he intended to present a favourable picture of Renamo. In working closely with Eskom, he was part of a delegation that delivered the gifts."

He added that Kruger's promise to Dhlakama was made in front of about a dozen witnesses at a dinner table. "He made so many promises to so many people that even the evangelists on the trip stopped taking him seriously."

Weekly Mail 7 June 1991.

■WHAT, I wonder, is the SADF up to? I only ask because I was just about the only journalist in town who wasn't invited to a special briefing by the Chief of Staff and his staff.

All present were regaled with blood-curdling quotes from the ANC as to what they would do with the army once they seized power. The fact that these were all pre-1990 quotes — and let's face it, *nobody* these days is expected to stand by what they said two years ago — didn't cramp their style a bit.

That's the bare bones. But really, what

were they up to? And does FW know?

■[In response to your article: "Inkatha Could Scuttle Hostel Plans" (WM, May 17-23), it is with regret and consternation that we read of Inkatha's attempts to scuttle attempts to upgrade the hostels to family accommodation.

On the basis of extensive recent research (1986-1990) among residents of the hostels in the Western Cape we refute Suzanne Vos' generalisations about hostel dwellers. She claims, among other things, with no qualifications, that "hostels are Inkatha strongholds".

The system of hostels extends far beyond the few Inkatha strongholds on the Reef. In the Cape there are 1 084 council-built hostel complexes. This does not include employer-built hostels nor farmworker hostels.

This is probably similar for the other provinces. In Cape Town, it is estimated that hostel dwellers make up 11 percent of the African population. It can be reasonably assumed that hostel dwellers outside of the Inkatha dominated premises on the Reef comprise a considerable proportion of the population.

A majority of hostel dwellers want family accommodation. As early as 1986 the Western Cape Hostel Dwellers' Association approached researchers at the University of Cape Town for assistance with their campaign to upgrade the hostels to family housing. The researchers provided the "scientific survey" data, the prerequisite for negotiations with government and funders. Results of a survey carried out for the Department of Development Aid among hostel dwellers in the Transvaal also report requests for family accommodation.

Hostel dwellers have good reason to want family accommodation. Overcrowding is severe. There are an average of 2,8 persons to a bed. In contrast, in the middle to high income areas of Cape Town average room occupancy is 0,5 persons. In the Langa hostels, there are

on average 130 people to a single working lavatory and 117 persons to a single working tap.

Hostel dwellers are solid citizens. They have made and continue to make a considerable contribution to the economy. In Cape Town they have contributed an average of 26 working years to this metropolitan area. They provide essential, and often unsung services to the city.

The activities of some Inkatha members in a few hostels cannot be allowed to jeopardise lengthy negotiations (since 1986) for family accommodation on the eve of implementation.

It is salutary to note as a final point that the current phase of violence being perpetuated at these few Inkatha hostels on the Reef is conspicuous by its absence in hostels in the rest of the country. — Dr Mamphela Ramphele, Department of Social Anthropology, UCT

■THE University of the Western Cape is portrayed, both nationally and internationally, as the intellectual home of the left. The institution aspires to be a home of the anti-apartheid democratic movement and of radical thought. It has brilliant leftist intellectuals serving as lecturers. However, instead of finding a vibrant, critical and radical student body one finds only apa-

LETTERS

Weekly Mail
7 June 1991

Don't let Inkatha block the upgrading of hostels

thetic students. Only a few students can be seen to be contributing to the debate on the nature of transformation of our tertiary institutions. Moreover, the majority of the students do not show any willingness to partake in various activities on campus. Student organisations like Sausco are now a ghost of their past — membership is gradually whittling away. And elections for the SRC have failed for the second consecutive day. For both elections the required 25 percent poll was never obtained. Surely, UWC is the hotbed of conservatism! What a contradiction — a conservative student body in a radical institution.

It is my contention that the very visible apathy is caused by reasons more complex than hitherto put forward by certain students. Factors such as the current political climate (characterised by despondency as a result of NP/Inkatha aggression); legacy of institutionalised segregation on the basis of racial, ethnic grounds etc. and its effect on the "coloured" and African students' psyche; and the culture of intolerance as shown by the De Klerk regime (increasingly replicated by democratic formations in our townships) will have to be taken into account in an attempt to resolve this problem. Also, acti-

vists have failed to match or combine theory and practice and to win over people who were hitherto apolitical. — Proponent of democracy within radical groupings

■THE Weekly Mail has been playing an extremely important and courageous role during the past year of political transformation. For this you deserve warm applause and support.

Yes, before President FW de Klerk's watershed speech on February 2 1990 you proved to be, *inter alia*, a most effective advocate for the then-banned organisations. However, if our country is to become what it ought to be, namely a thriving, well-run democracy, we need an ever-vigilant press unafraid of criticising blundering politicians. And that includes the ANC and PAC leaderships.

What a pity some of your readers seem to find this unacceptable. — JD Froneman, Potchefstroom

■SOUTH AFRICA really is an absurd place. We've had a male-dominated march to celebrate International Women's Day; white guests at a PAC rally smiling weakly when greeted with chants of "one settler, one bullet"; and now TV presenters breaking environmental protection laws to "celebrate environment week". Last week viewers of *Revue Plus* saw this "celebration" announced from that instrument of environmental destruction much hated by all who value shore birds, shells and the sounds of the sea — the beach buggy.

Parked high on the Fish River beach Doreen Morris looked cheerfully unaware that off-road vehicles were banned above the high-water mark on all Cape beaches last year.

Watch out that such "blues" don't spoil your "green" image. — M. M. ...
Cook, Department of Sociology, Wits University

Letters should be addressed to LETTERS PAGE, Weekly Mail, Box 260425, Excom 2023.

The editors reserve the right to edit for clarity and space.

The Minister of Murder

A DRAPENING silence has been Ulundi's only response to its disgrace — the first government minister in South African history to be convicted of murder.

Last week deputy minister of the interior and Inkatha Central Committee member Samuel Jamile was sentenced to life imprisonment for murder and attempted murder. The judge said it was a "close call" whether to pass the death sentence.

Yet more than a week later there has still been no official comment from kwaZulu's chief minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Mid-week Jamile still "technically" held his ministerial post and presumably still does. His boss, the man who has repeatedly promised to root out violence whoever the perpetrator, has said nothing to distance himself and Inkatha from Jamile's actions, nor has he revealed whether Jamile has been suspended or sacked from the cabinet or the ICC.

He has not explained why he appointed Jamile to the ranks of his cabinet advisers after civil action was successful-

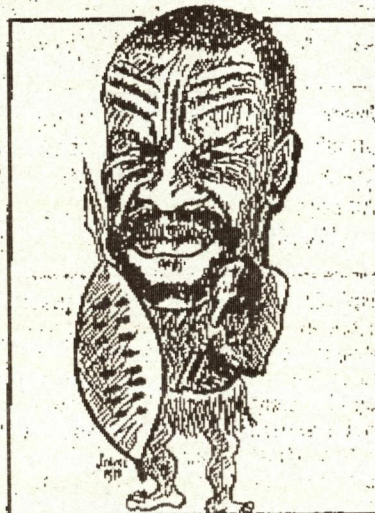
KwaZulu deputy minister Samuel Jamile has finally been convicted of murder, but many questions remain unanswered.

CARMEL RICKARD reports

ly started against him in the supreme court by Thoko Shabalala; the woman he has now been found guilty of trying to murder by having her throat cut.

He has not explained why, even after Jamile's conviction for murder and attempted murder, a ministerial car rolled up to court on the day of sentence, clearly with the expectation that Jamile would be freed.

Nor, as minister of kwaZulu Police, has Buthelezi commented on the allegation that members of his force, claimed in the indictment to have been the killers responsible for a number of deaths, have disappeared, and could not be found when police wanted to charge them. Are they being sought by the KZP? Will they be handed over to the courts for trial? Will there be action on the judge's comments about the



Jailed ... Samuel Jamile
Graphic: The New African

"difficulties" the investigating officer experienced from members of the KZP during his investigation?

No official statement on any of these issues has been volunteered by Ulundi and a faxed list of questions has so far been unanswered.

The silence is made possible partly because most of the media buried the story at least until sentencing.

An exception was the small Zulu-language Natal paper *Umfrika*.

While academics and others who believed it was of great public interest had to beg the local media to cover the trial, *Umfrika* seconded a senior journalist, editor Cyril Madlala, to give the case saturation coverage.

For the people of Clermont, the township where Jamile was based and the home of his victims, it was the media, the legal system and the police as much as Jamile who were on trial.

Questions are being asked about whether the media would have covered the trial as they did if it were an ANC or National Party official of similar rank in the dock, and why the media has tolerated Ulundi's official silence.

Community investigation was largely responsible for the case ever getting to court. For example, when Jamile's co-accused Msihl Hlope escaped from custody it was members of the public who traced him and tipped off police where he could be found. According to

evidence given in the trial, the first time Jamile was arrested, SAP security police colonel James Louwrens told the investigating officer to release him — even before the preliminary investigation was complete. Later the attorney general's office withdrew charges and declined to prosecute.

Official interest in the case was only re-awakened when Jamile's driver, Lawrence Ntshahintshi, wrote to the state president and the minister of law and order, telling them that his deputy minister boss had bragged about the murders he had committed.

Jamile wants to appeal against his conviction and sentence, but in the meantime, many questions remain.

The community still wants to know why the initial investigation against Jamile was called off.

Even more intriguing is Jamile's motive — he was a well-off businessman, a herbalist, national president of a traditional healers' association, property owner and influential politician with personal bodyguards and a pair of new Mercedes Benzes at his beck and call. What made him a killer?

Become more involved, urge Jewish leaders

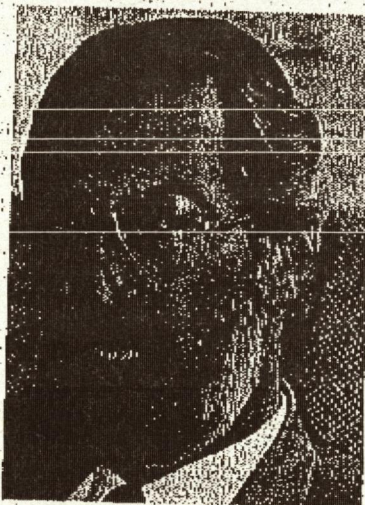
DELEGATES to last weekend's bi-annual conference of the Jewish Board of Deputies must have been surprised to find themselves chided by their leaders for failing to deal with present day South African realities in the course of their deliberations.

The conference title, after all, had been The New South Africa and South African Jewry — but it was a topic barely broached, save to ask that infernal question about the left, right and centre of South African politics: "Is it good for the Jews, or bad for the Jews?"

The outgoing president of the Board, Professor Michael Katz, and the chief rabbi of South Africa, Cyril Harris, urged the delegates to become more involved in the communities around them, exhorting delegates to give their skills and to show that they mean to participate in the "new South Africa".

A suggestion made by the chief rabbi for the community to give up its government subsidies for its welfare and education projects, was greeted by an empty silence.

The conference epitomised an era of appeasement which began in 1948, when the Board of Deputies met the Malan government days after the National Party's election win. Malan and his party had, during the 30s and 40s, been noted for their anti-semitism and pro-Nazism (which resulted in several



Imanu-Shalom's Rabbi Ady Assabi

of them being interned during the war). But after meeting the Board of Deputies delegation they decided to relinquish those sentiments.

That era turned full circle at the opening of the conference last weekend when the Nationalist State President FW de Klerk gave the opening speech to rapturous applause and standing ovations — and no reference to the unsavoury past. The thank-you speech at the end, made in Afrikaans by the new chairman of the board, Mervyn Smith, referred to De Klerk as "our president" — and was greeted by yet another ova-

The bi-annual conference of the Jewish Board of Deputies produced some surprises — especially for the delegates.

PAT SIDLEY reports

tion. The opening ended with the singing of two national anthems — and neither was *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*.

This was in stark contrast to the reception given Rabbi Ady Assabi last year when he invited Nelson Mandela to address his Imanu-Shalom congregation in Johannesburg during the Friday night Sabbath service.

Both De Klerk and Institute for Multi-Party Democracy head Oscar Dhlomo, who addressed the conference, won favour among the delegates and guests by stressing the need for some kind of recognition for minorities in a new South Africa. De Klerk in fact illustrated his point by pointing to similarities between how Zulus and Jews perceived themselves.

Later in the day, delegates found it tough to accept *Weekly Mail* columnist Steve Friedman's assurances that a future ANC government was unlikely to be anti-semitic; it ran against the grain and experience of the organisation.

They preferred instead to accept the charges of anti-semitism from Brenda Stern, a young student on the Universi-

ty of the Witwatersrand campus, as well as similar comments from Solly Sacks, chairman of the South African Zionist Federation who, along with most of those present, believed there to be no distinction between anti-semitism and anti-Zionism.

On the final day of deliberations, towards the end, Katz told the delegates: "There was insufficient debate on where we (as Jews) respond as a leadership and as a community to a new South Africa ... We skirted around the issue and did not get to it."

"It's morally right that we harness our resources to the fight against poverty, to the big gaps in education, in health care, in accommodation ..."

This was followed by an impassioned plea by the chief rabbi who said he was concerned that the role of South African Jews in a changing South Africa was receding into the background.

"We are not here to reflect the current views of the South African Jewish community which regarding the 'new South Africa' are at best hesitation and at worst aloofness," Harris said.

"What we are here to do unashamedly is to give a lead to the community."

Harris said there had been many significant individual Jewish contributions towards the creation of a 'new South Africa', the dismantling of apartheid and the coming together of the different groups in South Africa.

The name of Helen Suzman was mentioned — but not Ruth First, Joe Slovo, Bernie Panaroff or others who have also contributed among other things to the likelihood that South Africa will not have an anti-semitic tradition.

Harris continued his exhortation: "What there never has been, and what we need now, is for the South African Jewish Board of Deputies to lead a communal effort to display purposefully to the whole of South African Jewry that we mean to participate in no uncertain terms in the 'new' South Africa."

It was here that he quoted the suggestion that perhaps the community could give up its government subsidies which form a small percentage of its welfare and educational expenditure.

"We should not take one cent for welfare, nor one rand for education. We won't have them in a few years' time ... so let's make the gesture now." He pleaded with the delegates in the name of Jewish traditional values to "go out and do something".

But the final irony was in a motion passed asking the government to introduce legislation which would enable the prosecutions for war crimes and crimes against humanity. There was no discussion and no dissent. Nobody thought it might have some application other than the cause for which it was intended — to prosecute Nazis who may be on the loose here.

Weekly Mail 7 June 1991

17/06 '91 10:30

031 296301

ROY RUDDEN

→→→ Chief Minister

003/003

The Natal Witness, Friday, June 7, 1991 Page 11

Ulundi silent on Jamile conviction

A DEAFENING silence has been Ulundi's only response to its disgrace — the first government minister in South African history to be convicted of murder.

Last week KwaZulu deputy minister of the interior and Inkatha Central Committee (ICC) member Samuel Jamile was sentenced to life imprisonment for murder and attempted murder.

The judge said it was a "close call" whether to pass the death sentence. Yet more than a week later there has still been no official comment from KwaZulu's chief minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Midweek Jamile still "technically" held his ministerial post and presumably still does. His boss, the man who has repeatedly promised to root out violence whoever the perpetrator, has said nothing to distance himself and Inkatha from Jamile's actions, nor has he revealed whether Jamile is still drawing a ministerial salary, whether he has been suspended or sacked from the cabinet or the ICC.

He has not explained why he appointed Jamile to the ranks of his cabinet advisers after civil action was successfully started against him in the Supreme Court by Thoko Shabalala, the woman he has now been found guilty of trying to murder by having her throat cut.

He has not explained why, even after Jamile's conviction for murder and attempted murder, a ministerial car rolled up to court on the day of sentence, clearly with the expectation that Jamile would be freed. Nor, as minister of KwaZulu Police (KZP), has Buthelezi commented on the allegation that members of his force, claimed in the indictment to have been the killers responsible for a number of deaths, have disappeared, and could not be found when police wanted to charge them.

Are they being sought by the KZP? Will they be handed over to the courts for trial? Will there be action on the judge's comments about the "difficulties" the investigating officer experienced from members of the KZP during his investigation?

No official statement on any of these issues has been volunteered by Ulundi and a faxed list of questions has so far been unanswered. The silence is made possible partly because most of the media buried the story at least until sentencing. An exception was the small Zulu-language Natal paper UmAfrika.

While academics and others who believed it was of great public interest had to beg some of the media to cover the trial, UmAfrika seconded a senior journalist, editor Cyril Madlala, to give the case saturation coverage.

For the people of Clermont, the township where Jamile was based and the home of his victims, it was the media, the legal system and the police as much as Jamile who were on trial.

Questions are being asked about whether the media would have covered the trial as they did if it were an African National Congress or National Party official of similar rank in the dock, and why

Last week IFP leader Samuel Jamile was sentenced to life imprisonment for murder. CARMEL RICKARD considers Ulundi's silence on the matter.

the media has tolerated Ulundi's official silence.

Many people now firmly believe KwaZulu and Inkatha have "special status" with some sectors of the media, and have drawn their own conclusions about why this is so.

Community investigation was largely responsible for the case ever getting to court and if it had been left to official channels only, Jamile would still probably be walking the streets. For example, when Jamile's co-accused Msizi Hlope escaped from custody it was members of the public who traced him and tipped off police where he could be found.

According to evidence given in the trial, the first time Jamile was arrested, SAP security police colonel James Louwrens told the investigating officer to release him — even before the preliminary investigation was complete. Later the attorney general's office withdrew charges and declined to prosecute.

Official interest in the case was only re-awakened when Jamile's driver, Lawrence Ntshalintshali, wrote to the state president and the minister of law and order, telling them that his deputy minister boss had bragged about the murders he had committed.

With this background, members of the Clermont community were sceptical justice would be done — now many feel their trust in the legal system has been restored; that with impartial and efficient police investigations, it is possible for people who allegedly terrorised a whole township for five years, to be put behind bars.

Jamile wants to appeal against his conviction and sentence, but in the meantime, many questions remain, apart from Ulundi's silence and the lack of coverage in the media. The community still wants to know why the initial investigation against Jamile was called off — who issued the orders to release him and why did the AG's office withdraw charges?

Even more intriguing is Jamile's motive — he was a well-off businessman, a herbalist, national president of a traditional healers' association, property owner and influential politician with personal bodyguards and a pair of new Mercedes Benz at his beck and call. What made him a killer?

So far these questions, and many others, remain unanswered.

Tensions rise in Ciskei

TENSION was rising in the Ciskei this week as the government of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and the ANC moved closer to direct confrontation.

Key demands in a consumer boycott launched by the ANC in the Border region on Monday are Gqozo's resignation and the dismantling of the Ciskei.

While the boycott appeared to be generally effective, Gqozo showed no inclination to step down. Rumours persist that he is setting up his own party, the Ciskei Freedom Party, and he has begun reinstalling regional chiefs he deposed when he came to power early last year.

This is seen as a move against local residents' associations, mostly ANC-aligned, who took over regional government functions when the chiefs were deposed.

The ANC's demands include the lifting of the curfew in Whittlesea—Ecna

Weekly Mail 7 June 1991