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# ANC wins more hearts and minds than the the PAC at the UN

By DAVID GREYBE

NEW YORK — The African National Congress and not the Pan Africanist Congress is winning, hands down, the hearts and minds of the international community, judged on the performances of Nelson Mandela and Benny Alexander in the United States last week.

The PAC general secretary came to New York to address the United Nations, while the ANC president came to call for the lifting of economic sanctions and to woo investment to South Africa.

Mr Mandela's call at the UN last Friday for the lifting of sanctions has led to a positive response from a number of countries and international bodies, such as the European Community, the Organisation of African Unity and the Commonwealth.

## OAU decision

This has been in spite of the "very strong" opposition, in the words of Mr Alexander, of the PAC.

Possibly the most significant example of the ANC winning its way over the PAC was the OAU decision on Wednesday to heed Mr Mandela's call.

Officially the PAC and the ANC have equal status at the United Nations and the OAU.

Both men attended the meeting at the OAU's headquarters in New York, and both put their cases to its 14-member ad hoc committee on Southern Africa.

Despite the OAU's image of being the most militant world body regarding South Africa, the ANC won the day against the PAC.

The OAU decision was "almost overwhelming", a smiling Mr Mandela told reporters afterwards.

A few blocks away, at the UN, the ANC's "winning ways" over the PAC were equally apparent.

When he called for the lifting of sanctions, Mr Mandela did not do so in some side-room like Mr Alexander did.

The ANC, according to an official in New York, managed to "bend the UN rules a bit".

As a result, Mr Mandela made his appeal in the UN General Assembly.

The ANC also managed to arrange for Mr Mandela to speak during the UN's lunch break, and not while the UN was in session as was the case with Mr Alexander.

No more than 30 people were present at Mr Alexander's address, while Mr Mandela spoke to a full General Assembly.

The UN secretary general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali and the chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, Prof Ibrahim Gambari of Nigeria, were both present at Mr Mandela's address.

They were absent during Mr Alexander's address, sending representatives instead.

Journalists who attended Mr Mandela's press conference after his address to the UN, where he was flanked by New York Mayor David Dinkins and civil rights campaigner the Rev Jesse Jackson, had to introduce themselves and their organisation before asking questions.

This was not the case at the PAC press conference.

## Activists

"The reason is that most of the people at the conference are activists who support the PAC," according to a UN diplomat present.

This appeared to be borne out by the almost "gospel" murmurings from the audience each time Mr Alexander really laid into the "apartheid regime", and by the applause at the end of the press conference.

The ANC's winning ways over the PAC extended beyond the world body too.

Aides to Mr Mandela spent hours every day juggling his programme in New York and Washington to fit in as many meetings as possible.

However, a South American president was denied a request to meet Mr Mandela.

According to a member of the ANC's Department of International Affairs accompanying Mr Mandela, the meeting was turned down because of a lack of time and because there was no political mileage in it for the ANC. — Sapa

# ANC self-defence units to be examined

PRETORIA. — Police will discuss ANC self-defence units (SDU) with the National Peace Secretariat following the finding by Mr Justice Levison that the units were involved in the commission of violence.

Law and Order Deputy Minister Gert Myburgh said in a statement today the finding by an independent judge confirmed certain ANC structures were waging a deliberate "elimination campaign" against the police.

"The question that now must be asked is how many of the numerous policemen cold-bloodedly murdered, especially on the East Rand, have been killed as a result of the ANC's SDU policy?" asked Mr Myburgh.

He pointed out that Mr Justice Levison's finding should be seen in conjunction with a statement by National Peace Secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys that a dangerous propaganda campaign was being waged against the police. — Sapa.

# Jessop facing fraud charges

**The Argus Correspondent**

**JOHANNESBURG. — Neville Jessop, managing director of Golden Trust liquidators, is to appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court today on charges of fraud totalling several million rands.**

**Police confirmed today that Mr Jessop was arrested on Tuesday. He appeared briefly in the Kempton Park Magistrate's Court yesterday.**

# ANC may grant region to Afrikaners

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC is considering accommodating Afrikaners in a particular region in South Africa, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said at the weekend.

Speaking at the end of his US visit, he said the right-wing had given the ANC a map and it was being considered.

"I have said to the right-wing: Stop talking about Afrikaners — indicate to me what area is predominantly Afrikaans."

He said the ANC was prepared to accommodate the right-wing in one of the country's regions.

Mr Mandela said he opposed ethnicity as a basis for drafting a constitution, but the ANC was prepared to compromise to accommodate Afrikaners by allowing them to settle in one of the regions into which the country is to be divided under a new constitution.

## European trip

He said he was confident South Africa would attract foreign investment.

"The response has been far more than I expected," he said on Saturday before jetting out for the European leg of his trip, which starts today.

"It has been a successful visit," he added.

Mr Mandela's campaign to sell South Africa began with his call at the UN for the lifting of economic sanctions.

In New York and Washington, he addressed two conferences on South Africa, met senior officials and interest groups at the UN and held talks with top business and political leaders.

He revealed that the 170 or so pieces of US sanctions legislation at federal, state and city level would be repealed in the next three months, a record by US legislature standards. — UPI, Sapa

# ANC warned on arms

## Talks in jeopardy after two border arrests — Pik

**Political Staff**

UNLESS ways could be found to control the African National Congress's weapons, the government could not continue with negotiations, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said in Cape Town today.

He was questioned at an international Press conference about the arrest of two men at the Swazi border on Monday for allegedly trying to smuggle arms to Kwamashu, Durban.

The men claimed they were members of Umkhonto we Sizwe and had been acting on the instructions of the alleged MK commander in Natal. The ANC is investigating these claims intself and has raised the possibility that the two were criminal gun-runners now trying to hide behind the ANC.

Mr Botha said he had told diplomats yesterday this was a very serious matter.

"Unless a satisfactory solution can be found to this problem of the control of arms,

Mr Pik Botha

then it will be impossible for this government to continue with negotiatons. We hope that a solution can be found."

His reading of the ANC's response so far led him to believe "that we might be on the way to finding a solution".

Mr Botha disclosed that the Pan-Africanist Congress gave the government an undertaking at their bilateral meeting in Gaborone in November that it would suspend the "armed struggle" and enter negotiations.

He had asked Mr Dikgang Moseneke — "and it is unfortunate that he resigned because I have high regard for him" — why a joint statement could not announce that the PAC was suspending the struggle.

The PAC responded that in practice this would be the case but that it could not announce a suspension of the armed struggle in so many words until its April congress had considered the issue.

The PAC was at pains to spell out that it was not involved in violence and had in fact offered to act as mediator between the ANC and Inkatha.

Asked about the future of negotiations with the PAC, Mr Botha said he did not like to say "never" and added: "There will be contact."

The government broke off talks with the PAC after the King William's Town and Queenstown terrorist attacks for which Apla, the armed wing of the PAC, claimed responsibility.

Mr Botha also told the conference that the government had initially helped Mozambique's rebel movement, Renamo, but had stopped doing so some time ago, reports Sapa.

He could not say whether individual South Africans had continued to support Renamo.

Mozambique President Joachim Chissano had accepted that the government was no longer giving Renamo military aid and the relationship between the two countries was better than before.

Turning to Angola, Mr Botha said he was fed up with both the Unita rebel movement and the MPLA government. South Africa was no longer providing military aid to either.

The South African government supported all efforts by the United Nations to return the process in Angola to a parliamentary democracy.

# Forget past, face the future, says FW

**MICHAEL MORRIS**
**Political Correspondent**

A BITTER election battle between the ANC and the National Party over their apartheid and terrorist pasts would be "damning evidence of a fatal inability and lack of will to create a new and just South Africa", President De Klerk has warned.

"Peace cannot be built on bitterness," he told parliament, "and violence cannot be brought to an end by fanning flames of past grievances."

In a strong appeal to all parties to face the future and resist the temptation to drag up the past, he said: "We need seriously to ask the question: does a debate in which we become bogged down in the past really make any contribution to reconciliation?

"The answer is no. It serves no purpose to flog a dead horse.

"If the ANC, the Democratic Party and the Labour Party were to build their election platform on the NP's participation in apartheid, and the NP built its election platform on the ANC's espousal of terrorism and armed struggle, it would be damning evidence of a fatal inability and lack of will to create a new and just South Africa," he said.

He was responding to ANC MP Mr David Dalling's reference to the former Prime Ministers Dr D F Malan, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd and Mr J G Strijdom as "evil".

In fact, Mr De Klerk said, they were men of integrity who had acted in the public interest of the time and had believed that the policy of separate development would be a just answer.

Even Mr Dalling, he said, had once belonged to a party — the United Party — whose policy essentially amounted to "blanke baasskap".

However, there was nothing to be gained from dwelling in the past.

This year, he said, would be "decisive".

"Let's grab the opportunities, learn from the mistakes of the past and concentrate on the future," he said.

If people gave up hope in negotiations, a race war would erupt and the country would be destroyed.

Acknowledging that thousands of people had died in conflict in South Africa, Mr De Klerk added: "But if we had not taken the initiative and entered negotiations, there would have been millions of deaths."

The goal was a fair and just dispensation that would offer security to those who had something to lose, and opportunities to those who had nothing.

It must be a dispensation with institutions capable of protecting the constitution and the Bill of Rights, and with security forces and civil servants who were not open to manipulation.

# Apartheid hardly ruffled from disinvestment, Sullivan code

By William Raspberry

WASHINGTON POST WRITERS GROUP

ASSOCIATED PRESS

In photo from November, a General Motors security officer asks striking South African workers to leave.

WASHINGTON — If you've ever tried to hold out for one direction when all your friends were headed the other way, you can sympathize with the Rev. Leon Sullivan.

You can also understand the mental anguish he must have gone through before he finally yielded last week to the superior numbers, if not necessarily the superior judgment, of his friends.

Leon Sullivan has abandoned the fair-employment principles he promulgated for U.S. companies doing business in South Africa and joined those who call for total disinvestment.

The stated reason for his turnaround was that the Sullivan Principles had failed to end apartheid. But if it had been your teen-age son rather than this 64-year-old minister, educator and civil-rights activist, you might have called it by its right name: Peer pressure.

Sullivan's formulation of his six-point code some 10 years ago immediately made him one of the key American players in the anti-apartheid drama. The principles called on U.S. companies to defy South African law by integrating all company facilities, establishing fair-employment practices and equal pay, developing training programs for non-whites, increasing the number of blacks in managerial positions and, later, by lobbying against apartheid.

By last year, according to a report prepared by the consulting firm of Arthur D. Little Inc., the 179 companies that endorsed the code were spending more than $33 million a year on education, housing, community development, legal assistance and other programs for South African blacks, while also buying more than $9 million worth of goods and services from non-white businesses.

But in recent years the principal push by American activists has been to force U.S. companies out of South Africa altogether. Sullivan found himself in the uncomfortable position of working to make apartheid less oppressive while civil-rights colleagues, college students and other activists were pushing for a complete economic and diplomatic break with the white regime. Last year he announced that unless apartheid were toppled, he would call for "a total embargo." He did so last week, acknowledging that his milder approach hadn't ended apartheid.

Of course it didn't. U.S. companies never employed more than about 120,000 South Africans. Only about 2.3 percent of the white work force was employed by American companies, and less than 1 percent of black workers. The impact of the Sullivan Principles, as their author must have understood, would be only at the margins: by setting an example of fairness that South African companies might follow. It was not expected to end apartheid, whose key features include official segregation and the absolute denial of the franchise to blacks.

But if it should have been clear that the Sullivan Principles wouldn't end apartheid, it also should be clear that disinvestment won't end it either.

The economic recession, created in large measure by the combination of disinvestment and sanctions-induced credit problems, is hurting the South African economy. But disinvestment is also allowing South African whites to acquire the abandoned companies at bargain-basement rates and without the necessity of adhering to Sullivan's costly principles. According to the State Department, "To our knowledge, not one of the South African companies left has continued the fair-labor standards and social programs of the Sullivan code."

Moreover, the smaller the U.S. economic and diplomatic presence in South Africa, the less the American influence there.

Alan Keyes, assistant secretary for international organization affairs and the highest ranking black in the State Department, says flatly that the combination of sanctions and disinvestment has been counterproductive:

"By destroying the non-violent means of struggle against apartheid and encouraging violence, the hopeless view becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy [to which] the media in this country contribute. . . . America is well down the dead-end road of irrelevance to any process of relatively peaceful, democratic reform in South Africa."

Keyes challenges such pro-disinvestment advocates as Jesse Jackson and TransAfrica's Randall Robinson "to debate the merits of this question based upon the facts, and let the American people be the judge."

It's a debate I would like to hear.

# ANC hits at KwaZulu finances

DURBAN. — The African National Congress Natal Midlands region at the weekend called on the government to take over KwaZulu's financial administration.

This follows disclosures in Parliament of unauthorised spending of more than R25 million in the homeland.

In a statement the ANC also urged President F W de Klerk not to renew KwaZulu's tenure in 1994 because of disclosures about the theft of 101 weapons from the KwaZulu Police.

Attempts to reach KwaZulu government spokesmen for comment on the ANC's call were unsuccessful at the weekend.

In another development, a Natal violence monitor, Mrs Mary de Haas, said in a letter to the SAP regional commissioner: "It is alleged that 13 boxes, each containing 12 firearms, were 'lost' in Ulundi in recent weeks, either before or after they reached the quartermaster's stores."

Mrs De Haas called on the SAP to investigate this and make its findings public. — Sapa

# ANC post for Winnie

By Claire Fitzgerald

MRS WINNIE Mandela, wife of the African National Congress deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, is to be the ANC's head of social welfare.

Ms Gill Marcus, spokesman in the department of information and publicity, told The Citizen that the national executive committee had accepted the nomination.

Asked whether the appointment was a controversial one, she said: "We'll just leave it at the confirmation of the post."

Mrs Mandela is believed to have been nominated by the ANC's general secretary, Mr Alfred Nzo, although this could not be confirmed.

Mrs Mandela has been the centre of controversy on several occasions recently.

She stated in Durban

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# Post for Winnie

FROM PAGE 1

that the suspension of the armed struggle by the ANC was a mere strategy which did not mean the cessation of violence.

At the launch of the Orlando West branch of the ANC on Sunday she said that the ANC might be forced to look into the suspension of the armed struggle very seriously if there was no end to the carnage in the townships and if the hostel system was not abolished.

Mrs Mandela's name has been mentioned in the murder case involving the former coach of her football team, Jerry Richardson, who has been sentenced to death for killing 14-year-old Stompie Moeketsi Seipei.

Her name has also been mentioned in a current trial in the Rand Supreme Court involving Charles Zwane, who has been charged on 11 counts of murder and 22 counts of attempted murder.

# No Quick Fix for Ailing Zambian Economy

from pg 1

rica's highest urbanisation rates. An estimated 30 percent of these city-dwellers are unemployed. When food prices double they do not have a rural garden to fall back on.

The "compounds", the colonial term still widely used for Zambia's overcrowded township residential areas, have deteriorated. Water, sewage and garbage collection services hardly operate. Early this year, during the rainy season, a cholera epidemic broke out in Lusaka's townships and 100 people died.

Another obstacle to effective economic recovery is the government itself. Zambia is burdened by a creaking, stultified bureaucracy that cannot respond quickly to the most simple request, let alone the daunting job of revitalising a moribund economy. In fact Zambia has two bureaucracies: the government's civil service and the many layers of functionaries in Kaunda's United National Independence Party (UNIP). The government payroll is an unhealthy 20 percent of Zambia's gross domestic product and the salaries keep the civil servants in a comfortable lifestyle that is out of reach for the rest of the population.

And it appears that things can get worse. The quality of Zambia's copper is declining and mineral experts give the gloomy prediction that Zambia's deposits will be depleted shortly after the year 2000. Copper prices finally rose substantially in 1989 but not enough to make up for 15 years of economic decline.

Although no "quick fix" glimmers for the Zambian economy, the country does have valuable resources in its abundant land with rich soil and regular rainfall. But Zambia's agriculture has suffered from years of neglect. Instead of being the region's breadbasket, the country regularly imports staple foods.

Recent reforms were quickly taken advantage of by the small band of white commercial farmers who are exporting tobacco and horticultural products. It will take much more to stimulate the country's rural peasant agriculture. A rural road network, regular supplies of seeds and fertilizers, a team of agricultural advisers and rural services must be developed so Zambians can survive the country's current economic morass.

# 'Assurance' on security forces

JOHANNESBURG. — The Transitional Executive Council (TEC) will not create joint political control over the security forces, President F W de Klerk assured the NP yesterday.

Opening the Transvaal party congress at Esselen Park here, he said the council introduced power-sharing and insurance against the abuse of power and domination in accordance with the NP mandate.

The council was not an interim government and it did not render the NP government subservient to any other party or subject the police and the Defence Force to multi-party control.

"I, as president, the various ministers, the Chief of the Defence Force and the Commissioner of Police remain in control of these forces."

He said it was clear confusion was setting in about the council.

"The council will not be a super government or parliament. It will level the political playing field for the elections.

"It will not have decision-making powers and the government and Parliament will retain executive and legislative authority." — Sapa

## NP: 'No reason to apologise'

**KEMPTON PARK. — Sept 10 SapaThe National Party had no reason to hang its head in shame for its past apartheid policies because its intentions had been good, Transvaal MEC for housing Mr John Mavuso said yesterday.**

**Announcing his NP membership at the party's Transvaal congress, Mr Mavuso said: "If the NP is to be criticised, it is for being apologetic for what the party stood for in the past."**

**He said he was absolutely convinced the party had exercised a policy it thought would be in the best interests of all.**

**"What is most remarkable is that the NP has been able to make a complete U-turn from the politics on which they gained power 40 years ago," he said. — Sapa**

## SADF soldiers 'hired for war'

**Staff Reporter**

AN organisation from outside South Africa was actively trying to recruit members of the SA Defence Force for alleged mercenary activities in Angola, South African Army chief General Georg Meiring said yesterday.

He was reacting to reports that former SADF special forces members were in, or on their way to, Angola to be used as mercenaries for the government's "final onslaught" against Unita.

Gen Meiring said: "These men are apparently being recruited to provide security services for a company in Angola. My information is that this is a cover for alleged mercenary activity."

To date, a few army members had resigned, apparently to accept contracts of this service.

Gen Meiring said he was "diametrically opposed" to this recruiting, and warned that in terms of the Defence Force Act, members could not sign contracts to be mercenaries.

Defence analyst Mr Helmoed-Romer Heitman said the statement was probably issued after recruitment attempts within the SADF were reported, and to pre-empt accusations that the SADF was involved in the recruitment.

**PASSING OUT** . . . Members of 9 South African Infantry Battalion had their passing-out parade yesterday. Rifleman Angels Sampson (right) received the trophy for Best Shottist from Major-General D S Hamman. Picture: CLIVE SMITH

DENNIS GORDON

# A step in a democratic direction

**ANTHONY ROBINSON of the London *Financial Times* talks to Albert Koopman about the role of black workers at one of South Africa's leading builders' suppliers**

□ KOOPMAN ... democracy the chicken, profit the egg

BEFORE Connie Fazazile applied for a job as assistant manager with the South African builders' supply company Cashbuild, she did a bit of checking up through the bush telegraph.

She even travelled from her home in the black township of Duduza, near Springs, a largely Afrikaans-speaking white mining and industrial town on the East Rand, to Gaborone, the capital of neighbouring Botswana.

There she discussed the company, and especially its attitudes towards black employees, with a friend of hers who was employed at the Gaborone branch.

Two years earlier she had left her job at the Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg to join Corobrik, the country's largest brick-maker. The company advertised itself as a progressive, equal-opportunity employer.

But, as the only black in her department, Connie — a lively, forthright Zulu speaker who is divorced with two children at school — felt uncomfortable with the attitudes of her co-workers and felt she had been discriminated against when she was passed over for promotion in favour of an Indian lady with less qualifications and experience.

"I was unhappy and I felt cheated and oppressed. I decided I would try and get a job with a foreign-owned company. They have a better reputation for real equal opportunity.

"When I heard that Cashbuild was not only a South African company but controlled by Sanlam, the largest Afrikaner holding company, I nearly gave up on the spot."

Six months after starting work at Cashbuild's new depot at Springs, 60km east of Johannesburg, she is glad she ignored her preconceptions.

For Cashbuild — under Albert Koopman, a 39-year-old Afrikaner who spent 10 years in Mozambique during the struggle for decolonisation — has combined fast growth in profits and turnover with a commitment to reform of worker democracy.

As Koopman tells the story, democracy is the chicken, profit the egg. In 1982, three years after he started Cashbuild as a subsidiary of the former Kirsh group, he realised that the company was going nowhere.

Although the economy generally was benefiting from a gold-backed boom, Cashbuild's profits were falling. Margins were down, sales were listless, staff were unmotivated.

Koopman, a restless, inquisitive character with an eclectic appetite for inspiration from sources as diverse as Marx and Sartre to Alvin Toffler's "Future Shock" and Schumacher's "Small is Beautiful," first set out to question his white managers about the company's poor state.

"I went round all the branches and asked a thousand questions. I found that most of my managers blamed their black labour force for being indolent, uninterested, unmotivated."

When he probed further into their perception of his own management style the response was: "Pompous, egocentric, dictatorial and autocratic".

On reflection, Koopman recognised that these were precisely the kind of attributes inculcated by the system under which most whites are educated and brought up in SA.

But what concerned Koopman after this sobering experience was the thought that, if his white lieutenants thought like that, what was the attitude of his black workers?

One of the questions he asked black workers on his systematic tour of the then 18 branches was: "How are you paid?"

The standard reply went something like this: "A green van comes round on Fridays. Two men carry a box into the office and I get paid out of that box."

It was a perfect description of how it happened, but revealed total ignorance of the way in which that money was earned.

"I realised that what we had to do was somehow restore pride in labour, build up self-esteem and make our employees feel worthy, both as people and workers.

"This meant ending the separation between a worker's purpose and the purpose of work and a subservient, unquestioning mind, created by years of government control."

In 1983 Koopman held his first meeting with black employees.

"We looked for the most radical guys and picked out two from each of our 22 branches. Eventually, we came up with our first organisational chart, with elected branch 'presidents' representing our 400 staff in the 22 branches.

"For the first year much of the time was spent on 'tea and coffee issues' — and demands for more time off for shopping, to attend funerals, and so on."

In the meantime Koopman was seeking through direct contacts to get across a "wholelistic" concept of the company — through diagrams, for example, which put the customers at the apex of a pyramidical structure and stressed the importance of co-operation and teamwork.

"The idea was to define the purpose of the game and then draw up rules of the game."

While this was going on Koopman delved into Japanese-style "quality circles" and started learning Zulu and reading as much as he could about black culture.

"Apart from witchcraft, I found to my amazement a great similarity between the Japanese and the Zulus, especially in respect of the importance that both attach to social concerns, co-operative labour and attendance, for example, at funerals and other family occasions."

Increasingly, Koopman got invited back to the homes of his black workers.

"I have eaten donkey meat with golden cutlery brought out for the occasion and been to homes with 13 people sleeping on the floor. It is important to know how your workers live."

He also recalls the day when one of the most militant union members in the company questioned his motivation.

"After 300 years of white oppression why should we believe that you are any different?" he was asked.

At that point Koopman recalls: "I took off my jacket and tie, lay on the floor and told him to trample all over me. I told him there was no way we could run a successful company if I was going to be held responsible for 300 years of history all the time."

The unionist, totally nonplussed, stepped back. The man, Kaiser Sihlangu, is now one of the most loyal company members. He has left the union and is now number two in a store which he is expected to take over as manager within the next six months. Indeed, the union's influence is now radically diminished.

This breakthrough on the personal level was matched on a company level 12 months into what Koopman calls the company's "empowerment" programme when the branch "presidents," reflecting the wishes of their branches, rejected the whole concept of representative democracy as embodied in the "presidents".

They also rejected the concept of shop stewards and decided that what they wanted was participative democracy.

After further brainstorming sessions, workers and management came out with a concept which they called "venture communication" — "venturecom" for short.

Perceived as a platform for participative shopfloor democracy, each branch set up its own venturecom responsible for five aspects of each branch's activity. Introduced in January 1985, the system has an elected member responsible for quality of life, safety, labour, merchandising and operations.

With 91% of the labour force black, of which 60% is illiterate, the only limitation on choice is that workers responsible for the last two areas — merchandising and operations — be literate.

"We did not set out with the aim of black advancement but of making this company profitable. But we have actually created a culture which is conducive to advancement," Koopman claims, backing up his boast by pointing to the 34 black workers now preparing for management positions.

Meanwhile the company, which is well placed to take advantage of the major growth expected in black urbanisation over the next decade, has clocked up an impressive profits record.

Net profit before tax per employee has risen from R1 648 in 1983 to R6 631 in 1986, reflecting sharply higher productivity. Last year the company was floated on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange and over recent months its shares

P.T.O

# Aims to disrupt attempts at unity

PART of the strategy of the UDF involves sharpening the divisions within the "enemy", which includes the National Party, the Progressive Federal Party and Big Business.

"Isizwe (the Nation,)" issued by the UDF in Cape Town, an official journal of the organisation states that one of the tasks is to "isolate the enemy," which it sees as all groups, institutions and concerns which participate in the existing structures of government and power.

As part of this strategy for example, the UDF mobilised a campaign against the tri-cameral Parliamentary system and the continuing nationwide campaign against Black local government structures in the urban areas.

"In the first place our job is to isolate the enemy. While this is a 'traditional' task, we are now concerned with something more elaborate than undertaken in the anti-constitution campaigns," notes Isizwe.

## Frustrated attempts

"There were frustrated attempts to co-opt significant sectors of the Indian and Coloured communities, just as the rejection of the BLA's (Black Local Authorities) ensured that only puppets would staff those structures," it says.

"Now we are speaking of something broader. We have noted the differences between sections of capital and the NP. We want to maintain that division. But that does not mean we draw Big Business into the camp of the people.

"That can never be. Our aim is, however, to neutralise sections of the enemy camp or its allies and thus to dislocate their attempts at unity," says Isizwe.

One of the ways to achieve this was to ensure that they (the enemy)" have no illusions about puppet solutions."

"For example, every time we reject PW's offers — it actually energises business to come up with their own vision and that again exacerbates the split.

"The fact that business has met with the ANC is partly as a result of popular rejection of government initiatives.

"In a sense, every time we remove the legitimacy from a government initiative by getting the masses to support us, we further sharpen the division within the ruling bloc," says Isizwe.

## Divisive role

The divisive role played by the UDF in its efforts to promote polarisation was demonstrated in a recent "message to the people of South Africa" by its national executive.

To the business community it said: "Throughout the decades you have benefited from apartheid. Now you say: 'apartheid must go.'

"This is not enough. More business leaders must follow those who have called for the unbanning of the ANC and the release of (Nelson) Mandela.

"There is no more room for double talk and crocodile tears. You who control the economy must apply pressure on the government. Our people are demanding that you refuse to pay taxes unless the government meets our demands," said the message.

(2)

SEE IF YOU CAN GET THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO READ THIS, SIR GEOFFREY.
MAGGIE
HOW TO END APARTHEID AND AVOID SANCTIONS
SOWETAN
THATCHER TO SEND EMISSARY TO SOUTH AFRICA

# An appetite for power

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Sibusiso Bengu ... "Inkatha was never meant to be a permanent part of kwaZulu."

**The towering ambition of Inkatha's leaders have led them to betray the movement's original aims, says a former close colleague of Buthelezi and architect of Inkatha's revival.**

**INKATHA was originally intended to be part of the national liberation movement, but was hijacked by by the Inkatha leadership to serve its political ambitions.**

So says the former secretary general of the organisation and a key figure in the rise of Inkatha in the 1970s, Dr Sibusiso Bengu.

He added that it was never envisaged that the organisation would be a permanent part of the kwaZulu homeland.

Bengu was speaking recently at an interview, and later during the London launch of a new book on Inkatha and Buthelezi, "Appetite for Power – Buthelezi's Inkatha and South Africa".

He described in detail his own role in setting up Inkatha with kwaZulu chief minister Gatsha Buthelezi more than 10 years ago, and how he later clashed with the chief over the conservative direction in which Inkatha was moving.

## MOBILISE

Bengu left Inkatha and South Africa in 1978 and is now a leading figure in the Lutheran World Federation, based in Geneva.

The initiative to set up Inkatha came from exile movements, Bengu said. He said that when he had left South Africa in the early '70s to study in Switzerland, he had met political exiles. "One of the tasks assigned to me was to work with Buthelezi in mobilising the people within the country."

Bengu said that when he had returned to South Africa in December 1974, he made an appointment to see Buthelezi, whose reaction to the proposed revival of Inkatha had been one of excitement.

Bengu was immediately given the task of writing the preamble to the constitution of Inkatha.

At that stage, Inkatha was intended to assist the national liberation movement, Bengu said. Instead it became Buthelezi's support organisation within the framework of homeland politics.

"At present, Inkatha is neither national nor is it working for liberation," he commented.

Bengu's own approach differed from Buthelezi's most sharply on economic issues. The book quotes a lecture he gave at the university of Natal in 1977: "In our economic policy we state unequivocally that the wealth of this country has to be shared by all its inhabitants ... the capitalist system, which concentrates all effort on the creation of wealth as if this were an end in itself, has to go.

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## EXPLOIT

"With our communalistic traditional backround, we cannot stand to see our economic resources being tapped by only a few capitalists, who exploit the majority of Africans, who live in abject poverty.

"Inkatha strives for the promotion of African patterns of thought and the achievement of African humanism, otherwise known in the Nguni languages as 'ubuntu' and in the Sotho languages as 'botho'."

Inkatha was never intended to become a permanent part of kwaZulu, Bengu said. In fact, the homeland structure was intended to be used only as a "protective umbrella" while the movement was launched.

Asked about news that Inkatha had opened a new office in London's exclusive St John's Wood, Bengu said that if this was part of Inkatha's support for the campaign against sanctions, it was doomed to failure – in spite of the fact Britain's prime minister Thatcher referred to Buthelezi as her "friend".

"I cannot see how the campaign to oppose sanctions can succeed, because the majority of black people in South Africa have openly spoken in favour of sanctions.

"It is strange that those who are against the use of violence also speak against the use of economic sanctions as a peaceful way of bringing about fundamental change in South Africa.

"Buthelezi is speaking against the majority of the people of South Africa. Of course, he is being listened to by those outside the country who think their economic interests can be protected by people like him."

Bengu challenged Buthelezi's claim that Inkatha had one million members. Most of these would be people who have long ceased to be active and voluntary members, he said. Many would need Inkatha membership to attend school or qualify for housing.

Far from being an organisation with mass support, as portrayed in the overseas media, Inkatha had been steadily losing ground, he added.

"As I see it, Inkatha is engaged in a struggle for survival," he said. Defections from the organisation have increased since 1986, especially among Inkatha youth brigade leaders.

Its rank and file in Natal had increasingly turned from passive acceptance of the organisation to active opposition.

## MYTH

Bengu pointed out even if Inkatha's claim to have one million members was accepted, it still meant that five million Zulus were not supporters of the organisation.

This showed that the image of the organisation as the mouthpiece of South Africa's Zulus – an image promoted by some overseas media – was a myth.

Commenting on the current violence in Natal, Bengu said: "This is Inkatha's last attempt to reassert itself. It's a desperate struggle to be seen to be in control in Natal in relation to this kwaNatal Indaba."

Asked to sum up Inkatha's role today, Bengu said: "It is South Africa's Unita. You can tell a person by his friends and Inkatha has the same friends as Savimbi." He also stated that the extreme right-wing US Heritage Foundation was one of Inkatha 's funders.

At one time, Bengu said, he had thought that Inkatha would play the role of Rhodesia's Muzorewa, but the reality was worse.

Inkatha's role in violence, and its sponsorship by the South African government, meant it could become a dangerous long-term destabilising force, like Unita in Angola.

# *all* advocates of 'non-violence'

ken critic of the government and in particular its homeland consolidation policy and forced removals.

But Buthelezi and his movement shifted more and more to the right. His public position on a number of events is the best indication of this. The organisation's refusal to mobilise members around grassroot campaigns and the absence of grassroot representation at the kwaNatal Indaba all militated against the character of popular politics and resistance.

Inkatha's reformist politics and pro-capital/anti-worker stance is best demonstrated in the structure of the kwaNatal Indaba. Organisations like Cosatu and the UDF, which refused to participate in the Indaba, pointed out that the venture was essentially worked through a bantustan structure and was fundamentally undemocratic because it failed to allow for report-back opportunities and accountability to members.

The most overt shift to the right came just three years after Inkatha's revival, when Buthelezi urged the organisation's members to participate in the community council elections. This was seen as a significant turning point in Inkatha's political stance, especially since it coincided with the mass rejection of the community council structures by popular democratic organisations.

A year later Buthelezi told his followers: "I say to you bluntly: Do not be ashamed to enter the fray at the level of community councils, they are not vehicles of individual enrichment. They must be turned into chariots which take us into battle."

The movement also shifted its position on consumer boycotts and other non-violent methods which it had advocated as useful weapons in the campaign for peaceful change during the 70s. This was demonstrated in Inkatha's refusal to participate in the BTR-Sarmcol support committee and back consumer boycotts when invited to do so.

Inkatha members among the strikers and thousands of others were immediately exposed to the movement's sterile politics and its reluctance to take up issues through mass democratic struggle. Inkatha's ambivalence on the question of sanctions has also turned into vocal support for foreign investment.

The organisation did not hesitate to act against students who boycotted schools in kwaMashu.

Buthelezi went as far as congratulating kwaZulu children for the refusal to become involved in the school boycotts of 1976, sparked off by the protest against bantu education.

These events made it clear that Inkatha had opted to defend the institutions and policies of apartheid — and brought it into direct conflict with democratic forces in the country. Any opposition to Inkatha or apartheid would be met with the strongest response.

Inkatha Central Committee member Thomas Tshabalala was quoted as saying that he "longed for the day when there will be open war between the UDF and Inkatha — it will prove who is who in the political battle."

Tshabalala disclosed in an interview that a decision to train impis was taken at a meeting of all Inkatha branch chairmen and kwaZulu councillors under Code 26. (Code 26 is an electoral district and includes townships to the north and west of Durban.

Attacks on the democratic movement increased in the 80s, especially with the formation of the UDF in 1983. This resulted in popular politics distancing itself from Inkatha, which had by now clearly been characterised as an ethnic, conservative and pro-capitalist base.

Popular politics increasingly came to focus around the Freedom Charter. This implied the politics of national unity rather than regional and tribal exclusivity.

Inkatha and apartheid's very premise was being threatened.

The launch of Cosatu meant opposition for Inkatha on it weakest front. Given its tribal and ethnic identity, the reactionary basis for Buthelezi's power, he was in no position to challenge Cosatu. Besides, Inkatha's narrow tribal politics allowed no room for the democratic decision-making Cosatu had so carefully nurtured through years of struggle.

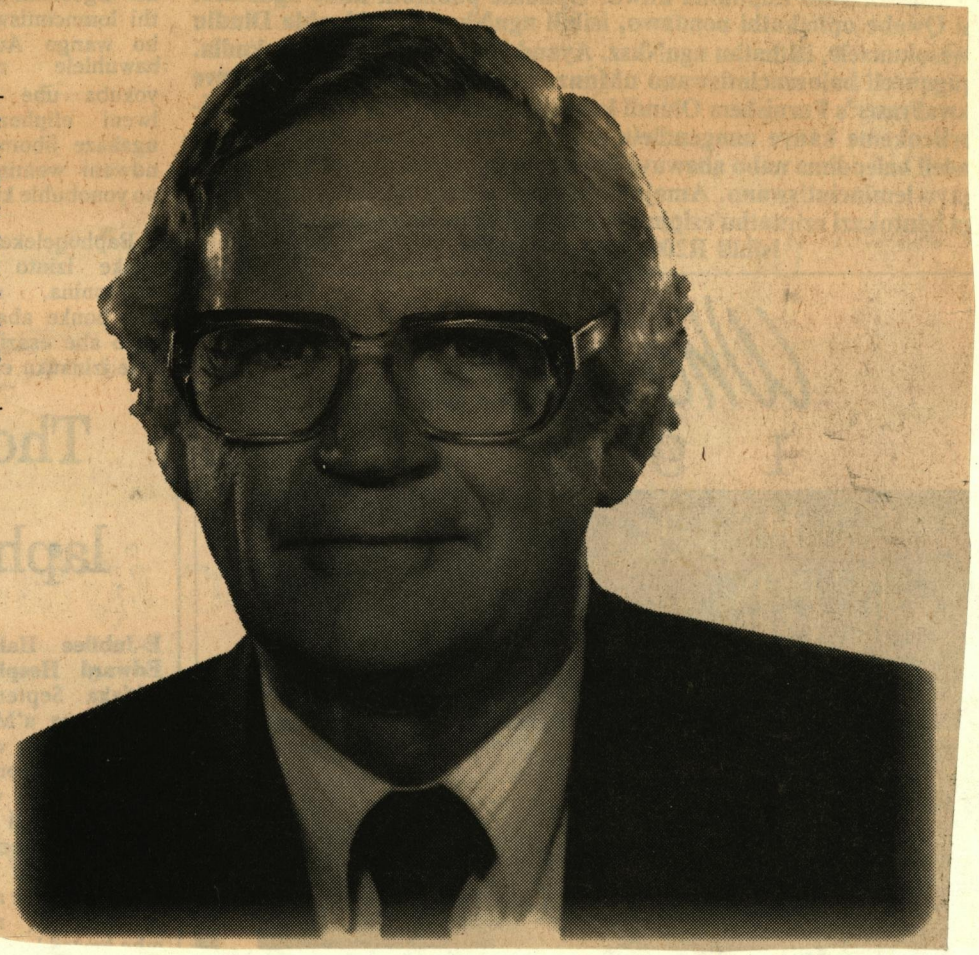
Given earlier attempts by Buthelezi to project himself as a focus of non-violent opposition to apartheid, the attacks on the democratic movement immediately raised questions about Inkatha's avowed policy of non-violence — and who it was meant for.

**ADV. DAWID DE VILLIERS** is the former Chief Executive of the Nationale Pers Group and is an Advocate of the Supreme Court. He is a Past President of the SA Press Association, and of the Newspaper Press Union from 1943 to 1969. "Lang" Dawid de Villiers was an Acting Judge of the Cape Supreme Court from 1961 to 1966, and was Leader of the South African Legal Team in the SWA case in the International Court of The Hague. Adv. de Villiers was a Special Delegate for South Africa to the UN General Assembly, and is a Founder Director and Council Member of the SA Foundation. He is the son of Dawid Pieter de Villiers, Founder Director of Federale Volksbeleggings and other Afrikaans companies.

*"Negotiation, hard bargaining, and some sort of agreement – like Indaba – is the only salvation, the only peaceful way out of the situation we are in.*

*That is why the Natal Indaba is so important."*

– Adv. Dawid de Villiers



# Anti-SA radicals ousted

**Own Correspondent**

LONDON.—Partly by opposing the crusade of Leftwing radicals to aid the "liberation" movements in Southern Africa moderates at Cambridge University have won control of the students union executive.

Law student Ken Costa, former president of the Students' Representative Council at the University of the Witwatersrand and an unsuccessful Progressive Party candidate for the Johannesburg City Council, has been elected treasurer of the new Cambridge Union in the "smash the radicals" coup.

He will use this key post to try to stop the channelling of student funds to "freedom fighters" in Southern Africa, and paying for activist students to travel to London for anti-South African rallies, he said yesterday.

The moderates on the new executive, won a landslide victory over the incumbent Leftwingers in Monday's bitter election.

They will abandon efforts to force Cambridge to disinvest from companies with interests in Southern Africa.

"But we will do all we can to see that Cambridge does more to get British companies to pay their Black employees more in South Africa," he added.

He stressed that his record at Wits and in Progressive Party politics should make it clear that he is a vigorous opponent of the policies of the Nationalist Government.

But his radical foes, who included communists, had tried to depict him as a reactionary ally of the Government in the campus campaign.

(2)

COMING IN FROM THE COLD
FROM P91

Township inferno: 3,000 lives lost in three-year battle

**Fred Kockott** examines the conflict raging in Natal

# A culture of violence

OUTSIDE Pietermaritzburg's white suburbs, a woman lives in a sprawling peri-urban settlement, Mpumuza. A few kilometres away, her mother lives in a small formal township, Ashdown. Mother and daughter cannot visit each other because their communities are divided in political allegiance.

Mpumuza backs the African National Congress (ANC), while Ashdown is a stronghold of Inkatha, the Zulu political organisation headed by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

In March, the daughter witnessed armed men mobilising youths from neighbouring households to attack Ashdown. She would have liked to warn her mother of the impending attack, but feared she would be branded as Inkatha and killed if she ventured into her mother's township.

The story of mother and daughter is typical of the conflict in Natal. Across the breadth of Pietermaritzburg's black settlements, geo-political divides have arisen, and residents are identified as supporters of either party purely by virtue of the area in which they live.

The reality of the conflict remains largely an untold story. For many of the white residents of Pietermaritzburg, the provincial capital set in a hollow of Natal's lush green hills, the conflict only intrudes when a maid or gardener does not turn up for work.

But in the outlying black areas, the idyllic setting is deceptive. In the last three years, an estimated 3,000 lives have been lost in the fighting. This year more than 400 people have been killed. In 1988 twice the number of people died in the Pietermaritzburg fighting as in Beirut.

The release of Mr Nelson Mandela in February raised hopes that he and Chief Buthelezi would meet to pave the way for negotiations to end the violence. However, the idea of talks met with strong opposition from the ANC at grassroots level, where Inkatha is viewed as a surrogate for the South African government.

Instances of collusion between Inkatha and the South African police, assisted by a 3,000-strong KwaZulu police force, have exacerbated tensions. Mr Mandela has said that Natal community leaders would have "throttled" him had he met Chief Buthelezi, and there now seems little prospect of an early meeting.

Far from diminishing after Mr Mandela's release, the fighting has actually intensified, and is spreading from the townships surrounding Durban and Pietermaritzburg to more remote areas.

And there is clearly no quick solution to end the violence, which has a variety of political, social and economic causes. Mr Gavin Woods, executive director of the Inkatha Institute, a pro-Inkatha research body, maintains that the roots of the conflict are found in worsening poverty and unemployment.

Mr Woods says the formation in 1983 of the United Democratic Front, effectively the internal wing of the ANC, was a catalyst for the violence.

He argues that the ANC has dealt harshly with its black opponents elsewhere in the country: "In Natal, the strongest opponent was Inkatha, and it is no coincidence that the intensity of black on black violence has reached the level of the worst of the country."

Inkatha's opponents argue, however, that the movement has used force in Natal to demonstrate its strength, in an attempt to secure a powerful place in negotiations for a future national constitution.

They argue that, as leader of Inkatha and chief minister of the KwaZulu homeland, Chief Buthelezi has attempted to establish a *de facto* one-party state among Natal's blacks.

Members of the homeland administration have on occasion been forced to pledge allegiance to Inkatha or lose their jobs; and as Minister of Police in KwaZulu, Chief Buthelezi has a firm hold on security.

For its part, Pretoria has turned a blind eye – if not actively encouraging Inkatha.

One critic, Mr Fink Haysom, an ex-detainee whom Pretoria once banned and prevented from practising as an attorney, links the violence to the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), which challenged Inkatha's exclusive political preserve.

After the 1987 May Day worker stay-away, which was backed by an estimated 80 per cent of the workforce, Chief Buthelezi launched Inkatha's own trade union, the United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa). Mr Haysom says the vigorous recruitment drive was accompanied by threats of violence.

He says political rivalry and socio-economic factors alone cannot explain Natal's spiral of violence, blaming police and government's failure to implement the law. Mr Haysom argues that a few prosecutions in 1987 would have saved many lives. But most of the key players on the Inkatha side of the conflict – dubbed "warlords" who number only a dozen or so – have escaped prosecution and remain active.

One such figure is Mr David Ntombela, now a KwaZulu MP, who was found by an inquest magistrate to have killed a mother and daughter in 1987. No prosecution has yet been initiated against him. Indeed, by the end of 1988, not more than 10 prosecutions had been brought in spite of more than 1,300 deaths.

Bringing a successful prosecution is extremely difficult because witnesses are often intimidated, and sometimes killed, before they can testify.

Recourse to civil courts has also failed. Mr Haysom's legal firm brought nine interdicts in 1988, but three complainants seeking protection were killed while the hearings were taking place. With little or no recourse to state-administered justice, people have taken the law into their own hands.

Following widespread detention of the community leaders in 1988 and 1989, discipline within the ANC camp has been eroded with some ANC youths operating independently of the organisation's leadership.

All parties agree that a culture of violence is taking hold which may take years, if not generations, to eradicate. Revenge killings have become the order of the day.

Mr Woods says: "The problem rests with the youths – 63 per cent of the population are 24 years or younger. A few hundred thousand have become a lost generation."

Police officials admit that they have made mistakes and can no longer contain the situation. Brigadier Leon Mellet, Law and Order spokesman, says that even if the force had the manpower to flood the area, it would not solve the underlying problems.

And as long as Chief Buthelezi is unwilling to give up his grip on Natal, a resolution to the conflict, and a new political deal, will probably be a a very distant goal.

BP CHART OF WHO'S WHO POLITICALLY, FREE WITH THE DAILY NEWS TODAY

Anniversary of Soweto uprising to be launch pad for sustained campaign

# ANC sets the date for mass action

**Daily News Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG: Next week will see the start of the ANC's biggest mass action campaign, it has been announced in Johannesburg.

The alliance made up of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu has decided to use June 16 — the 16th anniversary of the Soweto uprising — as the launch pad for a sustained campaign aimed at forcing concessions in negotiations from the Government.

Nationwide rallies and a "people's referendum" — a send-up of the whites-only referendum earlier this year — will mark the beginning of the campaign.

ANC youth league president Peter Mokaba told a media conference yesterday that more than 70 rallies would mark the beginning of preparations for mass action "to break the current log-jam in the negotiation process and propel the country into a non-racial democracy".

He said business leaders who feared that mass action would harm the country's economy should respond by putting pressure on the Government to move speedily in negotiations.

ANC national executive committee member Marion Sparg defended her organisation's decision to embark on mass action.

The ANC, she said, did not think mass action would endanger negotiations in Codesa, and considered it to be "as important as negotiations themselves in the struggle for democracy.

"By engaging in mass action we are articulating the feelings of our people on the ground. Mass action is not aimed at the people or any sector of the country's population, but at the Government."

Mr Mokaba said the ANC youth league would work towards promoting youth unity around a programme of action whose aims would include demands that schools be opened to all races by January next year and the formation of a single education department.

The league said it would mobilise other youth organisations to make submissions for a draft piece of legislation to be called the "Transition to Democracy Act", aimed at countering the Government's idea of an interim constitution.

Ms Sparg said the "Bill" was being discussed and a draft would be made available to the international community and South Africans once it was completed.

# ANC reports violent postscript to 'Inkathagate'

## Group says operations against members have increased since disclosures of scandal

By Allister Sparks
London Observer

**Johannesburg, South Africa**
It was shortly before midnight, Philemon Malinga recalled, that he heard a heavy vehicle pull up in front of his house and a voice inquire in Afrikaans: "Is this the place?"

He peered through the kitchen window and saw one of the big police personnel carriers called Casspirs off-loading men.

A white Volkswagen drew up behind it and Philemon saw more men get out. Some he recognized as policemen, others as local members of the Inkatha Freedom Party. Moments later, a policeman kicked open the front door and stormed in, with others following.

There followed what can only be called the sacking of the Malinga household in the small black township of Kwadela.

Philemon's elderly mother, Balesia, scrambled in terror under a bed, but the attackers found her and shot her dead. His younger brother, Sibusiso, climbed on top of a cupboard, where he was skewered with a spear. As he fell to the floor, he was stabbed again. Miraculously, he survived. Philemon himself managed to escape from the house and run for his life.

Eleven sworn affidavits by members of the little community tell the story of how the Casspir drove around Kwadela that night, dropping off armed men to attack the homes of members of the local African National Congress (ANC) branch committee.

It was the night of July 26, one week after the exposure of the "Inkathagate" scandal. Yet despite that damning disclosure that the government had been secretly

**IN DEPTH**

providing funds to Inkatha and the government assurances that followed it, here were the police once again in collusion with Inkatha conducting a campaign against the ANC.

Nor is Kwadela an isolated instance. Reports pouring in to ANC headquarters in Johannesburg from branches all over the country indicate that, far from being brought under control, joint police-Inkatha operations against ANC members have intensified and become more widespread since the Inkathagate disclosures.

"It's like an outburst of anger, a bit like vengeance," said Gill Marcus, the ANC's chief spokeswoman whose job it is to collate the reports and assess what is happening.

In Johannesburg's Alexandra township, 100 heavily armed Inkatha men, escorted by police in four Casspirs, two conventional troop carriers and a number of smaller vehicles on Aug. 3 launched a week-long rampage against local residents that left 28 dead and 70 injured.

Violence has flared up again throughout the Natal Midlands, and last Wednesday night the chauffeur of a pro-ANC Zulu chief, Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, who was assassinated in February, was himself killed before the start of a judicial inquiry into Maphumulo's assassination.

This calls into question once again either the sincerity of President F.W. de Klerk or his ability to bring his security forces under control.

The evidence of police involvement in the violence has become overwhelming, yet de Klerk and his ministers continue to deny it. Hopes are now being pinned on a new peace agreement being brokered among representatives of the government, Inkatha and the ANC, with a code of conduct and a mechanism for investigating complaints.

But South Africa's problem is the widening gap between what is said at the top and what is done down below.

Not only is the violence getting worse, it is getting more systematic.

Marcus of the ANC sees a pattern emerging. The campaign, which began in Natal, then spread to the black townships of Johannesburg via the Zulu migrant workers' hostels, is now being extended to smaller rural communities all over the country, she said.

Kwadela is one of these, a tiny community 150 miles east of Johannesburg. Reports of similar attacks have come from Tigane, 100 miles west of Johannesburg, from Steynsburg in eastern Cape Province, from Heilbron and Kroonstad in Orange Free State province, from Wesselton, Bushbuckridge and Driefontein in eastern Transvaal and from communities close to the Swaziland border. They follow a similar pattern, according to Marcus.

First there is the announcement of a curfew, either by the police or by someone who drives around with a loudspeaker, looking official. People are warned to be indoors by 9 p.m. "That makes them sitting ducks and ensures that there are no witnesses out on the streets to see what is happening," said Marcus.

The attacks then take place around midnight. The local ANC branch chairman and members of his committee are the targets. Their houses are firebombed and members of their families attacked.

Sometimes it's an attack of general terror against the community at large, said Marcus, but within that the ANC committee members are specifically targeted for elimination. Nine have been killed in these attacks since the Inkathagate revelations.

The aim, Marcus said, is to stunt the ANC's growth as a political movement in preparation for South Africa's first one-person-one-vote elections by inhibiting the formation of ANC branches around the country. People become reluctant to join: to become a member of an ANC committee is to set yourself and your family up as targets for these death squads, which enjoy immunity from prosecution because of their relationship with the police. It works.

In Kwadela last week, people were fearful of being associated with the ANC. "I've been an ANC supporter all my life, but I'm not going to die for the ANC," said Joseph Nkosi, one of those whose homes were burned in the raid.

"It's doing a lot of harm to our efforts to get a branch going here," said ANC branch chairman Jeremiah Mashinini, who had his own house burned, a son injured and a daughter-in-law killed in the Kwadela attacks.

But it's largely because of Mashinini's strength of personality that some members of the community have come forward to testify to what they saw. No arrests have been made, although when some angry ANC members carried out a reprisal attack on three Inkatha homes a few days later, 11 were promptly arrested.

Mashinini doubts whether there has been any police investigation. Although his family was attacked and his house burned, he said no one has taken a statement from him.

The investigating officer in the case, he said, is one of those named as having participated in the attacks.

TRIBUNE
COMMENT

# A vision that must be shared

THE ANC's vision of political progress in 1993, presented in its 81st anniversary declaration this weekend, is so conciliatory that it seems Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk at least see eye to eye on the need for a summit, an interim government and all-in elections later this year or early next year.

The snag is that not all South Africans agree. The latest HSRC survey seemed to show that 84 percent of whites are opposed to interim government.

It needs to be underlined that one question in the survey — "Do you think the De Klerk Government should immediately resign in favour of an interim government?" — was so loaded by the use of the word "immediately" that it begged a negative reaction.

Nevertheless the response can be seen as a warning signal that there is a yawning gap between Mr De Klerk and many whites — and not just right-wing extremists, either.

Mr Mandela faces similar problems in rivalry from followers of Inkatha and the PAC — and perhaps from supporters of Mrs Winnie Mandela, whose outbursts suggest she might be about to make her move.

That is why the moderate success in talks between the government and Cosag, a grouping of homeland leaders and right-wingers, is crucial. While there is this communication there is hope of spreading negotiation across a wider spectrum. Then people who are now fearful will come to share the vision of an inevitable interim government that is a cause for rejoicing, not resentment.

# Crime and punishment

CORRECTIONAL Services Minister Adriaan Vlok is trapped in a Catch 22 situation: In a nation bedevilled by rampant crime he has been forced, because of overcrowding in prisons, to release thousands of common criminals back into society before they have paid their dues.

When crime is second only to political violence as the greatest fear among law-abiding citizens, it is an unfortunate and, many will argue with justification, an unacceptable situation that nurtures, rather than deters, criminal activity.

The early release of prisoners may be the only "quick fix" available to the authorities today, but it cannot be allowed to continue. Already it is undermining the efforts of hard-pressed policemen and the courts; in time it will leave the process of law in tatters.

The long term solution is clear: an end to the political uncertainty and an economic upturn that will create jobs and wealth and reduce crime and pressure on prisons. But that might not happen quickly enough to defuse a growing problem.

The state has a duty to find other ways to deal with the issue. Releasing prisoners who have no prospects of finding jobs is not the solution, for crime without fitting punishment provides a breeding ground for abuse of the law.

ABOUT 350 factory and home-made arms have been confiscated by the Port Natal Firearm Unit during the past five months in Natal. Sixty percent are factory made and 40 percent are home made. According to detective sergeant Des Wilson, head of the unit, the guns were seized during raids in many black townships. Many were stolen while others had no serial numbers. Seen here, armed with a AK-47, is Sergeant N.K. Khwelo. The weapons are to be sent to Pretoria where they will be destroyed.

**Picture: Stephen Campbell**

# ANC/Inkatha talks delay 'inexcusable'

IT was "inexcusable" that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi had taken so long before they finally decided to hold talks together, RAPPORT said.

In an editorial, the paper said the two men had dawdled for a long time before a meeting was arranged.

But despite the delay, one had to look past the politicking and see the meeting as "a sign that peace is still within our reach".

In Natal the ANC and Inkatha were fighting mercilessly for political control, and neither of them was prepared to give an inch. It was only "a question of time" before the conflict was "exported" to the Transvaal.

South Africa had become one of the most violent places in the world, and political murders and intimidation were a part of daily life. In large parts of the country a normal existence was no longer possible and fear was a daily companion.

"Therefore it is really inexcusable that the two leaders, Mr Mandela and Dr Buthelezi, dawdled for so long before they eventually decided to hold talks together."

□□□

THE relationship between State President F.W. de Klerk's son and a coloured woman was an example of how race obsession was a thing of the past, an editorial in BEELD said.

What had happened to the De Klerk family, also happened to the Reagan, Bush and the Thatcher families when their children "did what all normal people's children do".

Unfortunately, South Africa's right wing would not be prevented from making the country buzz with slander stories about Mr de Klerk's son's girlfriend.

Luckily, the editorial said, it would all blow over.

The relationship was an example of how race obsession was something of the past — a dying thing that only the CP and its appendages clung to.

□□□

MANY editorials in the Afrikaans Press gave support to American President George Bush in the Gulf War but warned that the conflict would not be over quickly.

Along with the serious side to the conflict, there were also humorous looks at a South African "connection" to the war.

The TRANSVALER focussed on the message of support for Saddam Hussein by the Boerestaat Party.

"Many people did not know whether to laugh or cry this week about Robert van Tonder's message to Saddam Hussein," TRANSVALER columnist Voorslag said.

On behalf of the Boerestaat Party, Mr van Tonder had sent his support for Iraq in a message and added: "May your weapons be blessed."

One did not have to guess whether Saddam Hussein knew or would try to establish who the Boers and the Boerestaat Party were, the writer said.

BEELD said people were used to the short-sightedness of Mr van Tonder and Mr Jaap Marais who had accused America of "imperialistic interference".

Had Mr van Tonder and company forgotten that Saddam Hussein had invaded an independant country and refused to leave? That was blatant imperialism.

The editorial asked whether the Conservative Party would still call for South Africa's neutrality in the conflict if Saddam Hussein were allowed to threaten the world with nuclear weapons or more countries were "swallowed up" by him?

## AFRIKAANS PRESS

André Jurgens

**"What more do you want? Here is final proof that I am right," says Saddam Hussein holding up a newspaper headed "Jaap Marais blames Bush for War". The cartoon appeared in DIE BURGER and BEELD.**

# Azapo has to join the only game in town

**Through My Eyes**

OSCAR DHLOMO

VERY few black political leaders around the age of 40 would seek to deny the seminal contribution of the Black Consciousness movement in the South African liberation struggle.

At the height of ruthless State repression, it was young political activists of the Black Consciousness tradition who held the fort and tirelessly reminded the oppressed to hold thier heads high and struggle for total liberation.

No wonder that young leaders like Steve Biko came to the fore together with many others who now occupy senior positions in leading liberation movements like the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian Peoples Organisation.

## Ironic

Today the standard bearer of the Black Consciousness tradition is Azapo, under the capable leadership of Pandelani Nefolovhodwe.

It is therefore both ironic and tragic that when the struggle for liberation (of which Azapo and its predecessor have been an integral part) is about to reach its zenith with the convening of the multi-party/all-party conference — Azapo decides not to be part of this historic moment.

Perhaps Azapo's main weakness in this regard is its failure to adapt its tactics and strategies to the changing political environment.

It is this changing political environment that now sees erstwhile so-called "sell outs" and "liberals" (in Azapo's vocabulary), suddenly transformed into crucial voters and power brokers who will decide who governs this country in a few years' time.

Their vote will carry the same weight as any other vote in the coming election.

Indeed, shrewd political strategists in thr ANC and PAC have already taken note of this fact and are now busy courting this vote, as was evidenced by the recent Patriotic Front conference.

It is political strategy — and not ideological purity — that wins the votes, and it is today's and not yesteryear's politics that we are about.

It would indeed be a pity if Azapo's unique perception of the intellectual dimension of the liberation struggle ends up by being absent from the negotiating table.

Similarly, it would be a pity if Azapo, through its pursuit of ideological purity and dogmatism, commits political suicide by marginalising itself.

We urge the leadership of the PAC to intensify their reported efforts to engage Azapo in dialogue aimed, not only at influencing Azapo to rejoin the Patriotic Front, but also at convincing this organisation that the only game in town at present is negotiating democratic transformation.

# Main reasons for the violence

**From DAWIE JACOBS (Glenstantia):**

THE unacceptable level of violence is a matter of serious concern for every citizen.

Radical groupings to the left and the right of the political spectrum are doing their utmost to derail the process of democratisation in the run-up to the elections.

This tendency is confirmed by the main factors directly responsible for the violence over the past months:

- Intensifying of the ANC-IFP-conflict.
- Murders by unidentified persons.
- Attacks on security forces and Apla attacks on civilian targets (decline over the last few weeks).
- Mobilisation of the Right (upward trend).
- Problems at local government level.
- The resistance of certain groups to the process of democratisation, especially in respect of the TBVC states (these developments are related to fears and uncertainty of civil servants about matters such as pension and long-term career expectations and will not have a long duration).

The violence is basically limited to certain geographical areas and furthermore mainly to black townships and certain squatter camps (less than 2% of South Africa's geographical area is affected). The highest occurence of violence from January to date was in the PWV-area (709), Natal (650) and the Western and Eastern Cape (156 and 145 respectively) — in the remaining six regions there were an average of only 55 incidents.

This pattern is even stronger in the cases of extreme violence. It is also striking that the highest occurrence of extreme violence is exactly in the PWV-area and Natal where the ANC-IFP-conflict is at its strongest (276 and 377 deaths respectively in contrast to nine (Western Cape), six (Eastern Cape) and an average of three in the six remaining regions). The tragic events in Johannesburg serve as a further (not even reflected in above figures) confirmation of this trend.

The process of democratisation, and in particular the approaching election, clearly brings a stronger political dimension in play which is expected to continue (and even increase) up to the election and then phase out. In the short and medium term the following factors may, however, play a decisive role in bringing down the levels of violence:

- In the short term the increasing involvement of the TEC, together with its seven Sub-Councils (including Law and Order, Stability and Security and Defence) in the field of security, is improving the credibility of especially the SADF with the security forces of the South African community as a whole.
- Voter education is regarded as of the utmost importance in the run-up to the election by all the key players in South Africa and much is being done, also by the international community, to promote this cause.
- International mediation in respect of kwaZulu/Natal (this could be extended to other regions if necessary).
- More than 2 000 international observers will monitor the whole election process.

The coming to power of the Interim Government will introduce a completely new dispensation which will have a significant effect on order and stability.

The Interim Government will have legitimacy which will enable it to take strong action to bring down the present wave of violence, which is in any case expected to decrease to acceptable levels after the election.

# A new look at the strings attached to SA's aid dollars

**SIMON BARBER in Washington**

BUSINESS DAY 18 MAY

FOR the past decade, the US Agency for International Development — the principal distributor of non-military US foreign aid — has been a major, if little publicised, tool of American policy towards SA. Since 1986, when its role was formalised by the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, its mandate has been twofold: to undermine apartheid and to help prepare black South Africans to run the country.

Its budget for this task has grown progressively from $14,1m in 1986 to $80m last year. The latter figure, which is expected to be repeated this year and could well grow once an interim government is in place, represented about 10% of all US development assistance to Africa in 1992. No other nation on the continent received more.

USAid is currently reviewing how its money should be spent in view of SA's changing circumstances. Cap Dean, the agency's Johannesburg-based mission director, is in Washington to discuss the matter. His recommendations, approved by ambassador Princeton Lyman, are contained in a strategy concept paper now circulating through the bureaucracy and which will, if accepted, form the basis of policy until an interim government is replaced under a new constitution.

As the document notes, USAid's SA programme has been unique in a couple of important ways. Elsewhere, the agency tends to work with host governments. In SA, it has been prohibited from doing so to the point where, until recently, it could not even channel funds to institutions such as the University of the Western Cape because they receive government finance.

Another unusual feature is the high proportion of grants and contracts awarded to indigenous SA organisations. Most USAid missions channel between two-thirds and three-quarters of their budgets through American contractors as a form of middle-class welfare. In SA's case, only about a third of the $251m the mission has been given to spend between 1986 and last year has gone to US entities.

These anomalies have been blessings. Regardless of how USAid dollars have been used by SA recipients, the bulk of the money has at least been spent in SA rather than on the overheads of the American development industry. Even more importantly, the funding has played a part in sustaining a thriving sector of non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

This has not been without controversy, of course. There can be no question that some NGOs have been favoured over others because of their political affiliations, exacerbating certain rivalries. And as the concept paper concedes (without giving details) "mistakes" have been made in the selection of recipients.

Yet such glitches are more than outweighed by the mere existence of thousands of private organisations, associations and community groups, which, with churches, civics, labour unions and other such entities, form the basis of a vibrant civil society. Inasmuch as USAid has supported this phenomenon — which finds scant parallel anywhere else on the continent — its contribution has been worthwhile.

The imminence of a transitional government raises the question whether the agency should make its SA programme more traditional and bilateral, and less reliant on NGOs. The paper resists this notion.

"Some political activists," it warns, "are ... outright sceptical about what the NGOs have to offer in a democratic SA. One underlying concern is that the NGO community, so vital in undermining the apartheid state, may also weaken a post-apartheid state, especially if it siphons off international funds or champions initiatives that run contrary to those proposed by a new government."

Such arguments, the paper says, should be rejected. Rather, NGOs must be defended as "efficient deliverers of needed services, effective voices for grassroots concerns, and an appropriate mechanism for helping to ensure accountability in any new government that emerges following elections".

SA "activists" are not the only ones who may find this troubling. It also stands a good chance of being attacked by the Congressional Black Caucus which tends to regard aid to Africa as a domestic affirmative action programme. Under the so-called Gray Amendment, a percentage of African assistance projects has to be set aside for African-American contractors.

As the paper makes clear, mission director Dean would prefer to use his budget to benefit black South Africans by funding their organisations directly, rather than through American minority contractors. "The mission will make a conscious effort to increase in both absolute and relative terms funding directed towards organisations which are more representative of SA's demographic reality."

The document outlines three "strategic objectives" to be used as criteria for funding decisions. They are worded in high bureaucratese, but this is what they seem to boil down to.

The first is to help ensure "the majority population participates more fully in the political development of a democratic, human rights-based SA". Under this heading, grants would be targeted on training more black lawyers and bureaucrats, preparing for elections and promoting "a strong network of indigenous NGOs, working outside government, articulating diverse concerns and mobilising individual communities".

The second objective is to support education reform. Funds would go to NGOs offering "innovative approaches to education" and to help promote "alternative policies" the new government might otherwise ignore. Direct grants to schools and universities would increasingly replace bursaries. And in a rare (but politically necessary) departure from the preference for the money to be spent in-country, "historically black" US colleges would be funded to establish "linkages" with their SA counterparts.

The third goal is "to increase broad-based black ownership, employment and participation at all levels of the economy". To this end, USAid would back more initiatives to increase black access to capital and business opportunities, subsidise research into regulatory and legal reform and help finance pilot housing schemes. The agency is also interested in providing loan guarantees to stimulate housing construction.

As something of an afterthought, the paper adds two further goals. The first is promoting a "culture of tolerance". NGOs offering mediation services or training in conflict resolution have been and will continue to be funded, as will efforts to "help communities cope with the losses they have suffered without resort to revenge attacks". The second is AIDS prevention, on which the mission now has $2m to $3m to spend annually.

In the overall scheme of things, USAid's contribution is a drop in the ocean. An unpublished paper prepared by David Bonbright for the Kagiso Trust last September estimated total voluntary contributions to welfare and development in SA in 1991 at more than $3,5bn. This is more than the entire GDP of Mozambique, Tanzania, Madagascar or Malawi.

The figure included $260m in direct funding from foreign governments, $185m in other foreign funds channelled through entities such as the Kagiso Trust, and $311m in corporate social investment. All of which was dwarfed by individual donations by South Africans themselves, which Bonbright put at a hefty $2,8bn.

NATAL MERCURY 6 -OF-

# A day of demonst

The Daily News

FOUNDED IN 1878

# ANC-SACP alliance

IF the African National Congress is to fulfil a major, if not pivotal, role in a future government its relationship with the various other internal parties will have to be carefully assessed. The most crucial of these in the present political scenario is its alliance with the South African Communist Party. In the period before the unbanning of both organisations last year, the SACP was allowed to become so deeply ensconced in the ANC that most South Africans spoke of them in one breath. While that situation might have been understandable when the ANC operated as a banned, underground liberation movement, this is not so in the present climate.

With the whiff of power in the air, it may well be that the ANC will have to review its relationship with the SACP and begin asserting its own identity. After the downfall of communism in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, the ANC clearly cannot allow itself to be tainted by an ideology that has all but disappeared in most other parts of the world. The ANC must by now have realised how its relationship with the SACP has impeded its campaign to win support in the white, Indian and coloured communities. It cannot have failed to see how damning to its image this alliance has been both internally and outside the country.

The ANC should remove communists from its ranks and project an image of an independent torch bearer for a future non-racial, multi-party democracy. This would be its best chance of winning more widespread, broadly-based support.

# ANC-SACP is governing

IT seems that Mr De Klerk and Co have been travelling overseas so often that they have forgotten that we are in Africa.

To talk of assuring long-term stability, full participation to all South Africans, and at the same time ensuring no oppression of minorities, he must be dreaming.

Once a Black majority Communist-led ANC/SACP government is allowed to take over, you can forget about rights. It is not the way the game is played in Africa. South Africa will be no different. Anyone who believes in Mr De Klerk's political dreaming will soon wake up to the reality of Black majority rule.

In any event, why bother with promises. We already have a de facto ANC/SACP government. It seems that any Mandela demand is a National Party order and is carried out via Mr De Klerk and his ANC/SACP allied Cabinet.

Integrated schools — demanded by the ANC/SACP, made law by the NP.

Scrapping of the Group Areas Act — demanded by the ANC/SACP, made law by the NP.

Disarming of Whites — demanded by the ANC/SACP, new gun law by the NP.

Restrictions on the police — demanded by the ANC/SACP, made law by the NP.

Redistribution of wealth — one-third of assets tax, demanded by the ANC/SACP, 33% capital gains tax will be made law by the NP.

Sport completely controlled by the ANC/SACP, not a murmur from the government.

The list is endless. Need one say any more about who is governing this country?

With the National Party in power, the ANC/SACP is governing. This is obvious.

**J P PROCTOR**

**Pretoria**

# 'An example to the rest of the country'

JUDITH MATLOFF of Sapa-Reuter reports from Pretoria on the remarkale cooperation between the police and ANC marshals.

A policeman affably hands a megaphone to an ANC activist calling for the end of white minority rule, an image of new, tentative cooperation between South Africa's traditional foes.

Police wrestle to the ground a rightwinger who shot dead two protesters. ANC township officials hand over to police thugs who killed a journalist. Police and ANC organisers huddle at rallies to stop looters and rioters.

As South Africa takes halting, violent steps towards multi-racial democracy, cooperation once unthinkable is emerging between the ANC government-in-waiting and its erstwhile police enemies.

The ANC still accuses the police of shooting unarmed township protesters and senior police officials question its ability to control its followers.

Since the April 10 murder of Communist Party leader Chris Hani, the two sides have been thrown together to save the country from violent disaster. At least 80 people, most of them blacks, have been killed in violence since Mr Hani's death.

But police and the ANC have struck delicate, unprecedented deals to ensure potentially explosive rallies were largely orderly.

"Cooperation was good," ANC Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa said last month after police and ANC marshals working together ensured mourning ceremonies for Mr Hani that drew tens of thousands of blacks were mainly peaceful.

"What has been played out this week is instructive — this is the embryonic stage of joint control of the security forces."

The ANC and other black anti-apartheid groups taking part in multi-party negotiations on a transition to democracy are demanding joint control over the security forces with black guerrilla groups.

The police force is 60 percent black and the government late last year appointed its first three non-white generals.

Except for one day of urban riots and some isolated incidents, Mr Hani's funeral and other memorial events were largely peaceful as police and ANC officials consulted to ensure rightists did not attack protesters and township anger did not spill out of control.

"The cooperation has been superb," said a United Nations observer in Pretoria, where ANC and police officials walked side by side to maintain order at a march.

At one point a policeman lent ANC organiser Donsie Khumalo his megaphone so his supporters could hear calls for majority rule.

The march on police headquarters was technically banned by the city council but police said they had decided to let it go ahead to defuse tensions.

"They've been very disciplined," Colonel Royce Menton said of the ANC marshals, looking calmly on as they delivered a statement at the headquarters calling for the end of the government he serves.

"The cooperation has been exemplary, an example for the rest of the country."

Mr Khumalo agreed.

# UK voters give Tories bloody nose

**LONDON.— British voters have hammered the Conservative government in local elections, piling pressure on Prime Minister John Major to shift some ministers and re-invigorate his divided party.**

**Mr Major conceded yesterday that dramatic losses in the council polls and in a by-election were a verdict on his government's performance as it struggles to end a protracted recession.**

**"People were determined to give the government a bloody nose, and that in practice is what they did last night," he told reporters. "We are clearly coming out of recession, but the effects of that are not felt. People feel bruised — they feel hurt."**

**In its first test of popularity since holding power at a general election in April 1992, the Conservatives were left controlling only one of the 47 local councils in England and Wales in Thursday's polling rout.**

**In the by-election in the southern town of Newbury, minority Liberal Democrat David Rendel was elected by a huge margin of more than 22 000 votes. The Conservatives had held the seat since 1924.**

**The defeat cut Mr Major's majority in the 651-seat House of Commons to 19, further reducing his ability to push through contentious legislation like the Bill ratifying the Maastricht treaty on European union.**

**Some Conservatives called for the immediate resignation of Chancellor of the Exchequer Norman Lamont, who was forced to make a humiliating U-turn last September and withdraw sterling from the Exchange Rate Mechanism.**

**"Obviously the chancellor must go and it was a grave mistake that he wasn't changed last autumn," said Conservative MP John Carlisle.**

**Liberal Democrat leader Paddy Ashdown saw the results as a huge boost to his minority party, which now has 21 seats in parliament. — Sapa-Reuter.**

WEEKEND ARGUS

# At stake — the soul of a new SA

■ Education has become one of the last battlegrounds between the Nats and the government of the future.

**DAVID BREIER** Weekend Argus Political Staff

**MANY South Africans are baffled over the intensity of the education crisis as thousands are prepared to risk their future over issues such as a R48 matric exam fee. Why?**

The underlying reasons for the battle are profound. They concern the nature of education — and a good deal more. The fight is on for the soul of the new South Africa.

FIRST, there is the issue of the R48 matric exam fees.

The real issue here is the principle of free education and free social services versus the principle that the user must pay. This is the difference between a welfare state with huge taxes and a market-oriented state with lower taxes but higher user fees.

The government believes the taxpayer can no longer afford to pay all education costs and that there cannot be free education.

The National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC), the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) and their allies support free education as a matter of principle.

On the surface the exam fee issue appears to be much ado about nothing. The exam fees have existed since the year dot and are meant to pay at least some of the cost of outside markers and matric certificates.

This year the government increased the fee from R72 to R86 and then reduced it to R48 under pressure — covering only about a quarter of the costs.

The government has tried to hold the line on the lower fee as a matter principle. If even this relatively small fee is abolished, it will set a major precedent for the new South Africa.

In addition the government argues that paying a fee motivates pupils to take the exam seriously.

Now the government is consulting other "role players" on the issue. These include relatively conservative bodies including white teacher and parent organisations and the non-independent homelands.

The NECC, which is an umbrella body of mainly ANC-orientated education bodies, sees matric exam fees as an inroad into the principle of free education in the new South Africa.

ANC-aligned pupil body Cosas, an NECC affiliate, demands the abolition of the fees, but the NECC is prepared to negotiate on the issue. As a compromise the NECC wants the suspension of exam fees.

The government believes suspension will in effect amount to abolition of the fees by the time an interim government takes over next year, and the battle would be lost.

There is a third interest group — the PAC-aligned Pan Africanist Students' Organisation (Paso) which opposes exam fees but also opposes protest actions which disrupt black education.

SECOND, there is the issue of an education forum. The NECC and its allies have long demanded the forum and the government this week agreed to set up a representative working group to examine the desirability of such a forum. Both camps want to abolish apartheid in education. So why the great fuss?

There are major differences. The government merely wants the forum to be an advisory council — while the government retains for itself the real power over restructuring education on non-racial regional lines.

The NECC wants the forum to take the real decisions — to have the real power. It accuses the government of unilateral restructuring.

The government wants to divide education into regions with real autonomy — just as it wants to divide the country along similar federal lines.

The NECC wants a single education department in a united South Africa — with regional divisions only for administrative purposes — with no real autonomy.

The government wants the same education bureaucrats to run the new show.

The NECC wants new faces in positions of power — its own members.

The battle over who controls the restructuring of education forms part of the battle over who will run the country and how.

THIRD, there is the question of teachers' pay.

The government tried to cut the Budget deficit this year by giving all civil servants including teachers only 5 percent across the board increases.

NECC affiliate the SA Democratic Teachers Union (Sadtu) wants 25 percent and opposes in principle the imposition of non-negotiated pay increases.

The moderate mostly black National Professional Teachers Organisation of SA (Naptosa) has moved to the left on this issue.

FOURTH, there is the "rationalisation" of teachers. Last year white education had thousands of teachers "rationalised" out of a job in the interests of cutting public service spending. Coloured teachers are fiercely resisting similar retrenchments.

The once-moderate United Teachers' Association of SA (Utasa) representing coloured teachers, has moved to the left and are backed by SADTU in resisting the retrenchment of coloured teachers.

The government insists on the need to cut the public service to reduce the huge budget deficit.

The NECC bloc vehemently opposes the retrenchment of teachers which it says is unjusfied due to the teacher shortage and growing pupil-teacher ratios.

FIFTH, there is the issue of merit promotions at present causing huge resentment among Indian teachers.

The government believes merit should be a principle in the new South Africa.

The NECC believes merit awards breed corruption and nepotism.

FINALLY, there are the chronic "flashpoint" issues such as the shortage of textbooks and classrooms.

The NECC wants this to be dealt with by a crisis committee under the proposed education forum.

The government is prepared to accept advice — but insists on retaining final control.

## Arrests follow Nasrec killings

JOHANNESBURG. — Arrests have been made in connection with the murders of Mr Rudolf Botes and Mr Alfred Dreyer at Nasrec near the FNB stadium on the day of the funeral of SACP leader Mr Chris Hani.

A brief statement issued by the police in Pretoria yesterday said police last Friday received a call on the Crime Stop numberfrom someone offering information on the identities of people involved in the killings.

"The matter is still under investigation and the names of the suspects cannot yet be made known," the police statement said. — Sapa

## Goldstone calls for joint review

PRETORIA. — A meeting to review past and future mass action and demonstrations should be urgently convened between the African National Congress' tripartite alliance, police and the Peace Secretariat, said Goldstone Commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone yesterday.

His comment was made here at a preliminary inquiry into the violence following the death of SACP leader Mr Chris Hani.

Earlier, counsel for the SAP submitted the ANC alliance's proposed mass action campaign should not be permitted because of the threat of more violence. — Sapa

## Call for ideas on protection

PRETORIA. — Goldstone Commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone has requested political parties to make submissions on the subject of protection for political leaders.

Mr Justice Goldstone, who is chairing a preliminary inquiry into the violence which erupted during mass demonstrations in the wake of the assassination of SACP leader Mr Chris Hani, said yesterday that the safety of senior-, middle- and lower-level political leaders, regardless of their political affiliation, was of national concern. If any should come to harm it could lead to public violence. — Sapa

# Row expected today at multi-party talks

**Own Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — A row is expected to erupt at today's multi-party talks between the government and the ANC on the one hand, and Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) on the other.

ANC and government sources said they were concerned the Cosag parties would stall the talks and would latch onto "any conceivable excuse as they demonstrated on Monday".

This would cause "a substantial row", particularly from the ANC as its secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, has no intention of allowing a repeat of Monday's proceedings where no real negotiations took place.

Today, the 26 parties are due to discuss the violence and the formation of six technical committees to examine key transitional issues.

These are an independent electoral commission, media commission and telecommunications authority, a transitional executive council and sub councils, the repeal and amendment of repressive legislation, the strengthening of the peace accord and the formation of a peace corps.

# ANC 'ready to rule country'

## Setting of date not significant — Mandela

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THERE was "no doubt whatsoever" that the ANC was ready to govern the country, Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Interviewed on a CNN programme, South Africa Beyond..., the ANC leader said his organisation was "already involved in government" and was "best equipped to pull the country out of its present mess".

Asked whether he was personally ready to assume the reins of power, Mr Mandela initially said he "may have doubts" about himself, but later said he would "obey" if voters told him to take the job of state president.

However, he added that he would be prepared to serve under a democratically elected white state president if that was what the voters wanted.

INTERVIEWED ... FW de Klerk

PREPARED ... Nelson Mandela

### Conciliatory

Speaking in the same programme, President F W de Klerk described Mr Mandela as person vested with "the personal qualifications of a person in high office", adding that he respected the ANC leader "as a man".

However, Mr De Klerk said he believed that the National Party had substantial support among all races and could end up as the largest party after the country's first non-racial elections.

In a remarkably conciliatory exchange, which was beamed live to millions of viewers worldwide, South Africa's foremost political leaders appeared committed to restoring confidence in the country's future.

Mr Mandela said he "attached no significance" to the fact that no election date had been set, adding that in fairness to Mr De Klerk "he has said he will set a date before the end of May".

He said it had been agreed a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) would be installed not later than June and that elections would be held in the near future.

Mr Mandela said the reform process had achieved significant results in the last three years. Serious problems had been resolved in that period and he could see no reason why current problems could not also be overcome.

He said anyone who thought the process would proceed peacefully without hitches was not well informed.

The ANC president said that although the ANC did not regard the government as being legitimate and representative, Mr De Klerk was state president and it would "not be possible to bring about peace without his co-operation".

During his interview, Mr De Klerk praised the "responsible" role Mr Mandela had played in trying to ensure peace during a politically volatile period in the country's history.

### Uncertainty

He expressed the hope that a broadly accepted government of national unity could relegate radicals on the left and right of the political spectrum to a "lunatic fringe".

Mr De Klerk said he had not been prepared to heed the advice of some and embark on "strong-arm" security measures to deal with the latest uncertainty, as this could have plunged the country into "a very deep conflict".

## FW urged to be bold

LONDON. — President FW de Klerk must take bold action to join South Africa's democratic forces or risk being branded "chicken-hearted", ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said in an interview published her yesterday.

Mr Mandela told the Independent newspaper, ahead of a visit to London next week when he will meet Prime Minister Mr John Major, he blamed Mr De Klerk for "his timidity towards the entire (white) right-wing".

He said: "If he does not take bold action and join the democratic forces, he is going to put across this image of a man who has no backbone, who is chicken-hearted." — Sapa-Reuter

## Buthelezi in UK for talks

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Two of Britain's top South African experts, Secretary of State Mr Douglas Hurd and Foreign Affairs Minister Baroness Lynda Chalker, yesterday quizzed Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on constitutional negotiations.

In London for a five-day visit which includes a half-hour meeting with Prime Minister Mr John Major today, the chief and his constitutional adviser, Dr M Ambrosini, dined with SA ambassador Mr Kent Durr last night.

In a short statement after yesterday's meetings, the Foreign Office said the IFP leader spoke about negotiations and the British leaders "expressed an interest" in their being successful.

Ag, Skattie, Bapetikosweti was sommer a little joke
So was Transkei
.. and Venda
... and Bophuthatswana
and Ciskei
RSA welcomes
GROGAN 93
Sunday Times 4/4

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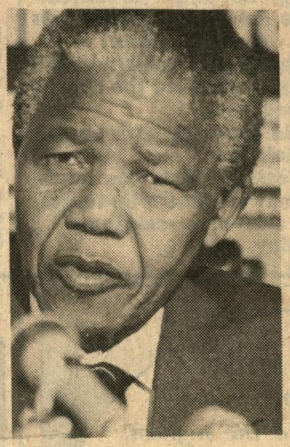

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# ANC to demand election date at rally

Mr Yengeni

**DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff**

A DEMAND that the government set an election date by the end of May will be made at an ANC alliance May Day rally at Athlone Stadium.

This was announced by the ANC, the SA Communist Party and Congress of South African Trade Unions today.

ANC Western Cape secretary Mr Tony Yengeni said there would be no marches to Cape Town on Saturday.

Other demands would be joint control over the police and SADF and a reconstruction pact to outline the economic policies of a democratic government which will meet the needs of the poor and oppressed.

He said the alliance believed Athlone Stadium was the best venue for the occasion.

He said the example of the memorial service for Chris Hani at the FNB Stadium in Johannesburg had shown how big crowds could be handled.

"We will be able to speak and move people around. We don't want to turn it into a party political day and it should be seen as a family day."

But Cosatu regional secretary Mr Jonathan Arendse said the alliance reserved the right to march in central Cape Town.

"We are not going to be told by anybody not to go into Cape Town. We will learn from our mistakes and organise better."

Mr Yengeni said a broad programme of mass action in the Western Cape would be presented at the Athlone Stadium rally.

Consultations were still taking place between the alliance and other organisations.

Mass action was essential because people were getting frustrated with little or no gain made in negotiations, he said.

"We are afraid if there is no progress at all the stage will be set for a serious explosion. I can't say how long this will take."

Mr Yengeni said this year's mass action would be different from last year's because the ANC did not want to alienate people.

Mr Arendse said consumer boycotts had not been ruled out, but specific businesses rather than white businesses would be targeted.

# Talk Lay

**MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent**

FINANCE Minister Mr Derek Keys has warned bluntly that there will be no economic growth if the economy is turned into a political football.

His warning is echoed in a strongly worded Democratic Party statement charging that more than half the delegations in the present, desperate round of negotiations have "some vested interest" in blocking a breakthrough and that the economy is being held to ransom by the delays.

Mr Keys told parliament that political events last year had been a setback and if the legitimate interests of the business community were not "cherished" convincingly, it was his duty to warn that realising the potential for economic growth would be delayed indefinitely.

At the same time, the co-ordinator of the Democratic Party's negotiating team, Mr Ken Andrew, castigated negotiators for dithering over details instead of setting clear overall goals and said: "The failure of the negotiating council to produce any positive results at its meeting (on Monday) will diminish investor confidence further."

"South Africa desperately needs a durable political settlement. This will be achieved much quicker if the negotiators follow proper, logical procedures."

Mr Keys told parliament: "International markets do not like to see the economy, or their business interests and prospects, being made the plaything of a political process, however noble the aims of such a process may be.

"Offers to lift sanctions — to behave normally in economic terms — are entirely counter-productive in this sphere when linked to political demands.

"Far better for the reputation of the offeror in the markets to have said nothing, for he has only provided another illustration of the economy being used as a political football.

"Surely this can't be unrecognised in the quarters where these decisions are made?"

# All set for better times

**BRUCE CAMERON**
Business Staff

STAND by for liftoff! The government, walking a fine economic tightrope, intends to push ahead with measures to stimulate the economy this year.

Government sources confirmed that a top-level meeting of Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys, Reserve Bank governor Dr Chris Stals and senior advisors took place last week to discuss ways of getting the economy back on its feet with this week's cut in the bank discount rate as a step on the way.

The national economic forum is to play a key part in the plans with tough negotiations ahead to get government economic proposals accepted.

Underpinning the plans will be next month's Budget and Mr Keys' economic package for the restructuring of the economy.

The government faces a delicate balancing act between the need to meet the short term demands of the tottering economy and long-term targets of sustained growth.

Indications are that the government may be planning to do a deal through the national economic forum to get political acceptance for a jump to 12 to 13 percent in Value Added Tax in exchange for zero rating a few more items, probably in the food line.

The government desperately needs new sources of income to reduce the soaring national deficit. Even if agreement can be reached on VAT, however, government sources say it will be difficult to bring the deficit for 1993 much below 6,5 percent of the gross domestic product.

Early indications are that Mr Keys will put aside the long term risks of another high deficit in the 1993/94 in order to keep government stimulation of the economy going.

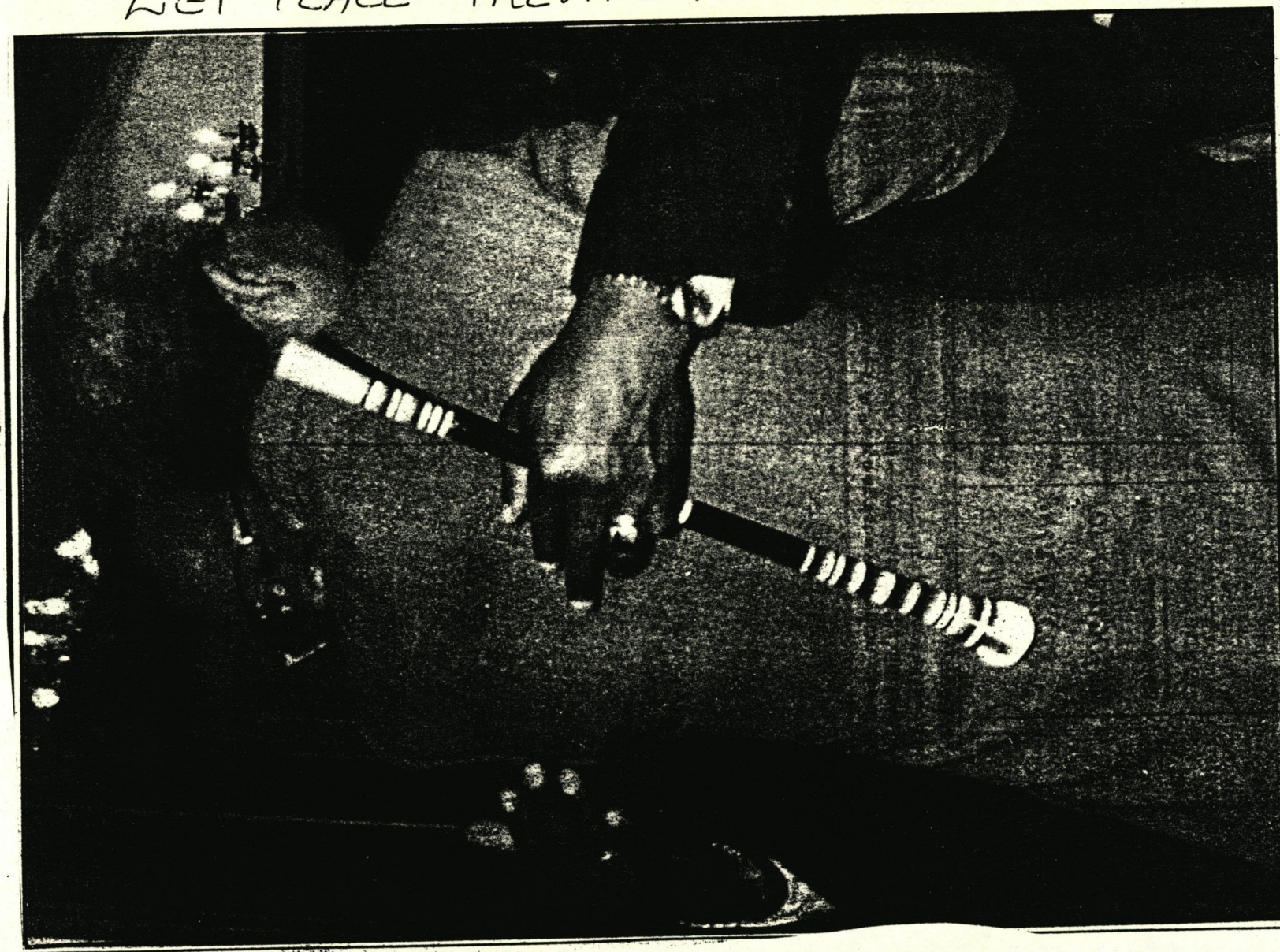
Government and private sector economists fear that any steps to cut back the deficit to the safe zone of 3 percent would send the economy into another dive and push unemployment ever higher.

With the economy contracting by 2,1 percent last year and total employment shrinking for the first time since the reces-

■ Turn to page 3

Weekend Argus

LET PEACE PREVAIL!



An historic moment at yesterday's peace talks in Durban as the ANC's Nelson Mandela and Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi embrace.

# *ANC/PAC join forces for campaign*

**Mercury Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG—The ANC and PAC have joined forces for a countrywide campaign on Friday to highlight their demand for a constituent assembly.

'Constituent Assembly Day', co-inciding with the opening of Parliament in Cape Town, was officially declared yesterday at a joint ANC/PAC Press conference in Johannesburg.

The venture has come about after meetings between the two rival organisations, and the realisation of the need for 'a common front in the national demand for the constituent assembly'.

In the Transvaal, regional ANC and PAC leaders had decided to call a workers' stay-away, supported by the trade union federations Cosatu and Nactu, and a school boycott.

An ANC spokesman emphasised that pupils should only stay away from classes on Friday.

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) 'in principle' supported the campaign, said the ANCspokesman.

# A real opener from the Zulu King's impi

**By Graham Ferreira**

WHEN the Zulus dance, the ground shakes.

And when the dancing is led by their King, Goodwill Zwelithini, and their Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the rumble echoes round the hills of Ulundi.

The skies were as grey as the single blue crane feather which only the King is allowed to wear on a Saturday morning recently when the King's impi danced their way into the new open air amphitheatre which is part of the recently completed complex housing the KwaZulu Cultural Museum.

From all over the kingdom the King's subjects came. The stands were packed. 10 000 Zulus came to sing, praise their King, and watch the official opening of the museum.

We were guests of the curator, archaeologist Rob Rawlinson.

He was responsible for the reconstruction of Cetshwayo's citadel, Ondini, razed by the British in revenge for their humiliating defeat at Isandhlwana.

Traditional dancing, music, and indigenous plays are to be held in the new complex.

"We want to portray the Zulus through their art. But we will also put the Zulus into historical and geographical perspective. The other cultures of the area will also be shown. Africa is our theme," said Rob.

The art exhibition, part of the Standard Bank Trust exhibition, illustrated his point. Decorated doors from Zaire, eating bowls from the Congo, a fertility doll from Uganda, and many more objects from all over the continent stood round the traditional Zulu artefacts.

☐ **The Zulus dance. King Goodwill Zwelithini (centre) and Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi lead the King's impi in a traditional dance**

*The widow, Mrs Nancy Denalene, at the graveside.*

# Golf clubs raised in a final salute

A long, flashy motorcade of the sort usually reserved only for statesmen of note snaked its way through the sleepy township of Soweto on a weekday and awoke even the sick from their beds.

It was something the sprawling ghetto has not seen and may not see again for a long time. Everybody who is someone was there. And whoever was not there at this rare procession cannot but count himself out on the parade of the Who's Who in social business, economic and medical circles.

Clad in sprightly regalia, the mourners thronged the home of the bereaved as early as 9am and slowly dripped in until the procession proceeded to the church.

There was none of the pomp and pageantry that goes with township funerals. Indeed, no slaughtering of beasts, no night vigils, but only sheer simplicity in its outmost. And what should surely rate as the pinnacle of the occasion was that the funeral was held smack in the middle of the week, Wednesday.

Dr Robert Toto Denalane died and was buried the way he wanted to. In the process, he set a trend by stoically breaking all the traditional norms of black funerals. Yet, his was by far the biggest weekday funeral in which more than 2 000 mourners cast aside the weekday hustle and bustle to bury a son of the soil and a widely respected personality.

But in spite of the ban on the variety of foodstuffs that are the norm in our funerals, well-known shebeeners Mrs Rowena Ncebesha, insisted that a coterie of friends of the late should come together and, as the doctor would have loved and loved to do, they must do justice to "pap and tripe" before sending him off. Which should have of course gone down well with him.

Dr Denalane, acclaimed for his great achievement of becoming the first black dentist in this country, died at the age of 52 and was, rather coincidentally, buried on the day of the month that he was born — the 13th.

Born on April 13, 1930, the amiable medico was buried, on his specific instructions, on October 13 1982 at the Avalon Cemetery. The fact that he chase to be buried on a weekday, a Wednesday in particular, points clearly to the fact that Dr Denalane had a premonition of his death.

Described as nobody's enemy but everybody's friend, Dr Denalane died suddenly of asthma at the Baragwanath Hospital casualty ward after suffering an attack at his home.

It was fitting that he died in the arms of his bosom pal, Dr Joe Jivhuho, after telephoning him from home complaining of his ailments.

And so, when it was time to bid Uncle Toto farewell on that historic Wednesday, they came from all corners of the country. Conspicious by his presence, all the way from Germany, was his brother, George, also a dentist.

The list of those in attendance reads like a Who's Who parade. Among the many were tycoon Mr Richard Maponya, bosom pal Jubille Kgomo, Dr and Mrs Motlana, Mr Peggy Senne, Mr Lucky Michaels, Dr Benjamin Mgulwa, Mr Gibson Thula, and many white, coloured and Indian colleagues.

Golfing colleagues, represented by speaker and captain of the West Orlando Golf Club, Mr I Matona, formed a guard of honour when the procession left the St Paul's Anglican Church for the cemetery. He had been a golfer to the hilt.

During a service held by Rev David Nkwe, speakers poured sweet and soothing words in honour of the doctor, a point that clearly unearthed the basis for the deceased's sweeping and compelling social standing.

At the time of his death, Dr Denalane was a Senior Dental Officer with the Transvaal Provincial Administration. This meant that he regularly toured various hospitals where he administered his medication.

An avid sportsman, with golf and soccer among his favourites, Dr Denalane attended primary school at Albert School and matriculated at St Peter's High School. Between 1952 and 1956 he obtained a BSc and UED degree at the bastion of black academics, Fort Hare.

Two years later he emigrated to West Germany's Heidelberg University to study dentistry and for the following two years he worked as a resident dentist for the United States Army.

Prior to leaving for Germany he tried his hand at teaching and taught, albeit for a short duration, science at the Madibane High School, then known as Johannesburg Bantu High School in Western Township.

Outside his work, Dr Denalane, who is survived by wife Nancy and three children, Neo, Marang and Krabo, was a busy bee of activity. He was a founder member of The South African Medical Discussion Group, the banned ASSECA, the West Rand Golf Association and the West Orlando Golf Club.

With his name now only a remembrance, Dr Denalane surely rests in utter peace after his wishes were followed to the letter in what could easily become a trend in township funerals.

The coffin about to be lowered into the grave.

Dr Toto's little daughter, Karabo, drops a bunch of flowers into the grave.

to the drawing-board because the forces for change are there; he cannot resist them. Nor do I envisage a mass defection to the far-right, which is almost isolated now, with its support down from 17 to 11 percent.

I think that if he gets a 'Yes' vote, Mr Botha's troubles will start on November 3. He still has to sell the Constitution to the coloureds and Indians, and I don't think he dare stage referenda for them — on a free vote they would reject it.

Very few observers think this constitution can work and we would waste four or five years trying to make an unworkable system work while we further alienate the blacks.

Unless we have a constitution which flows from joint consultation, there is no hope. The widest range of people must be involved, and then one builds in the safeguards.

# A fourth chamber is out of the question

to intimidate voters, the same as he did with the Labour Party at Eshowe.

'But it will be counter-productive. And in any case at all times law and order will be maintained.'

He agrees that the Buthelezi Commission's report contained many good suggestions. 'It was discussed at Cabinet level, but politically we cannot go along with it at all.

'However, possibly it could be a basis of discussions, and it could happen that the initiative might come from the National Party.

'But the status quo of KwaZulu remains and there is no possibility of blacks being accommodated in a fourth chamber. We have said that over and over again.

'There is a Cabinet committee studying the case of the urbanised blacks and its work will continue.'

# Anger and disapproval greet news of Chief Buthelezi's visit

By David Chilton

A chorus of anger and disapproval has greeted the news that the Chief of the Zulus, Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, is coming to Toronto to speak on the future of South Africa.

Akwatu Khenti, a Trinidad native and president of the African and Caribbean Students Association at the University of Toronto said, "Buthelezi is doing exactly what the South African government wants him to do."

## PROTECTION

Echoing Khenti's remark was Yusuf Saloojee, the African National Congress' representative in Canada.

"He's coming to do (South African president) Botha's work," he said.

And, Saloojee pointed out, in September, the last time Buthelezi spoke in Soweto, he needed protection from police and South African Defence Force units.

Federal M.P. Dan Heap (NDP-Spadina) summed up the visit by saying, "I don't think Chief Buthelezi will do any good here."

Buthelezi is due to give a Fraser Institute luncheon address Dec. 8 at the Harbor Castle Hilton hotel.

Sierra Leone native Olu Gordon, a member of ACSA and a U of T doctoral student in Modern African history, described Buthelezi as "marginal" and a "black puppet."

ACSA, he said, intends to show its disapproval over Buthelezi's visit, but he wouldn't disclose how.

Buthelezi, who is on a speaking tour of North America, received an honorary degree from Boston University last week.

The chief, who is also chief minister of the KwaZulu Homeland, has a degree from the University of Fort Hare, Cape Province.

His ancestry can be traced back to King Shaka, founder of the Zulu nation, which now numbers six million.

## PEACEFUL

Buthelezi opposes the use of economic sanctions against South Africa.

He is also a proponent of peaceful change in that country.

Phone calls to the Toronto office of the Vancouver-based Fraser Institute to find out more about Buthelezi's visit were not returned.

The Canadian Club, which promotional literature says is acting in cooperation with the institute, is in fact handling only some mailing and public relations said a spokesman.

Howard McCurdy, the only black federal M.P. and the NDP's Human Rights and External Affairs critic said from Ottawa that as a democrat he couldn't be opposed to anyone coming to Canada to speak.

But, he went on, "Buthelezi is willing to bargain human dignity in the interests of short term gains."

The chief is here to undermine a united front against apartheid, he added.

Easy Mokgakala, a South African refugee living in North York, Ont., spent three years in Robben Island maximum security prison in the 1960's for his anti-apartheid activities.

"I don't regard him (Buthelezi) as somebody who is serving black people," he said.

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Courier Nov. 28/87.

# A TASTE OF HANI

All very nice, almost like the happy ending to a multiracial fairytale.

But, Mr Hani is a communist. In fact, he is the communist, secretary-general of the now-legal SACP, tiny but thriving and fantastically influential!

Whites hate and mistrust the party. Blacks, on the other hand, are quite unworried by its strength.

Many whisper that this man is one of the most powerful advisers of African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela and almost certain to be the first black president of South Africa!

He confirms the rumours. Sitting in his austere office, shaken by traffic noise coming through the open windows because he cannot afford air-conditioning, he gestures towards his telephone and says: "Whenever I want to see him, I just pick up the phone and arrange an appointment. I think we're friends. He calls me at home and says: "Can we please meet?"

He emphasises that Mr Mandela is not acting alone, that all his decisions are taken after consulting carefully with close colleagues, Chris Hani very much included.

However much the West may admire and fete him as a brave individual, Mr Mandela has debts to pay and forces to placate.

Mr Hani puts it this way: "Basically, he is a comrade who makes sure that what he does receives the understanding and support of as many people as possible."

There it is again. The jarring use of the word "comrade", summoning up memories of the world's failed hammer-and-sickle states. It is difficult to find out exactly what flavour of communism this man likes.

Perhaps the most significant pointer is that he is still a communist, in a world that has almost entirely turned its back on the idea in theory or practice.

He readily admits he always used to be a dedicated follower of Kremlin fashion. He spent a year in the USSR in 1963, being trained for the violent overthrow of white South Africa.

"We supported anything: The invasion of Hungary, of Czechoslovakia. There was always a good reason. We thought the gulag was an invention of hostile imperialist propaganda."

He even accepts that he didn't have any doubts until after Mikhail Gorbachev had them. He tells how the SACP condemned the Moscow hardline coup in August 1991 — the day after it happened.

They wanted to be sure of what was going on, he says. But, on the crucial Monday, when many people thought the putsch would succeed, Mr Hani's party stayed silent. We shall never know where they would have stood if the plotters had triumphed by Tuesday.

He is also strangely vague on China (party members are being urged to win a trip to Beijing in a jolly contest). Yes, he condemns the massacre in Tiananmen Square — but, he can't remember if the party denounced it at the time. Can't remember? This man is secretary-general of the party, for heavens sake!

The same alarming vagueness creeps into other areas. On crucial affairs like taxation, economic policy and nationalisation, he quickly slips into generalisations which could mean anything.

He is against any curbs on the media, but he does want a black government to help an "independent Press", while accepting that such a Press might be indebted to the state.

He predicts also that "the white Press will criticise us and make racist insinuations"!

He favours "healthy laws to prevent racist insults". Such laws, in South Africa, might have a very different meaning from Britain's Race Relations Acts.

What about "re-education"? Mr Hani says firmly: "Whites must be re-educated. They must accept that they can no longer live in an island of prosperity while all around them is a sea of poverty."

Once again, he is unclear as to how this process will take place.

Most whites, are, in any case, getting used to the new realities — not least Mr Hani's Boksburg neighbours. What they do not know is how far and how fast a Mandela government, advised by MrHani, will go!

Will it tax them till their pips squeak? Will it forbid them (as Zimbabwe has) to take no more than a few rands abroad?

Will it rush to promote blacks to senior positions in the civil service, the police and the judiciary? To impose its power and pay off its supporters?

What they fear, and with some reason, is that many of these epoch-making decisions will be heavily influenced by a man who has spent his life as a communist, who learned how to shoot, and not to think, in Moscow!

# ANC's leaders at odds over power-sharing 'deal'

**TOS WENTZEL**
**Political Staff**

AMID sniping within its own ranks, the national executive of the African National Congress met today to decide whether to ratify the agreement reached with the government on power-sharing in an interim government of national unity.

The government and the ANC deny that a firm "deal" has been struck, and have emphasised that such agreements can be reached only at multiparty talks. But elements in the ANC are unhappy with the terms of the agreement.

Bilateral meetings between the government and potential negotiation partners at resumed multiparty talks will continue today.

The Democratic Party is to meet a government delegation led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

Later today the Afrikaner Volksunie, which broke away from the Conservative Party, will resume talks with a government delegation led by Mr Meyer.

A sub-committee of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) is to meet Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel. The group consists of Inkatha, the CP and the governments of Bophuthatswana, Transkei and Ciskei.

This afternoon President De Klerk will meet President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana. Tomorrow the government and Inkatha will resume bilateral talks.

In the war of words after last week's meeting between the government and the ANC, the ANC's Natal Midland region has come out in open revolt against the power-sharing agreement.

Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala said: "We will try to persuade the NEC to rethink. We want a special consultative conference to review the negotiations strategy."

The Pan Africanist Congress has accused the ANC of "selling out the struggle".

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said his organisation believed reports that the ANC and the government had made a secret deal, and warned that South Africans would not know peace unless all organisations were involved in negotiations.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht said the power-sharing agreement was an attempt at a coup d'état to benefit the ANC.

The Western Cape region of the ANC has instructed its delegates to oppose power-sharing at the NEC meeting.

Regional secretary Tony Yengeni said: "We are going to listen to a report-back from our negotiators, see what they bring back and discuss it with delegates before making a final decision."

He said the Western Cape region feared the ANC could be tricked into believing power-sharing would be for a limited period, only to find out it was something more permanent.

# Hani happy to sleep with the enemy ... for a while

**The Argus Correspondent**

LONDON. — SA Communist Party general-secretary Mr Chris Hani has no problems with the term "power sharing", he told a news conference here.

It was a process that would begin to normalise South Africa, he said yesterday. But power sharing between the African National Congress and the government would be for only a limited period.

If getting into bed with the government, or rubbing shoulders with Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer for a few years, was the quickest way to get rid of the government, the ANC would do so.

But he suggested 15 percent should be the minimum vote needed by a political party to secure representation in a power sharing cabinet — not the five to 10 percent proposed by President De Klerk in a television interview at the weekend.

Mr Hani and SACP colleague Mr Essop Pahad are in London on their way home from Cuba.

# Ex-PAC man to start new party

**Political Staff**

**A FORMER member of the Pan Africanist Congress who returned to South Africa last year is to launch a new political party which will contest the country's first all-in elections next year, he said.**

**Dr Thamsanqa Bam, who headed the Soweto-based underground People's National Action Council before he left the country in March 1976, said it was becoming apparent that the main political players in the country were not addressing important issues.**

**Dr Bam, 54, said his soon-to-be-launched People's Democratic Christian Party — so far consisting of educationists, intellectuals and returned exiles — would address "the problems which face the country" such as high unemployment, the shortage of housing and the spiralling crime rate.**

**A founder member of the PAC in 1959, Dr Bam joined the ANC for a year in Dar es-Salaam before returning to the PAC a year later. In 1977 he left the PAC "because things did not go right" and trekked to Holland, where he has lived until he returned home last year.**

**During his stay abroad he studied in the United States, Britain and Belgium, and now holds a doctorate in theology.**

**He described himself as a linguist and literacy specialist.**

# ANC stalls on prisoners

By LESTER VENTER and DRIES VAN HEERDEN

**THERE is no hope that the ANC will meet the Tuesday deadline for an agreement on the release of political prisoners.**

Senior Government sources said they no longer expect the ANC to meet the July 10 deadline for a formal response to a pact they've already hammered out on the release of an estimated 1 500 political prisoners.

ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela announced in Uganda yesterday that he would resume talks with the Government on July 18 — but the delays in getting the prisoner release under way has led to charges by Government sources that the ANC is dragging its feet.

Lack of cohesion and organisational problems within the ANC are being blamed for the delays, and Government officials and foreign diplomats are becoming increasingly fretful about the hold-ups in getting to the negotiating table to create a new constitution.

There is also a growing concern that the ANC is "shifting the goalposts" in continually adding new preconditions for negotiations.

Government negotiators now believe they will have to wait until after July 18 — when Mr Mandela returns to SA from his tour of three continents — before further progress on the release of prisoners and return of exiles can be made.

## Talks won't resume until Nelson returns

One senior source said the delay may even extend considerably beyond this date as there are concerns that Mr Mandela may have underestimated the difficulty of "selling" the findings of the joint report to the ANC National Executive Committee.

It is also an indication that the ANC has run into trouble in setting up internal organisational structures and getting their membership drive off the ground.

The joint report was drawn up by a working group set up after the historic first meeting between the Government and the ANC at Groote Schuur, Cape Town, in May.

### Tough

The group, which dealt with the nuts and bolts of the prisoners issue, delivered its report on May 22. A day later the Government announced its acceptance of the report.

Statements by senior ANC figures at the time indicated that the ANC also accepted the report.

However, when Mr Mandela met President F W de Klerk on June 2, two days before he started on his current tour, he told the president that the ANC's formal response would come on July 10.

Other members of the ANC executive later denied that this date had been agreed on.

"The net result of the foot-dragging is that Mr Mandela is keeping his supporters in jail a month longer than they need be," said a senior diplomat.

It has been reliably learned that the secret findings of the joint report recommend a phased release of political prisoners — beginning with "soft" cases, such as those jailed for incitement or attending illegal gatherings, and progressing to "hard" cases, where violence was involved.

The working group has been meeting regularly since the report was finalised and the possibility has already been raised that its term of reference may be broadened to drafting the agenda for the coming negotiations.

While Mr Mandela, who has seen the report, has said overseas that he accepts it, statements from other senior ANC leaders have indicated that he may yet face a tough task in getting the whole NEC to agree with him.

### Violent

**This week, senior members of the ANC's executive added new pre-conditions to the start of the formal negotiations with the Government. Speaking in Alexandra, ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo demanded that the Government disarm radical right-wing groups before the ANC comes to the negotiating table. This view was echoed later by Umkontho we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani.**

**And yesterday a joint working commitee of Cosatu and the UDF said that "no political settlement was possible until the violent conflict in Natal has ended".**

**The joint committee called on Mr De Klerk "to act against those responsible for the violence", to cease his "support for Inkatha's reign of terror" and to disband the KwaZulu police force.**

Aliens' passport for his travelling.

"The embassy people were very sympathetic, but the police here did not want to give me clearance to enter. I believe they did not want me to come back."

But he took a flight anyway. He had Johannesburg advocate Johan Kreigler telephone the Security Police and tell of his arrival.

They were waiting for him at Jan Smuts Airport when his plane touched down on October 7 last year. he was detained in terms of Section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

"(Col) Broodryk (of the Security Police) was furious with me for coming back. He told me 'I had you on the top of my list to get you myself'."

Mr Schuitema put his head back and laughed loudly as he recalled the policeman's anger. But it seems he has no axe to grind with the Security Police. He said he did not enjoy his 100 days in detention, but does not complain or talk about his time as a guest of the Minister of Justice.

He desperately wants, he says, to stand trial for his alleged co-conspiracy with Breytenbach. That's why he openly returned to South Africa. From the dock he would do all he could to clear the man's name.

"I want to show that Breyten did nothing wrong, that I did nothing wrong, and that he should go free."

But there is no indication at this stage that his dream will come true. His release from custody was unconditional. He could leave the country if he wanted to. It would appear that the police are taking no further interest in him.

He is confused. "Maybe they want to give me enough rope to hang myself."

Where does he go from here? He has no definite plans. He wants to write of his experiences in Europe, of white consciousness and other things.

But the erstwhile shift boss is now a fullbreed politico, with an unquenchable thirst for the second oldest game in town. Eloquent, intelligent, at times confused, Berend Schuitema is no closer to his idealogical goal than he was a decade ago.

# Accusations of bias follow Sebokeng

Star

Is The Star hostile to the SA Police? Some readers appear to think so, and believe they have found an example in its report on the shooting at Sebokeng on Monday March 27, in which at least 11 blacks were killed and hundreds injured.

Mr Leon Alexander, of Bryanston, thinks in the first place that The Star, in its stories on Pages 1 and 2 on March 28, should have referred not to "marchers" but to "a mob". I do not agree: This would have been no more justified than, for instance, calling the police "trigger-happy". It is a newspaper's duty, where possible, to avoid emotive and judgmental labels.

Mr Alexander also rejects a statement by Winnie Graham on Page 2, based on film of the incident, that only "a few men" among the marchers had sticks. This, he says, is contradicted by the picture of a group of marchers on Page 1.

"Few" is a difficult word to define, but to my eye the picture in question gives the impression that sticks among that particular group were, to say the least, sparse.

Mr E G Layton-McCann, of Roodepoort, entirely rejects the account of the incident given by one of The Star's photographers, Herbert Mabuza, in which he said the shooting by the police came "out of the blue". Mr Layton-McCann says a "good, honest friend" of his was there. According to him, the crowd "stoned, reviled and provoked" the police and would have overwhelmed them had they been allowed to.

Three pictures taken by Mabuza from a point on the road between the police and the crowd appeared on page 1. Undoubtedly he was in an excellent position to judge what happened. His superiors at The Star tell us they have total faith in his integrity and had no hesitation in printing his story, flanked by a contradictory statement from the police.

Of terms too indelicate to be reproduced here, Mr Layton-McCann goes on to say that by continually denigrating the police, The Star has become "a tool of the ANC/SACP".

From his lament for earlier days when The Star "used to print the facts", I assume Mr Layton-McCann is among those who believe The Star has recently taken a "Leftward lurch".

It is not my function to make political judgments, but I cannot help wondering whether it would not be more accurate to say that many of The Star's readers and other English-speaking people have recently taken a "Rightward lurch".

The pace of events has unnerved many people, much violence is abroad and the future is still obscure. It is no wonder that nerves are raw. But for a newspaper to trim its sails to each new wind that blows would be to forfeit its self-respect and eventually the respect of others.

Do you have a complaint about the editorial content of The Star? **OMBUDSMAN JAMES McCLURG** is at your service to adjudicate on complaints. Write to: Ombudsman, c/o The Editor's Secretary, The Star, Box 1014, Johannesburg, 2000.

Ombudsman

JAMES McCLURG

**Before the shooting . . . few sticks or many?**

Professor G A Doyle, of Wits, has reopened the question of duplicated news stories, discussed in this column not long ago.

He surmises correctly that stories are carried forward, especially overnight, because people who read the same edition every day — and they are by far the majority — don't want to miss anything significant that has appeared in intervening editions.

But, he asks very reasonably, why are the headlines over the same story so often changed in the new edition when the rest of the copy is left unaltered?

There are two explanations. The first is that the make-up of a newspaper and thus the position and shape of individual stories change from one edition to another to accommodate fresh news. For instance, a double-column story in one edition may be reduced to a single column in the next, necessitating a new headline.

Secondly, a critical eye is cast on each edition. Any identified inaccuracies, misspellings, misprints, solecisms or lapses of taste are corrected in the next edition.

The process is, of course, not unique to The Star. The UK Press Gazette, a British magazine for journalists, has just called attention, somewhat derisively, to changes made by a provincial newspaper that had published a diagram of a gynaecological operation. In its second edition, labels identifying certain features of the female anatomy were carefully excised. Even the neutral word "bladder" was not spared. This may be carrying vigilance too far, but it illustrates how the system of edition changes works.

More closely relevant to Professor Doyle's query is that, because of their prominence and sensitivity, particular attention is always paid to headlines. Sometimes they may be changed to eliminate errors or ineptitudes, sometimes just to make them read better.

Many readers occasionally come across the same story twice in the same edition. This is simply a breakdown in the normal sorting out of copy — extremely regrettable but hard to avoid altogether.

Worst of all, though, the keen-eyed Professor Doyle has found (in The Star of Monday March 26) the same story printed twice on the same page. There are two sets of headlines, one of which has nothing to do with the story below. It appears that someone in The Star's generally efficient works had attached the wrong headline to a story, and in the pre-deadline rush nobody picked up the error.

## HOW'S THAT AGAIN?

Shooting Frenchmen in Spain — the world's best sport? See Pages 34-37. — Shooting Times.

# AWB man assaulted: claim

FROM PAGE 1

AWB members.

Mr Terre'Blanche said this kind of "nonsense" would not be tolerated by the AWB and legal action would be taken against the police.

Revealing the letter was not meant as an attack on the police, but as an attack on politicians who misused the police as their own private army.

"The impression is left that if you work for the State you can do what you want. You can assault people and even shoot them if you want," said Mr Terre'Blanche.

What concerned the AWB most about Mr Judeel's abduction was that if something had gone wrong during the violent interrogation in the car and Mr Judeel had died, there was a fair possibility that the police would have dropped his body beside the road and blamed Mr Rudolph and his special unit for the death of Mr Judeel.

Mr Terre'Blanche said from government circles there were threats of more arrests. He warned the government and elements within the SAP that they should not misuse their powers or overplay their hand.

"The government must not fan a revolution. The AWB do not want a revolution but the Boer is a free man who won't accept being blindfolded and hit against the head.

"We will measure all future actions by the police against this."

The South African Police yesterday said although Mr Judeel had been visited and had access to the Inspector of Prisoners, senior officers and doctors, he had not mentioned the allegations.

Despite this, the allegations would be investigated.

Mr Terre'Blanche also yesterday announced that at an international Press conference on February 1, the AWB would release a video, allegedly showing a policeman firing into a crowd of Right-wingers with an Uzi machine-gun during the Ventersdorp incident in August last year.

During the incident, which took place when a large number of AWB members attempted to disrupt a public meeting by State President De Klerk, two people died and several others were injured.

Mr Terre'Blanche said the video showed clearly that the policeman, who was sitting on the roof of a hotel, was firing into the crowd.

He also alleged the policeman was the first person to fire shots that evening.

"It is this kind of misuse of policemen by politicians that we are against, and we know the police are also getting tired of it. It is general knowledge that a large number of policemen at Ventersdorp refused to take part in the actions that night and left to sit in the veld until everything was over."

The police yesterday refused to add to previous statements about the incident in Ventersdorp and said all evidence would be put before a court of law. At such a time, the AWB would also be allowed to bring their evidence.

Mr Terre'Blanche rejected the call by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, that Right-wing organisations should call on their members to stop violence.

Mr Kriel wanted to make policemen out of Right-wing leaders, which they would refuse to become.

The reason for the violence was a rising nationalism among South Africans which was suppressed by a government which refused Whites a constitutional say.

"No nation with any self-respect would allow itself to be intimidated and ignored when its future is being talked away around the conference table.

"He can wait until the cows come home but we will not ask our people to stop the violence. He and the government created a climate which made the nation unhappy with what is happening and which created the need for people to defend themselves."

Referring to negotiations and Codesa, Mr Terre'Blanche said the AWB was prepared to talk to anyone in South Africa about peace, but refused to take part in negotiations with political organisations on the constitution of South Africa.

The AWB believed that Codesa was a group of minorities attempting to decide the fate of 34 million people.

None of the parties involved could prove sufficient support from its people to enter in such negotiations, and the AWB refused to take part.

Mr Terre'Blanche also announced that the AWB would keep to its agreement regarding public meetings and would not attempt to disrupt State President De Klerk's meeting in Potchefstroom next month.

As long as President De Klerk made it clear he would go to Potchefstroom to adress his voters, and not the supporters of the National Party only, the AWB would not disrupt the meeting.

The AWB itself would, in fact, be holding a meeting in Potchefstroom a week after Mr De Klerk's meeting and would allow any member of the public to attend the meeting and put motions.

"I am therefore not asking Mr De Klerk to do anything I would not do," said Mr Terre'Blanche.

# ANC to consider unity government

FROM PAGE 1

sues affecting the security and civil service establishments are thoroughly addressed, as "if the transition to democracy affects all the individuals in these institutions wholly and purely negatively, then they would serve as fertile ground from which the destabilisers would recruit".

On negotiations, it suggests some elements in this process could take the form of multilateral "Codesa-type" agreements.

Others could take the form of binding agreements between the ANC and government which could then be presented to multilateral negotiations, according to ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

He explained that certain issues required the input of these two organisations first so that bilateral agreement could be reached. Other parties would not be excluded as these agreements would be presented as proposals at multilateral negotiations.

The ANC, however, rejected government statements that major negotiation decisions be deliberated by the government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Mr Mandela said bilateral talks with the government would focus on issues such as regions and boundaries in a new South Africa, a Constituent Assembly and a government of national unity.

This approach was necessary to ensure national unity and to chart a way forward for negotiations which would enable a peaceful transition, said Mr Maharaj.

On the issue of democratic elections, ANC secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, said his organisation would do all in its power to ensure these took place within the next nine to 12 months.

Another important issue to emerge from the meeting was an announcement by Mr Mandela that channels were being set up between the ANC and IFP to prepare for a summit.

"We will have this channel to reconcile conditions (by both parties before a meeting) and to make sure such a meeting takes place that will be fruitful."

No date had been set for a meeting, but the ANC would act speedily to resolve outstanding issues, said Mr Mandela.

Among the ANC's delegation to prepare for a summit with the IFP is deputy secretary-general, Mr Jacob Zuma, and executive member, Mr Thabo Mbeki.

A common approach to the meeting had to be established to ensure success, said the ANC leader.

On violence, an NEC statement said it was concerned that despite efforts by the National Peace Accord process and the exposure of the involvement of State agencies in violence, killings continued.

Central to ways of ending the carnage was the need for the democratic movement to "exercise relentless pressure on the government to acknowlege its responsibility, to act decisively against all perpetrators of violence including elements within State structures".

The NEC rejected the National Party's view that violence made it impossible for democratic elections to take place.

This encouraged the perpetrators of violence and those opposed to a negotiated solution, based on democratic elections.

"In essence, that view enables the perpetrators of violence to hold the future of our country to ransom," said the statement.

The NEC further endorsed a top-level peace meeting in Natal to try to stop the war there and committed itself to initiatives aimed at securing peace and free political activity in Ciskei and Bophuthatswana.

The decision by the National Peace Committee urgently to convene a meeting of the Peace Accord's signatories to review the peace process was also welcomed by the NEC, which said it was ready to co-operate in setting a date.

With regard to proposals made by the commission of inquiry into the treatment of former detainees in ANC camps, the NEC established an independent commission to inquire into this.

The commission would be composed of Margaret Burnham, from the US, Dr David Zamchiya, from Zimbabwe, and Dr Samuel Mokgethi Motsuenyane, of South Africa.

The commission's terms of reference are in the process of finalisation by the ANC's National Working Committee, the NEC said.

On time frames regarding negotiations, Mr Mandela said an interim government of national unity should be in place within the next eight to 12 months.

However, Mr Mandela stressed it was important the ANC and the government agreed on common positions on major national issues before taking these to multilateral negotiations.

The ANC was not forcing its position on any party, but wanted to present proposals agreed to with the government as recommendations.

The ANC rejected the government's and other Black groups' calls that major decisions on negotiations and related issues should be decided on by only three parties.

"We rejected this. We want all political parties to make these decisions."

On the issue of democratic elections, Mr Ramaphosa said his organisation would do all in its power to ensure these take place within the next nine to 12 months.

"It is possible to achieve this by next year," he said.

Questioned on whether the NEC would endorse a call by the ANC's Natal regions for an international peacekeeping force to be sent to the country, Mr Ramaphosa said the National Working Committee would investigate this more fully before making an annoucement. — Sapa.

Page 11

# ANC TO CONSIDER UNITY GOVT

DURBAN. — The African National Congress is considering the establishment of a government of national unity after a new constitution has been adopted to ensure the smooth democratisation of the country and to involve all major parties in dismantling apartheid.

This emerged at the movement's three-day National Executive Committee meeting, which ended in Durban yesterday.

Chief among the widely considered concessions — which are contained in an amended document, originally compiled by SA Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo, and entitled "Negotiations: A Strategic Perspective" — is the emphasis on ensuring South Africa's transition to democracy is not scuttled.

To this effect, the organisation was to look into a government of national unity, to be established after the adoption of a new constitution, involving parties with a proven and legitimate support base, said ANC executive member, Mr Mac Maharaj.

The document also lays emphasis on ensuring is-

TO PAGE 2

Page 1

African National Congress leader Oliver Tambo, left, embraces Kenneth Kaunda,

DAVID C. TURNLEY/Detroit Free Press

president of Zambia, where the ANC has its headquarters.

Police spokesman Andy Pieke confirmed that Mrs Mbatho was raped, strangled and left with a scarf around her neck.

This fits in with the condition of the killer's other victims, who were also found with either an item of clothing or piece of metal around their necks.

Mrs Mbatho was last seen alive by relatives on June 30, after returning home from Newcastle, where she attended a funeral.

Police have sent forensic samples to the forensic laboratory in Pretoria, to be tested along with the evidence from the other victims, said Inspector Pieke.

Mrs Mbatho's body was identified by a Baragwanath colleague, who heard her description on a radio programme and contacted the police.

puter equipment, air conditioning and a complete make-over of the holding cells and court rooms.

All the courtrooms are being fitted with carpet tiles, making them attractive, warm and enhancing acoustics.

Antique furniture, long forgotten in dusty storerooms, have been restored. They include stinkwood tables, chairs and other pieces of value, now adorning offices.

For the first time the needs of the disabled and elderly have been taken into account by the installation of lifts, waiting rooms and modern washrooms. Fresh water dispensers will be available at strategic points in addition to cold

Computers are being installe modems to enable the public information by personal compu for the issuing of electronic su mation will soon be accessibl effectively ruling out unnecess court, saving time and money.

"The magistrates' court has n development," said chief ma Jooste, "and structures and nor been obsolete. Known as a col place, it was a disgrace to the l to the people it served.

"Just thinking of the conditio cells made you shiver. They we

# ANC fails to block chiefs' pay

Own Correspondent

**DURBAN. – The controversy over the payment of the Zulu monarch and chiefs took a further turn yesterday when the Constitutional Court ruled that the province's legislature was within its right to pay King Goodwill Zwelithini and other traditional leaders.**

**The application to have two provincial statutes on the issue declared unconstitutional was brought by the African National Congress, but in a judgment handed down by Judge-President Arthur Chaskalson, all 10 judges rejected it.**

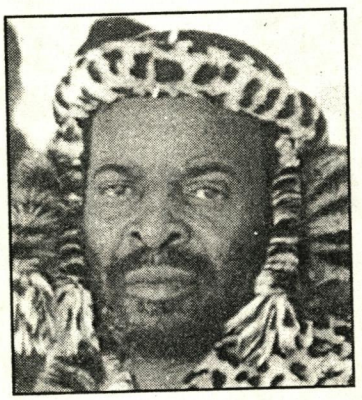
**Both challenges, referred to the court for a decision by the speaker of the KwaZulu-Natal legislature, were heard together earlier this year.**

**The court's ruling, greeted with delight by the IFP's legal representatives, could have far-reaching implications for provincial powers, which came under strong attack in the same court during the certification hearing for the national constitution.**

**There is now a question mark over the Remuneration of Traditional Leaders Act, which was pushed through by the ANC in the national parliament last year and was seen as an attempt to shift control of the chiefs away from the IFP-controlled KwaZulu Natal government.**

**Mr Justice Chaskalson did not rule whether this act could still dominate the provincial statutes, saying the question should be left open for determination if and when it arose.**

**However, Mr Justice Chaskalson did comment on the political tension in the province, saying it was "unfortunate" that the conflict had "degenerated to a state" where the right to pay the chiefs had become an issue.**



King Goodwill Zwelithini

**He said these leaders could best serve their people if they were not dependent on political parties or governments.**

**This ideal, he said, was not furthered by making these leaders the subject of conflicting national and provincial legislation, adding that this had no bearing on the constitutionality of the provisions.**

**The bills challenged by the ANC were the KwaZulu-Natal Amakhosi and Iziphakanyiswa Amendment Bill of 1995 and the Ingonyama Bill of 1995.**

**Both the bills went before the provincial legislature to amend into legislation laws which had been passed by the then KwaZulu legislature before the 1993 constitution coming into effect.**

**The court held that because laws dealing with the appointment and powers of traditional leaders were within the competence of the provinces, legislation providing for the remuneration to such leaders was also within such competence.**

# Constitutional clause isn't democratic, claims MP

JOHANNESBURG. – The anti-defection clause in the proposed final constitution was undemocratic, claimed National Party MP Piet Matthee

Arguing in the Constitutional Court on membership of the National Assembly, Mr Matthee said the support of a voter was not only for parties.

"People usually vote for individuals they know," he said.

Only seven countries in the world, including Zambia, Cameroon and Gabon, had expelled members from parliament for crossing the floor.

Democratic Party counsel Andrew Breitenbach said the principles that required South Africa's democratic system to be one of proportional representation had not been met, and this unfairly advanced the interests of political parties and their leaders.

"It (the proposed constitution) negates political party members' fundamental rights to stand for and hold public office," he said.

Judge Kate O'Regan, during argument by Constitutional Assembly senior counsel George Bizos, said the anti-defection clause could be seen to place unfair constraint on party members in favour of party policy.

Mr Bizos agreed and Constitutional Court President Arthur Chaskalson said that this was a valid complaint.

But an anti-defection clause was important, he said. – Sapa.

# Mine strike talks u

**Kurt Swart**
Own Correspondent

**THOUSANDS of mineworkers have left their hostels and gone home for the weekend, vowing not to return to work at Rustenburg Platinum Mines until their demands for payment of their insurance and benefit funds are met.**

**Mine owners Anglo American Platinum (Amplats) this week fired 28 000 miners, its entire underground workforce, after deciding the miners' demands were "impossible to meet".**

**Workers are demanding payment of death benefit contributions, unemployment insurance fund contributions, "long service" bonuses and refunds of PAYE.**

**The mass dismissals, after workers failed to heed a cour order to return to work, hav left both workers and manage ment in a precarious position**

**The mine is losing R14-millio a day and the workers are face with both the rejection of thei demands and permanent loss o employment at the mine.**

**Most of the workers failed t meet the 48-hour deadlin imposed by management, to r apply for their jobs.**

**"It is in our best interests t have the men back at work.**

**"This is the purpose of ou negotiations with the commi tee representing the workers said a spokesman for the mine**

**Talks between mine manag ment and representatives of th dismissed workers began ye terday afternoon.**

**If the negotiations are unsu**

ANC farm manager Aaron Mafene, 34, and his wife, Thoko, with their child. In addition to training ANC refugees, the farm provides food for ANC families. Some of the food is sold to raise money for ANC activities. Right, Aaron Mafene inside one of the farm's buildings with a portrait of ANC President Oliver Tambo on the wall.

DAVID C. TURNLEY/Detroit Free Pres

# Abadingisiwe bafuna R9 000 kuHulumeni

T.G. MTHEMBU

ETHEKWINI.— Abo-Mdabu abane, phakathi kwabo okukhona owesifazane abagqunywa esitokisini ngamaphoyisa ngonyaka odlule ngaphansi komthetho ovimbela ubushokobezi (Terrorism Act) ngaphandle kokwethweswa amacala, sebemangalele uNgqongqoshe wamaphoyisa befuna kuye u-R9 000 sebebonke ngesizathu sokuthi kuthiwa bashaywa ngamaphoyisa ezomoya ngesikhathi betokisiwe.

Abamangalele uNgqongqoshe ngoMnuz. Mapetla Mohapi Mnuz. Lindiwe Mabandla noNkk. Brigette Mabandla abafuna ukunxeshezelwa ngoR2 000 emunye kanye noMnuz. Nyameko Barney Pityana yena ofuna isinxephezelo sika-R3 000.

UMnuz. Mabandla wavalwa umlomo iminyaka emihlanu kusukela ngomhla kaNovember 13 ngo-1973. Uma kungekho lutho olwenzekayo ukuvalwa kwakhe kuyoze kuphele ngomhlaka-October 31 ngo-1978.

UMnuz. Mohapi noNkk. Mabandla bathole izincwadi ezibavala iminyaka emithathu ngesonto eledlule.

Bobathathu ngesonto eledlule babuye badingiselwa ezifundeni zakubo.

UMnuz. noNkk. Mabandla badingiselwa kubo kuTsolo, eTranskei kwathi uMnuz. Mohapi wadingiselwa eZwelitsha eKing William's Town.

Isinyathelo sokudingiswa kwabo sihlatshwe kakhulu ngabaholi bezinhlanga ezahlukene ngokuthi sikhomba ulunya olukhulu nokungabinalo noluncane uzwelo ngasohlangothini lukaHulumeni waseSouth Africa.

Ngokusho kwabammeli babo amasamaniso asethunyelwe kuNgqongqoshe wamaphoyisa futhi athunyelwe ngezikhathi ezahlukene.

Abameli baveze ukuthi izincwadi sezibuyile esikhonzini seNkantolo yamaJaji ePitoli sokuthi amasamaniso asefinyelele kuNgqongqoshe wamaphoyisa, kodwa usuku lokuqulwa kwecala belungakanqunywa.

ILANGA libuye lathola ngabameli bakaMnuz. Revabalan Cooper kanye noMnuz. Mzimkhulu Gwentshe nabo abagqunywa esitokisini amaphoyisa ngonyaka odlule, ukuthi bobabili sebebhalele uNgqongqoshe wamaphoyisa bamazisa ukuthi bazommangalela bafune isinxephezelo sika R12 500 sebebobabili. UMnuz. Cooper yena kuthiwa uzofuna u-R6 000 bese kuthi uMnuz. Gwetshe afune u-R6 500.

UMnuz. Cooper noMnuz. Gwetshwe baboshwa ngezikhathi nasezindaweni ezahlukene ekupheleni konyaka odlule.

Ngokusho kwabameli uMnuz. Cooper umangalele ukuthi walunywa yinja yamaphoyisa kanti kuthiwa uMnuz. Gwetshe washaywa ngamaphoyisa.

# Argument over the merits of capitalism and socialism

THE economic argument around swings on two pivots — firstly would a single new region be economically viable and secondly, is a chosen free market system preferable to a socialist, centralised economy.

On the first, Mr Chris Saunders, chief of the Tongaat Hulett Group, argues that people in the region should be better off "simply because the proposals will lead to the elimination of a high amount of bureaucratic duplication in the provision of services such as health and education.

He points out that all second tier Government in South Africa takes place in the same way by transfers from the central treasury.

"All the new Province of Natal will require in order to function effectively is the assurance that it will receive its prorata share of the budget set aside for the functions for which Natal has taken over responsibility.

He concedes that "privileged citizens" will have to pay more but points out that all South Africans are going to have to get used to the idea of receiving less from the State in future for services.

Although Professor Karl Magyar of the Department of International Relations at Wits, accepts the Indaba is a limited regional exercise, he says it never came to grips with the fundamental economic prerequisites needed to sustain the proposed political changes.

The economic data was available but was barely utilized.

The effect was that the political leadership would be put in the hands of a numerically large but impoversished constituency which may "rank as one of history's most humble acts but perhaps also one of the most shortsighted."

He asks whether the entire structure would not be accused of being an elaborate plan to put Africans into prominent leadership positions while zealously protecting the established power elite of the minority groups.

It would not be long before 80 percent of the population questioned the legitimacy of the entire effort.

University of Natal legal academic Professor Laurence Boulle says the debate on whether the region should opt for the free enterprise system against a planned economy and welfare state was pre-empted by the principle of the free market system being adopted on the first day.

Reflecting some of the debate from the Left academic Gerhard Mare says the struggle in South Africa is not only against white minority rule but also for an increasing number of people against capitalism.

And he claims that the Indaba was launched in Natal alone because it was only in the region where capitalists had been able to find (with his quotation marks) a "moderate" African leader supporting and willing to defend capitalism by force.

# An appalling situation

SIR — Attorneys for Mr Johnny Mhlungu, chief whip of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and chief executive officer of Khulani Holdings, have objected to your report on how this company paid R124 000 for 28 hectares of commercial land in KwaMashu, valued at R46 million.

I am grateful to the attorneys for drawing attention to this appalling situation, and to your report which turns out to be completely correct. This vast area was indeed awarded by the KwaMashu Town Council at this ludicrous price.

The selling price, we are told, was set by the Central Government in 1978. I would be very interested to find out how long that proclamation lasted, and when it was overtaken by more realistic valuations.

But the key point is that this land, belonging ultimately to the taxpayers of South Africa — as KwaZulu is not independent — was sold for a bit more than peanuts.

Had the land been sold at market valuation, the state would, for example, be able to use the money to pay an additional R100 in pensions annually to nearly 500-000 pensioners. There are many other far better uses to which the money could have been put than to sell 28 hectares to one company for a farcical figure.

As someone with a keen curiosity in how our money is used, I am struck by this extremely interesting deal, and would value further revelation by your newspaper on how we were brought to sacrifice this land so generously.

CRISPIN HEMSON

# The Mandela separation

SIR — I felt quite a sadness for two people who have admitted in public that they will always love each other, yet these two prominent people have been crucified — call it what you will, by the political pressures of this country; fighting for what they see to be right, a freedom which has called for such courage to make their stand.

We do condemn all murders, killings in whatever way, from whatever source, and we surely have seen plenty of this.

We remember when we took our marriage vows 43 years ago, where one part said: "Those whom God has joined together let no man put asunder." We cannot help thinking that these two people have been forced to part, for political reasons, by man.

They have both been through a lifetime of trouble. "Forgive them, for they know not what they do." We are sorry for what we have done to you, to have driven Winnie to such an impulsive nature to gain her stand. She cannot help it.

We are all guilty in some way, what better time than now in the Christian world to ask God for His forgiveness, to ask Him to help us all to bring peace, love and understanding among us, for all His people.

THE WOODS OF ESHOWE

# AbeSadf baseshe umuzi kwanyamalala R10 000

ILANGA JUNE 25-27

UBONGANI MFAYELA ukhombisa isudikesi lemali okutholakale ukuthi ligqekeziwe emva kokuphuma kwamasotsha kubo kanye nezikoqokoqo ezimbili ebeziqukethe imali ebalelwa ngaphezulu kuka-R10 000 kanye namagobongo atholakale emva kokudubula kwawo egcekeni aphinda aphonsa nesisi esikhalisa unyembezi kubo ngolwesiHlanu emini ngeledlule.

DAN XULU

**ENDWEDWE. - Kunyamalale imali ebalelwa ngaphezulu kuka-R10 000 kwaphinda kwahlukunyezwa abahlanu kwashiywa impahla yomuzi yonakele ngenkathi kungena amasotsha ethi afuna izibhamu emzini welunga eligqamile leNkatha eNdwedwe.**

UMnuz. R. Mfayela, oyiLunga lesiShayamthetho KwaZulu, uthe ubengekho ngesikhathi amasotsha engena emzini wakhe aeshaya izingane zakhe zabafana ezimbili, epetulula endlini ewohloza amakhabethe ezingubo ethi afuna izibhamu, okuthe uma esenyamalele kwatholakala ukuthi isikhwama abefake kuso imali engaphezulu kuka-R10 000 sesivuliwe yathathwa yonke, kwaphinda kwatholakala ukuthi enye imali elinganiselwa ku-R200 ebiseceleni oyisekho nayo.

Indodana ebikhona nehlukunyeziwe, uBongani Mfayela (17), ithe amasotsha amane angene endlini kukhona yena nomfowabo uZwelisha (19), umngane wakhe uZo Shangase (21) kanye nomama wakhe obehleli nogogo wakhe, afuna uyise okutholakale ukuthi akekho. Emuva kwalokho abesethi bobathathu ababambelele odongeni.

Uthe kungesikhathi lapho bethole ukukhahlelwa bashaywa ngezidunu zezibhamu ezinkulu badaxatshulwa ngemvubu, baphimda bangqutshuzwa ngamakhanda ezindongeni. Ngesikhathi kwenzeka lokhu amasotsha amabili ebepequlula emakameleni ethi afuna izibhamu ezifihliwe, abhodloza amakhabethe ezingubo athatha amasudi amabili kaMnuz. Mfayela okuningi obekusesakeni abathe abakakwazi ukuthi kuyini.

UNkk. Reginah Mfayela uthe akukhona kuphela lokhu okwenziwe ngamasotsha. Uthe bekukhona amakhasethi e-video amathathu nawo anyamalele aphinda agqekeza imoto yasekhaya ayephula isicabha sangakwesobunxele apequlula nakuyona akhipha izihlalo zayo, omata bavula ibhuthi akhipha wonke amathuluzi awalahla ngaphandle.

Uthe ngalesisikhathi bona kuthiwe mabasithele kwelinye lamakamela ngenhloso yokuthi bengafuni ukubonakala [illegible] endlini.

Ngesikhathi esephuma eseqede yonke into abeyenza, abesebedubula izikhawu ezingaphezulu kuka-20 ngaphandle, aphinda aqhumisa usi olukhalisa izinyembezi ngaphakathi egcekeni emuva kokuzitika ngokudla namalitha amane abesefilijini, okuthe uma esehamba athi aboze batshele uMnuz. Mfayela ukuthi akafike kuwona, uma ethanda afike nempi yakhe, kulanda uNkk. Mfayela.

"Sibikele amaphoyisa khona maduze nje, afika azibonela ukuthi ungakanani umonakalo odalwe ngumbutho lona, okuthe uma ephenya athola amagobolondo ezinhlamvu ngaphakathi egcekeni obekukhona kuwo awesibhamu sohlobo lweR4 naweR1," kusho uNkk. Mfayela.

Imizamo yeLANGA yokuthola izikhulu zamasotsha ukuba ziphawule ngalokhu kayiphumelelanga kwaze kwafika isikhathi sokushicilela.

Bongani Mfayela ukhombisa isudikesi lemali okutholakale ukuthi lig-

× **Iphela ekhasini 3** ×

## Kulahleke R10 000

× **Isuka ekhasini 1** ×

qekeziwe emva kokuphuma kwamasotsha kubo, kanye nezikoqokoqo ezimbili ebeziqukethe imali ebalelwa ngaphezulu kuka-R10 000 kanye namagobongo atholakale emva kokudubula kwawo egcekeni aphinda aphonsa nesisi esikhalisa unyembezi kubo ngolwesiHlanu emini ngeledlule.

# APLA cadres far outnumber those of ANC — Gen

By Chris Steyn

APLA has more trained cadres operating in South Africa now than Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) had at the height of the armed struggle — yet government sources say political considerations will prevent it from being banned again.

According to The Citizen's information there are about 120 trained APLA members operating at present, while the ANC never had more than 40 cadres inside the country during the "terrorist attack era" of the late '70s and early '80s.

While experts warned yesterday that support for APLA is still growing, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze told The Citizen that banning APLA would be counter-productive politically, as it would give the military wing an ideological base from which they could claim suppression.

"It (banning) didn't work against the ANC's armed struggle. They still planted bombs. And that is why banning APLA would just create a further political problem," said Capt Kotze.

While banning remained an option which the government had to examine closely, the only way to effectively deal with APLA's onslaught was for the community to form a united front.

APLA used small cells to launch attacks, and it had become impossible for the police to counter it.

"No police force in the world can stop roaming killers," said Capt Kotze. "And we can't expect the police to stop polilitically motivated violence. We must find a political solution."

He warned, however, APLA's attacks on civilian targets would be retaliated against.

"The time will come when we will strike against APLA. The net will close on them slowly. But we have to be sure that we are going to hit the right target, so it's going to take time," he said.

"At the moment APLA is a haven for anybody with psychopathic instincts. And, by not taking a stance, the PAC is giving its military wing control of the organisation."

Capt Kotze said APLA was made all the more dangerous by Right-wing reaction to its attacks.

"They are playing into the hands of the enemy every time they want to shoot a Black child. By playing the APLA game, they are creating justification for them to carry out further attacks," he said.

"At the end of the day, we will hammer APLA and AWB extremists. Just give us time," Capt Kotze added.

Retired police general Herman Stadler, the police expert on terrorism for over 20 years, told The Citizen yesterday that the PAC had a "lot of support" at present.

"When the organisation was in exile, it had leadership and financial problems, and it therefore never had the same support and infrastructure as the ANC.

"The ANC still has a lot more support than the PAC, but APLA now has growing support among the militant youth. And it should not be under-estimated," said Gen Stadler.

However, one must differentiate between PAC supporters and APLA members. A lot of youngsters still maintain that the armed struggle is the only way. And they would support any organisation that has an armed struggle," he added.

But that did not mean that there were hundreds of trained APLA cadres all over the country. "APLA just seems to be everywhere. But a group of only three or four people can be responsible for all attacks in Natal, for instance, while two or three others could launch those in the Eastern Cape," said Gen Stadler.

"In the past the ANC too had a lot of incidents, but during the era of terrorist attacks there were no more than about 40 trained people in the country at one time," he added.

# Ignore peace rally, IFP tells supporters

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party has called on its supporters on Natal's lower South Coast not to attend a joint IFP/African National Congress peace rally there this weekend.

IFP central committee member Mr Moses Magubane claimed at a news conference in Durban yesterday that Inkatha had not been consulted nor integrated as an active partner in planning the rally near Port Shepstone this Sunday.

The Port Shepstone Peace Committee, however, refuted this, stating that local IFP structures had been closely involved in every stage of the planning of the "peace festival".

The rally is a celebration of the restoration of peace in two shieftainships on the lower South Coast, and is being organised under the auspices of Port Shepstone's Local Dispute Resolution Committee now termed the Port Shepstone Peace Committee.

The IFP pulled out of this LDRC in September last year due to several grievances, and has not since formally returned to the peace structure.

These and other grievances have left the IFP outside the peace initiative on the lower South Coast and "one must question the sincerity and commitment of the LDRC forum to the healing and reconciliation process," said Mr Magubane.

He further questioned how the LDRC could operate without the IFP's participation, adding that only once its grievances, which are wide-ranging, were adequetly addressed would it return to the peace initiative.

He claimed tribal authorities in the area had also not been consulted about this weekend's joint rally, and called on IFP supporters not to attend.

— Sapa.

## On the Line

Aggrey Klaaste

# A time to love, a time to die . . .

THE RAINS came in a steady drizzle of grey giving a freshness to the crisp air.

It was a time to fall in love.

It was also a time to die.

For after the massacre of children in Maritzburg, the skies seemed to weep. The mercilessness of the act will stay with me for many years.

How can anybody be so heartless!

When we turned our attention to our friends in Natal we were even more shocked by their reaction. While we wanted the sky to fall down in dismay, while we wanted the most radical people in the ANC to accompany the most radical in the IFP to comfort the bereaved, we heard disconcerting reports from those lovely hillsides of Natal and KwaZulu.

It seemed people had become so used to this kind of tragedy that the response was almost muted. Another couple of kids shot, another messy death. So what else is new? This seemed to be the view.

Then we were told the tragedy could have something to do with a bus boycott. Just another average occurrence in those parts.

The beastliness in humans never ceases to amaze. One woman asked me how anyone could live with himself after being involved in such an act? The answer, if we have to believe our journalist friends over there is that most people are taking tragedy in their stride. The tragic truth is that man is used to such inhumanity.

Acts of even greater outrage against innocent people have been committed by man. Makes you ashamed of being a human being.

We know the killers probably have the comfortable feeling this is just another job. They must not be allowed to get away with it.

If the police really wish to win black friends and influence black people they should nail the smug, murderous bastards.

But such acts have been repeated throughout history when peace is about to break out.

After all, soon after the birth of the Prince of Peace, there was the massacre of little boys.

This is the haunting fashion in which St Matthew describes it in Chapter two verse 18:

"A voice is heard in Ramah, weeping and great mourning.

"Rachel weeping for her children and refusing to be comforted, because they are no more."

I am writing this way because I do not know exactly what to say. I am not only in anguish for the children who were begging for their lives but for those who killed them. Perhaps they think they will get away with it.

Perhaps, as is becoming all too common, they will. If they are not judged by man, they will pay to the last jot for the lives of children who have nothing to do with their dirty acts of evil and ambition.

What I personally think should happen is for the ANC and the IFP to be united by such acts. That is perhaps the only way we can fight these killers.

Members of both organisations at all levels, even in the most embittered parts of Natal, should relight their *Botho* or *Ubuntu*.

Before I forget, let me confess that I am still blushing from the poetic egg I laid not too long ago.

I try to remember if I quoted or rather misquoted *On Westminster Bridge* because I wished to show off or whether I wanted to make a point.

I suspect both. Pride comes before a fall, they say.

I had accused John Milton (who if memory serves me right was in any case blind) of waxing lyrical over London.

A reader sent me the whole poem by the correct poet — William Wordsworth.

To turn the knife a little the piece I wrote was reproduced, it seems, in a copy of a journal called *Seaside Properties* or something.

I will take my punishment with as much dignity as I can. I do not promise to stop quoting poetry. Only to be a little more accurate.

*Aggrey Klaaste is editor of the Sowetan, in which this article appeared.*

ILANGA 30-1

# Appeasement – the fruits are now being reaped

**South Africans are now beginning to reap the fruits of the appeasement policies that have been the hallmark of the De Klerk government for the past 18 months.**

**Both the leader of the National Party and his Constitutional and Development Minister seem hell bent on getting into bed with the ANC no matter what the cost. They are beginning to look more and more like modern-day Chamberlains with each passing day.**

Why does it take a foreign journal to stir the government into action to deal with the insurrectionist programmes that are being hatched in the Transkei?

Newsweek revealed this week that two Transkei Defence Force commanders, Brigadier T T Matamzima and Brigadier Kheswa had signed an agreement with the military wing of the PAC, APLA, to allow the movement to use Transkei for a launching pad for terror attacks against South African citizens.

### WHITES

The document stipulated that APLA "should not hit the townships. The attacks were not to be seen as black on black violence. The targets had to be whites and the actions had to be clearly seen as a black on white attack."

In return APLA was to provide weapons from abroad for Transkei military dictator, Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

The fruits of this evil pact were seen in the murder of innocent people in the Eastern Cape and in the Orange Free State.

Now, we must ask ourselves why it has taken the murder of white people and foreign newspapers to stir the government into action?

### TERROR

Nobody will convince us that the government has not known for a long time that terror was being planned in the Transkei. Do we need to remind people that an AK47 toting Chris Hani was ferried around Transkei in military helicopters belonging to the Transkei Government many months ago? All the signs of a commitment to violence have been evident for many, many months.

### COMPLAINED

The Ulundi Government has complained about terror attacks emanating from Transkei for months. Clear evidence has been provided that MK hit squads were operating from Transkei, but there was never a threat of cross-border raids. Why? Are the lives of black people cheap?

There has been massacre after massacre of IFP supporters on the South Coast with clear evidence of military-style operations. Yet there was no threat of hot pursuit. A total of 79 IFP leaders and supporters have been massacred on the South Coast since August 18. Where is the public outcry?

### GOLDSTONE

All the facts were reported to the Goldstone Commission, yet this catalogue or murder did not even receive a mention in the Commission's latest report. The activities of MK also did not feature.

MK members have been arrested inside South Africa with weapons of war and assassination and maps of Durban townships. They had pistols fitted with silences. Yet a senior leader of the ANC tells a judicial commission that these arms were merely being transported from one part of the Transkei to another.

### INFILTRATION

It was in October last year that State President De Klerk deployed elements of the Defence Force along the Transkei border with Natal to " stop the infiltration of MK members."

Yet, the killing of IFP leaders and supporters continued as outlined above. We ask again: Where was the outcry? We have not heard a word of condolence from the government following the murder of these scores of people.

Why the silence? Because it must keep talking to the ANC and form a government of "national unity" with it, no matter what the cost?

And after all this, "Constitutional Development" Minister Roelf Meyer has the gall to warn IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi from abroad that he runs the risk of being left out of negotiations because he does not grasp the "dynamics of the situation..."

# Abahlubuke ku-ANC bathi bahlukunyeziwe

**ENAIROBI**:-Amalunga asihlanu ahlubuka ku-African National Congress (ANC), athi aphathwe ngesihluku yilenhlangano ngesonto eledlule athe kunamanye amalunga e-ANC aboshwe enkanjani yaseMbarara e-Uganda. Futhi abuye adalula nokuthi kukhona amanye amalunga alenhlangano ahlukunyezwa eTanzania.

Encwadini ayibhalele iphili likaMongameli we-ANC, uMnuz. Nelson Mandela, lamalunga athe kunabanye abahlanu abagqunywe esitokisini eMbarara.

Abanye okuthiwa bagqunywe eMbarara kuthiwa ngoHamba Zondi, Thembile Kador, Mziwandile Skwebu, Tekere Phoenix Zonke, Vuyisile Maseko, Benjamin Nhlabathi, owesilisa onguZandile kanye nomunye onguPapa.

Ngokusho kombiko okhishwe ngelinye lamaphepohandaba esiLungu eliphuma kanye ngesonto, kuthiwa noma singaziwa isibalo samalunga e-ANC aboshwe eMbarara, kodwa baningi abababoshiwe. **(Bheka ekhasini 5).**

# *Kuzophenywa ngababulawe amaphoyisa bemasha*

**ECAPE TOWN**:-UKhomishani wamaphoyisa, uGeneral Johan van der Merwe, ngesonto eledlule ukhiphe izwi eliphuthumayo lokuthi kufanele kuphenywe ngokushesha isenzo samaphoyisa sokubulala ngokubudula abafana abane elokishini laseRammalotsi ,eKronstad, ngolwesiNe.

Kubikwa ukuthi kulesisehlakalo kubuye kwalimala intsha, eningi kwathi omunye umfana walimala kakhulu.

UGeneral van der Merwe uthe lesisehlakalo senzeke ngesikhathi amaphoyisa ezama ukuhlakaza umhlangano wentsha engu 200 obungekho emthethweni.

UCaptain Ruben Bloomberg uthe amaphoyisa asihlanu aphoqelelekile ukuba adubule emuva kokuba iveni abehamba ngayoi ijikijelwe ngamatshe.

Ukubulawa kwalababafana kwenzeke kusaphele izinsuku ezimbalwa uMongameli F.W. de Klerk ememezele ukuthi useqoke uMnuz. Justice Goldstone ukuba aphenye ngokufa kwabantu eSebokeng abadutshulwa ngamaphoyisa ngomhla kaMarch 26. Ukubulawa kwababantu kwaphetha ngokuba i-ANC ihoxe ezingxoxweni okwakufanele ibenazo noHulumeni ngomhla ka-April 11.

# ANC's Winnie dilemma

## Decision on her future 'in due time'

Political Staff and Sapa

The ANC is having a major re-think about Winnie Mandela's future in the organisation, but was yesterday cagey about saying when a decision would be made.

There were clear indications yesterday that deliberations were taking place on her position within the organisation.

This follows the announcement by her husband, ANC president Nelson Mandela, that they had mutually agreed to separate and also the continued allegations of misconduct involving Mrs Mandela.

However, while the ANC yesterday remained non-committal on Mrs Mandela's future within the organisation, it admitted it would have to take a decision.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the ANC would take a decision regarding Mrs Mandela in due time depending on the organisation's assessment of political circumstances.

"We will have to take the entire situation, in particular the politics, into consideration and evaluate that," he told Sapa.

It was speculated yesterday that developments could include her resignation or voluntary suspension until the outcome of her appeal at the end of the month against a six-year jail sentence.

Mrs Mandela heads the ANC's welfare department and is an elected member of the organsiation's National Executive Committee (NEC).

If she chose to resign, Mrs Mandela would have to tender her resignation to the ANC's National Working Committee (NWC), which holds its weekly meeting today and which reports to the NEC.

In terms of the ANC's constitution, the NWC does not have the power to dismiss Mrs Mandela.

But Mr Macozoma said it was unlikely that the NWC, which meets each Wednesday, would discuss the issue before next week.

Political analysts said Mr Mandela's announcement, that the separation was due to personal differences, could spell the start of a diminishing role for Mrs Mandela within the ANC.

Mr Macozoma was not prepared to state whether the ANC would delay its decision on Mrs Mandela until after the outcome of her appeal against her sentence following her conviction on kidnap and assault charges.

He was also not prepared to comment whether her position would be affected in the meantime.

The ANC would not judge Mrs Mandela by her legal troubles, he said, adding that these were for the courts to determine.

Her separation from Mr Mandela would also not affect her position.

Reacting to reports that the knives were out in the ANC for an allegedly generally disliked Mrs Mandela, Mr Macozoma said: "I have not seen any knife."

He also denied reports that the NEC was to convene

● To Page 3

# 'Govt dragging its feet over Codesa 2'

The success of Codesa 2 is being threatened by the Government's stubborness in negotiations, the ANC said yesterday.

At a press briefing in Johannesburg, the ANC said the Government had been particularly unreasonable at Codesa since the March 17 referendum.

"Our concern for Codesa 2 is, will it deliver the goods?" ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa said.

"If substantial agreements are not arrived at, at Codesa 2, it would require us to review the negotiation process. We would say we are not making the kind of progress we would want."

In the working group dealing with transitional arrangments there had been consensus that there was a need for an over-arching transitional body to see the country through to a general election.

"There is no more agreement than that. There are serious problems beyond that," Mr Valli Moosa said.

The Government has proposed that such a body should be in the form of transitional councils which would only advise the present Cabinet. The ANC is insisting on a transitional body with executive power.

The ANC also criticised the Government's stance that unless political violence subsided there would be no interim government.

Mr Valli Moosa ruled out calling off Codesa 2 — the second plenary session of Codesa which is to take place next month.

"We are part of a firm decision that it will take place on May 15 and 16."

The ANC said agreements necessary for the success of Codesa 2 included: an elected constitution-making body; one person, one vote; and a soverign constitution-making body. — Sapa.

Kahn became MD of SAB in 1983 and since then the company

# Official denies contact

# ANC wary of 'govt attempts at contact'

ELSABÉ WESSELS

A HIGHLY placed official at the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning yesterday denied ANC claims that he had tried to make contact with the organisation on a recent visit to Zambia.

A spokesman for the Department said Constitutional Development Director Kobus Jordaan visited Zambia "in his private capacity" a month ago.

Jordaan "categorically denied" the ANC claims, made in London this week, that he had tried to contact the organisation.

According to ANC sources in London, Jordaan met President Kenneth Kaunda in Lusaka and tried to make contact with the ANC through him.

According to Jordaan, who spent 16 years in Zambia as a missionary, he and his wife visited Zambia for the opening of the Zambian Reformed Church in Madzimoyo. "The only time I had contact with Kaunda was at the opening ceremony."

LONDON — Reported attempts by the SA government to make contact with the ANC are being interpreted by leading members as part of a strategy aimed at sowing confusion in its ranks.

In addition, the ANC believes hints at possible talks are being used to ensure the defeat of the sanctions lobby at the Commonwealth summit.

The ANC says people have been approached three times by people claiming to be intermediaries bearing a message from the SA government.

The "intermediaries" claim the government wants to talk but give no more details.

The first approach was by a Dakar delegate, the second by a US academic in Lusaka and the third by an alleged NIS official in Botswana.

The ANC also said a senior government official visited Lusaka two weeks ago and held

MIKE ROBERTSON

talks with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda.

Kaunda is reportedly due to brief ANC executive members on the talks later this week.

The ANC, however, believes the intention is to create the impression talks are possible rather than a serious attempt to talk.

A leading ANC member says the organisation believes these "attempts at contact" are designed to sow confusion in the relationship between the ANC and internal organisations.

Government believed it could drive a wedge between not just the "communist" and "pure nationalist" ANC members, but also between those in exile and those in prison, he says.

By creating the impression that it was interested in making contact with the ANC, government was also able to confuse relations between the ANC and those involved in "the broad democratic movement".

There is much talk in exile circles here of a major government internal initiative. Much of this concerns the National Statutory Council (NSC), with some even suggesting an attempt will be made to appoint political prisoners to the body. However, the unstated fear in each case is that government has actually made a significant breakthrough in its negotiations about the NSC.

The ANC says the idea of impending talks has been conveyed via the British to Commonwealth members, "the inference being that something major is about to happen."

The Foreign Office dismisses out of hand the suggestion that it has played any such role.

□ The Office of the State President last night declined to comment on the ANC claims. Spokesman Jack Viviers said: "Our policy on the ANC is well-known and we have nothing to add."

scientific poll is under way to determine the extent of support the party enjoys in the coun-try.

For the purpose of the election, the IFP has divided South Africa into 30 regions, and has appointed teams in the different regions.

A "massive army of volunteers", whose job will be to establish an IFP presence throughout the country, is also being mobilised.

"We are assuming that the electorate will be between 21 million and 22 million. It has been established through research that the first all-inclusive election in a country has a turn-out as high as 80 percent," Matthews says.

He says the IFP plans to fight the election alone, but quickly adds that some of the parties' allies might be prepared to contest the election under the IFP banner.

## Adamant

Matthews is adamant that the exercise will not be "a liberation election but a bread-and-butter one", and contends that the issues confronting the electorate will be the economic system to be adopted in the country, jobs, investment and housing.

According to Matthews, the IFP is preparing for an election early next year, but will not be caught flat-footed if the election were to be held around November this year.

Matthews says the IFP will need between R160 million and R170 million to adequately fight the election, R40 million of which will be for head office expenses.

This contrasts with the ANC's R168 million to R200 million, the NP's R100 000 and the Democratic Party's R15 million.

Although he will not say how much of the targeted amount is already in the bag, Matthews says the IFP has engaged on a massive fund-raising campaign both here and abroad, and that the party will impose extra levies on its members for the general election. □

# 'Assurance' on security forces

JOHANNESBURG. — The Transitional Executive Council (TEC) will not create joint political control over the security forces, President F W de Klerk assured the NP yesterday.

Opening the Transvaal party congress at Esselen Park here, he said the council introduced power-sharing and insurance against the abuse of power and domination in accordance with the NP mandate.

The council was not an interim government and it did not render the NP government subservient to any other party or subject the police and the Defence Force to multi-party control.

"I, as president, the various ministers, the Chief of the Defence Force and the Commissioner of Police remain in control of these forces."

He said it was clear confusion was setting in about the council.

"The council will not be a super government or parliament. It will level the political playing field for the elections.

"It will not have decision-making powers and the government and Parliament will retain executive and legislative authority." — Sapa

## NP: 'No reason to apologise'

**KEMPTON PARK. — Sept 10 SapaThe National Party had no reason to hang its head in shame for its past apartheid policies because its intentions had been good, Transvaal MEC for housing Mr John Mavuso said yesterday.**

**Announcing his NP membership at the party's Transvaal congress, Mr Mavuso said: "If the NP is to be criticised, it is for being apologetic for what the party stood for in the past."**

**He said he was absolutely convinced the party had exercised a policy it thought would be in the best interests of all.**

**"What is most remarkable is that the NP has been able to make a complete U-turn from the politics on which they gained power 40 years ago," he said. — Sapa**

## SADF soldiers 'hired for war'

**Staff Reporter**

**AN organisation from outside South Africa was actively trying to recruit members of the SA Defence Force for alleged mercenary activities in Angola, South African Army chief General Georg Meiring said yesterday.**

**He was reacting to reports that former SADF special forces members were in, or on their way to, Angola to be used as mercenaries for the government's "final onslaught" against Unita.**

**Gen Meiring said: "These men are apparently being recruited to provide security services for a company in Angola. My information is that this is a cover for alleged mercenary activity."**

**To date, a few army members had resigned, apparently to accept contracts of this service.**

**Gen Meiring said he was "diametrically opposed" to this recruiting, and warned that in terms of the Defence Force Act, members could not sign contracts to be mercenaries.**

**Defence analyst Mr Helmoed-Romer Heitman said the statement was probably issued after recruitment attempts within the SADF were reported, and to pre-empt accusations that the SADF was involved in the recruitment.**

**PASSING OUT . . .** Members of 9 South African Infantry Battalion had their passing-out parade yesterday. Rifleman Angels Sampson (right) received the trophy for Best Shottist from Major-General D S Hamman. Picture: CLIVE SMITH

DENNIS GORDON

# A step in a democratic direction

**ANTHONY ROBINSON of the London *Financial Times* talks to Albert Koopman about the role of black workers at one of South Africa's leading builders' suppliers**

□ KOOPMAN ... democracy the chicken, profit the egg

BEFORE Connie Fazazile applied for a job as assistant manager with the South African builders' supply company Cashbuild, she did a bit of checking up through the bush telegraph.

She even travelled from her home in the black township of Duduza, near Springs, a largely Afrikaans-speaking white mining and industrial town on the East Rand, to Gaborone, the capital of neighbouring Botswana.

There she discussed the company, and especially its attitudes towards black employees, with a friend of hers who was employed at the Gaborone branch.

Two years earlier she had left her job at the Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg to join Corobrik, the country's largest brick-maker. The company advertised itself as a progressive, equal-opportunity employer.

But, as the only black in her department, Connie — a lively, forthright Zulu speaker who is divorced with two children at school — felt uncomfortable with the attitudes of her co-workers and felt she had been discriminated against when she was passed over for promotion in favour of an Indian lady with less qualifications and experience.

"I was unhappy and I felt cheated and oppressed. I decided I would try and get a job with a foreign-owned company. They have a better reputation for real equal opportunity.

"When I heard that Cashbuild was not only a South African company but controlled by Sanlam, the largest Afrikaner holding company, I nearly gave up on the spot."

Six months after starting work at Cashbuild's new depot at Springs, 60km east of Johannesburg, she is glad she ignored her preconceptions.

For Cashbuild — under Albert Koopman, a 39-year-old Afrikaner who spent 10 years in Mozambique during the struggle for decolonisation — has combined fast growth in profits and turnover with a commitment to reform of worker democracy.

As Koopman tells the story, democracy is the chicken, profit the egg. In 1982, three years after he started Cashbuild as a subsidiary of the former Kirsh group, he realised that the company was going nowhere.

Although the economy generally was benefiting from a gold-backed boom, Cashbuild's profits were falling. Margins were down, sales were listless, staff were unmotivated.

Koopman, a restless, inquisitive character with an eclectic appetite for inspiration from sources as diverse as Marx and Sartre to Alvin Toffler's "Future Shock" and Schumacher's "Small is Beautiful," first set out to question his white managers about the company's poor state.

"I went round all the branches and asked a thousand questions. I found that most of my managers blamed their black labour force for being indolent, uninterested, unmotivated."

When he probed further into their perception of his own management style the response was: "Pompous, egocentric, dictatorial and autocratic".

On reflection, Koopman recognised that these were precisely the kind of attributes inculcated by the system under which most whites are educated and brought up in SA.

But what concerned Koopman after this sobering experience was the thought that, if his white lieutenants thought like that, what was the attitude of his black workers?

One of the questions he asked black workers on his systematic tour of the then 18 branches was: "How are you paid?"

The standard reply went something like this: "A green van comes round on Fridays. Two men carry a box into the office and I get paid out of that box."

It was a perfect description of how it happened, but revealed total ignorance of the way in which that money was earned.

"I realised that what we had to do was somehow restore pride in labour, build up self-esteem and make our employees feel worthy, both as people and workers.

"This meant ending the separation between a worker's purpose and the purpose of work and a subservient, unquestioning mind, created by years of government control."

In 1983 Koopman held his first meeting with black employees.

"We looked for the most radical guys and picked out two from each of our 22 branches. Eventually, we came up with our first organisational chart, with elected branch 'presidents' representing our 400 staff in the 22 branches.

"For the first year much of the time was spent on 'tea and coffee issues' — and demands for more time off for shopping, to attend funerals, and so on."

In the meantime Koopman was seeking through direct contacts to get across a "wholelistic" concept of the company — through diagrams, for example, which put the customers at the apex of a pyramidical structure and stressed the importance of co-operation and teamwork.

"The idea was to define the purpose of the game and then draw up rules of the game."

While this was going on Koopman delved into Japanese-style "quality circles" and started learning Zulu and reading as much as he could about black culture.

"Apart from witchcraft, I found to my amazement a great similarity between the Japanese and the Zulus, especially in respect of the importance that both attach to social concerns, co-operative labour and attendance, for example, at funerals and other family occasions."

Increasingly, Koopman got invited back to the homes of his black workers.

"I have eaten donkey meat with golden cutlery brought out for the occasion and been to homes with 13 people sleeping on the floor. It is important to know how your workers live."

He also recalls the day when one of the most militant union members in the company questioned his motivation.

"After 300 years of white oppression why should we believe that you are any different?" he was asked.

At that point Koopman recalls: "I took off my jacket and tie, lay on the floor and told him to trample all over me. I told him there was no way we could run a successful company if I was going to be held responsible for 300 years of history all the time."

The unionist, totally nonplussed, stepped back. The man, Kaiser Sihlangu, is now one of the most loyal company members. He has left the union and is now number two in a store which he is expected to take over as manager within the next six months. Indeed, the union's influence is now radically diminished.

This breakthrough on the personal level was matched on a company level 12 months into what Koopman calls the company's "empowerment" programme when the branch "presidents," reflecting the wishes of their branches, rejected the whole concept of representative democracy as embodied in the "presidents".

They also rejected the concept of shop stewards and decided that what they wanted was participative democracy.

After further brainstorming sessions, workers and management came out with a concept which they called "venture communication" — "venturecom" for short.

Perceived as a platform for participative shopfloor democracy, each branch set up its own venturecom responsible for five aspects of each branch's activity. Introduced in January 1985, the system has an elected member responsible for quality of life, safety, labour, merchandising and operations.

With 91% of the labour force black, of which 60% is illiterate, the only limitation on choice is that workers responsible for the last two areas — merchandising and operations — be literate.

"We did not set out with the aim of black advancement but of making this company profitable. But we have actually created a culture which is conducive to advancement," Koopman claims, backing up his boast by pointing to the 34 black workers now preparing for management positions.

Meanwhile the company, which is well placed to take advantage of the major growth expected in black urbanisation over the next decade, has clocked up an impressive profits record.

Net profit before tax per employee has risen from R1 648 in 1983 to R6 631 in 1986, reflecting sharply higher productivity. Last year the company was floated on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange and over recent months its shares

P.T.O

TRIBUNE
COMMENT

# A vision that must be shared

THE ANC's vision of political progress in 1993, presented in its 81st anniversary declaration this weekend, is so conciliatory that it seems Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk at least see eye to eye on the need for a summit, an interim government and all-in elections later this year or early next year.

The snag is that not all South Africans agree. The latest HSRC survey seemed to show that 84 percent of whites are opposed to interim government.

It needs to be underlined that one question in the survey — "Do you think the De Klerk Government should immediately resign in favour of an interim government?" — was so loaded by the use of the word "immediately" that it begged a negative reaction.

Nevertheless the response can be seen as a warning signal that there is a yawning gap between Mr De Klerk and many whites — and not just right-wing extremists, either.

Mr Mandela faces similar problems in rivalry from followers of Inkatha and the PAC — and perhaps from supporters of Mrs Winnie Mandela, whose outbursts suggest she might be about to make her move.

That is why the moderate success in talks between the government and Cosag, a grouping of homeland leaders and right-wingers, is crucial. While there is this communication there is hope of spreading negotiation across a wider spectrum. Then people who are now fearful will come to share the vision of an inevitable interim government that is a cause for rejoicing, not resentment.

# Crime and punishment

CORRECTIONAL Services Minister Adriaan Vlok is trapped in a Catch 22 situation: In a nation bedevilled by rampant crime he has been forced, because of overcrowding in prisons, to release thousands of common criminals back into society before they have paid their dues.

When crime is second only to political violence as the greatest fear among law-abiding citizens, it is an unfortunate and, many will argue with justification, an unacceptable situation that nurtures, rather than deters, criminal activity.

The early release of prisoners may be the only "quick fix" available to the authorities today, but it cannot be allowed to continue. Already it is undermining the efforts of hard-pressed policemen and the courts; in time it will leave the process of law in tatters.

The long term solution is clear: an end to the political uncertainty and an economic upturn that will create jobs and wealth and reduce crime and pressure on prisons. But that might not happen quickly enough to defuse a growing problem.

The state has a duty to find other ways to deal with the issue. Releasing prisoners who have no prospects of finding jobs is not the solution, for crime without fitting punishment provides a breeding ground for abuse of the law.

16/1/11

# ANC youth leader killed in Soweto

**A DIEPKLOOF executive member of the ANC Youth League was shot dead by police in Soweto yesterday.**

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

He was Vuyani Mabaxa (21) of Zone 6, Diepkloof.

According to Mr Floyd Mashele, secretary of the branch, Mabaxa was confronted and shot by police for "no apparent reason" while on his way home about 8am.

However, Soweto police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn denied the allegations and said Mabaxa was killed after he shot at police.

Halgryn said three Flying Squad policemen were patrolling in Zone 6, Diepkloof, when they saw a man with something wrapped in newspaper.

"When the police stopped, the man ran away. They followed him on foot for about a kilometre and then he stopped and fired at least 10 rounds at them. They returned fire.

## Suicide

"Mabaxa was hit in the chest and killed. Police found a Russian-made machine pistol and 35 rounds of ammunition in his possession," Halgryn said.

Mashele said Mabaxa's death had angered the community.

He said Mabaxa is the second member of the ANC branch in Diepkloof to die in the past two weeks.

Papo Manyakalle, the interim chairman of the Diepkloof ANC branch was found dead in the toilet of his home with a firearm beside him. Police said he committed suicide.

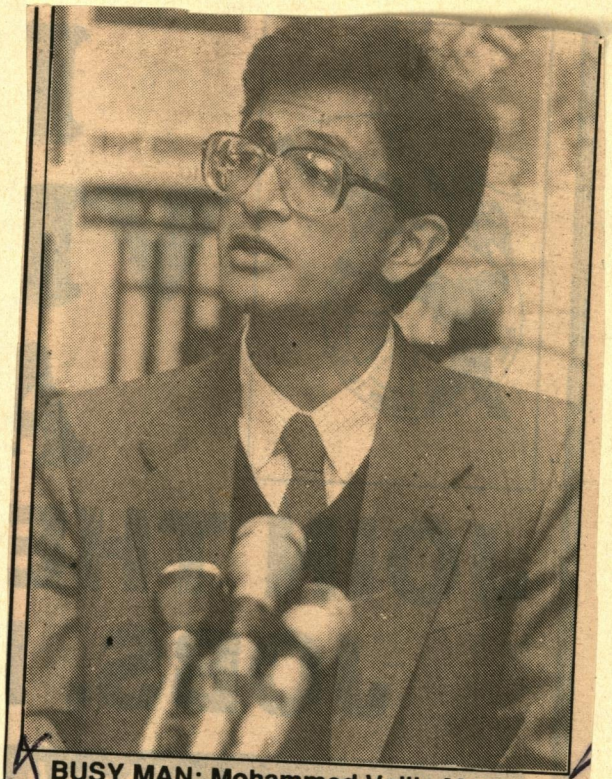
Mashele said a witness to the incident had told him Mabaxa had started running after he was confronted and threatened by police.

Police chased him for about 500m and then shot him twice.

"We have information that he was shot by a black policeman who was in the company of two colleagues.

"Tests will be carried out and the post-morterm will show that he fired shots," Halgryn said.

16/1/11



**BUSY MAN: Mohammed Vallie Moosa, secretary of the ANC's political committee, says there is a "hive of activity' in the organisation's 14 branches as they prepare for the ANC's historic Durban conference in July**

# ANC gets into gear for Durban conference

**THE date for the start of the African National Congress' conference in Durban in July is likely to change – subject to the acceptance of the latest recommendations for the extension of the four-day conference to five days.**

Sources within the movement said some branches had complained about the short time allocated for certain items on the agenda and had requested the working group that is co-ordinating the event to extend it by another day.

Mohammed Vallie Moosa, secretary of the political committee of the ANC told NEW NATION that all 14 branches of the organisation were a "hive of activity" in preparation for the conference.

Delegates from Uganda, Tanzania and other African countries, as well as exiled members of the organisation and a range of political, church and anti-apartheid organisations from South Africa and around the world will attend the conference.

The election of the leadership in terms of a new constitution is expected to be on top of the agenda.

It is believed in ANC circles that ailing ANC president Oliver Tambo will make way for Nelson Mandela and the soft spoken Jacob Zuma will take over Mandela's position.

16/1/11

# ANC youth in court over five murders

**Pietermaritzburg Bureau**

FOUR men, including an ANC youth leader, appeared in the Richmond Magistrate's Court yesterday in connection with five counts of murder.

The four — Mzwandile Mbongwe, 23 (ANC youth leader at Ndaleni, Richmond), Mduduzi Mbanjwa, 28, Phelelani Nzimande, 22, and Siphiwe Mshengu, were not asked to plead to any charges and were given bail of R500 each.

The case was adjourned until April 19.

The charges facing them arise out of the latest incidents of unrest in the Magoda and Ndaleni townships near Richmond, which left 25 dead.

Police spokesman, Major Pieter Kitching, said yesterday the situation in the Richmond area was tense but had been quiet since Saturday.

# AbeSadf baseshe umuzi kwanyamalala R10 000

ILANGA JUNE 25-27

**DAN XULU**

**ENDWEDWE. - Kunyamalale imali ebalelwa ngaphezulu kuka-R10 000 kwaphinda kwahlukunyezwa abahlanu kwashiywa impahla yomuzi yonakele ngenkathi kungena amasotsha ethi afuna izibhamu emzini welunga eligqamile leNkatha eNdwedwe.**

UMnuz. R. Mfayela, oyiLunga lesiShayamthetho KwaZulu, uthe ubengekho ngesikhathi amasotsha engena emzini wakhe aeshaya izingane zakhe zabafana ezimbili, epetulula endlini ewohloza amakhabethe ezingubo ethi afuna izibhamu, okuthe uma esenyamalele kwatholakala ukuthi isikhwama abefake kuso imali engaphezulu kuka-R10 000 sesivuliwe yathathwa yonke, kwaphinda kwatholakala ukuthi enye imali eliganiselwa ku-R200 ebiseceleni oyisekho nayo.

Indodana ebikhona nehlukunyeziwe, uBongani Mfayela (17), ithe amasotsha amane angene endlini kukhona yena nomfowabo uZwelisha (19), umngane wakhe uZo Shangase (21) kanye nomama wakhe obehleli nogogo wakhe, afuna uyise okutholakale ukuthi akekho. Emuva kwalokho abesethi bobathathu ababambelele odongeni.

Uthe kungesikhathi lapho bethole ukukhahlelwa bashaywa ngezidunu zezibhamu ezinkulu badaxatshulwa ngemvubu, baphimda bangqutshuzwa ngamakhanda ezindongeni. Ngesikhathi kwenzeka lokhu amasotsha amabili ebepequlula emakameleni ethi afuna izibhamu ezifihliwe, abhodloza amakhabethe ezingubo atha-

anyamalele aphinda agqekeza imoto yasekhaya ayephula isicabha sa-

Ngesikhathi esephuma eseqede yonke into abeyenza, abesebedubula izikhawu ezingaphezulu kuka-20 ngaphandle, aphinda aqhumisa usi olukhalisa izinyembezi ngaphakathi egcekeni emuva kokuzitika ngokudla namalitha amane abesefilijini, okuthe uma esehamba athi aboze batshele uMnuz. Mfayela ukuthi akafike kuwona, uma ethanda afike nempi yakhe, kulanda uNkk. Mfayela.

"Sibikele amaphoyisa khona maduze nje, afika azibonela ukuthi ungakanani umonakalo odalwe ngumbutho lona, okuthe uma ephenya athola amagobolondo ezinhlamvu ngaphakathi egcekeni obekukhona kuwo awesibhamu sohlobo lweR4 naweR1," kusho uNkk. Mfayela.

Imizamo yeLANGA yokuthola izikhulu zamasotsha ukuba ziphawule ngalokhu kayiphumelelanga kwaze kwafika isikhathi sokushicilela.

Bongani Mfayela ukhombisa isudikesi lemali okutholakale ukuthi lig-

× Iphela ekhasini 3 ×

## Kulahleke R10 000

× Isuka ekhasini 1 ×

qekeziwe emva kokuphuma kwamasotsha kubo,

# Charging hippo crushes father

LUSAKA—A rogue hippo crushed to death an illegal border jumper and seriously injured his son, police said yesterday.

The two were trying to cross the border into neighbouring Zimbabwe at night near the Victoria Falls, said police spokesman Alfred Mulopa.

He said the two-ton hippo chased them, hurling 13-year-old Chaipa Mtonga 'several metres' before charging at his father, Gibson Mtonga, according to an account by the 13-year-old.

Mr Mulopa said the Zambians were turned back by Zimbabwean immigration authorities earlier on Saturday but evidently attempted to jump the border under the cover of darkness.

The Victoria Falls border post closes between dusk and sunrise, the time hippos usually leave water to forage on land. — (Sapa-AP)

# Free clinic to promote black ice skating

**Mercury Reporter**

THE Durban Ice Rink is offering a free ice skating clinic for blacks in an attempt to promote the sport in the black community.

Mr Piet van der Merwe, manager of the rink, was approached by the Thuliswani Sports Foundation for assistance in their latest project aimed at introducing sports unavailable in the townships.

Mr van der Merwe said although the ice rink is multiracial, this course is aimed specifically at blacks to explore areas of potential talent.

'We are very enthusiastic about the programme as we think the potential is there once basic training has been provided'.

Mr van der Merwe said they are hoping to attract all age groups and the Natal African Teachers' Society will be organising and promoting the idea through schools, with permission from the Department of Education and Training to use school hours for the skating lessons.

Subsidised transport from the townships to the Durban rink will be organised by the Durban Transport Management Board.

## Concerned

So far the response has been good and many school principals and teachers are keen for their schools to participate.

Parents have also responded to advertisements. 'We've had a lot of telephone calls from parents who are concerned about the terrible conditions in the townships and see this as an ideal opportunity to give their children some recreation and to remove them from the violence on the streets,' said Mr van der Merwe.

Training sessions will start at the end of January and will probably be held once a week depending on numbers. Those interested in attending the clinic should telephone 324597.

# Arrest of Pik Botha's son sparks two investigations

**PRETORIA—Police and the Attorney-General of the Transvaal have launched independent investigations into the incident which saw Mr Piet Botha, son of Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha, arrested on alleged fraud charges last week.**

**Lieutenant-General Jaap Joubert, deputy CID chief, is heading the police investigation into the arrest of Mr Botha jun after a 'misunderstanding' between him and Rebel Discount Liquor Stores.**

**Mr Don Brunette, Attorney-General of the Transvaal, said yesterday he was simply investigating why a warrant of arrest had been issued when a summons would ostensibly have been sufficient.**

**'It appears that when the warrant of arrest was issued, the prosecutor was unaware of civil proceedings between Mr Botha and the store. A debt agreement, which was apparently reached between Mr Botha and the new owners of the Grand Central Club, dispels any chance of fraud,' he said.**

**It is believed a major part of Gen Joubert's investigation will deal with Mr Botha jun's allegations that he was humiliated by Pretoria police. — (Sapa)**

ANC refugee Bonnie Molifi prepares a meal with her daughter-in-law, Npho Molifi, in their home in Lusaka, Zambia.

GUARDIAN 27/6/88

# ANC man fails to convince Chalker

By Jonathan Steele

Mr Oliver Tambo, the president of the African National Congress, held his first meeting with a British minister last night but came away, he said, with no hint that Britain was about to take firmer measures against the South African Government.

During an 80-minute meeting with Mrs Lynda Chalker, the Minister of State at the Foreign Office, Mr Tambo said he pressed the case for sanctions, "but I cannot say we convinced her."

"I didn't get the impression that Mrs Thatcher's resistance to sanctions is weakening," he told reporters in Whitehall afterwards.

Mr Tambo described the meeting as "very good, very cordial." Mrs Chalker had said it did not constitute official recognition of the ANC. But this had not been an ANC request. The nationalist movement was almost 75 years old, was at the heart of the issue in South Africa, and did not need recognition.

**Leader comment, page 10; Politics, page 4; SA goes bananas about Healey, page 7; The West's solid gold opportunity, page 23.**

The ANC president was understood to have repeated to Mrs Chalker the three main points which he made in a speech to the Royal Commonwealth Society on Monday. These were that the time has come for comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

"Selective, incremental sanctions" were no good, and would only convince the Botha regime that it could still rely on Western support.

Secondly, that the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group had concluded that there was no further point in dialogue with Pretoria until sanctions were imposed and had a chance to bite.

Thirdly, that any mission by Sir Geoffrey Howe, with or without EEC backing, would send the wrong signals to the regime and be seen as a way of Britain playing for time rather than joining the majority of world opinion in firm action against the white minority regime.

Last night's meeting marked a sharp reversal of previous British government policy under Labour and Conservative administrations. Mrs Thatcher had been adamant until early this year that there could be no contact with the ANC until it renounced its armed struggle.

But as it became clear that more and more South African white business leaders were coming to feel that the ANC was the major voice of black South Africans and had to be listened to, Mrs Thatcher began to change her mind.

In January, a senior Foreign Office official, Mr John Johnson, saw ANC representatives in Lusaka. Now comes the next step, a ministerial meeting with Mr Tambo, althouh this still falls short of a meeting with the Foreign Secretary or the Prime Minister.

Last night's meeting was being closely watched by the US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz. The Reagan Administration has been working in tandem with Britain, authorising the first tentative official contacts but not yet a ministerial meeting.

While being glad of the diplomatic breakthrouh, some ANC officials were wary that Mrs Thatcher's intention may be to try to project an image of being even-handed, so that Britain could assume a mediating role. This, they feel, could be a delaying tactic so that Britain could argue that as long as mediation goes forward no firm sanctions would be right.

In its statement justifying the talks with Mr Tambo, the Foreign Office argued that the aim of the meeting was to press the case for a suspension of violence "on all sides." The ANC argues that there is no way to be even-handed about the origins of the violence in South Africa.

They insist that the South African Government must release all political prisoners, end the ban on the ANC and other political parties, and take real steps to end apartheid before they even consider a ceasefire.

They also say that, as with the Lancaster House talks on Rhodesia, a ceasefire should come at the end of negotiations, not at the beginning.

Earlier in the day Mr Tambo had a lunch lasting almost

Turn to back page, col. 5

*Mrs Lynda Chalker, the Foreign Office minister, meets Mr Oliver Tambo, ANC leader.* Picture by E.

## ANC man's mission fails

**Continued from page one**

three hours with the most senior group of British businessmen he has yet met. They included Sir Timothy Bevan, the chairman of Barclays Bank; Mr Alistair Frame, of Rio Tinto Zinc; Mr Patrick Gillam and Mr Gordon Smith, of BP; Lord Greenhill, of S. G. Warburg; Mr Roger Myddelton, of Courtaulds; Mr Evelyn de Rothschild, and Mr Michael Young, of Consolidated Goldfields, as well as three American bankers.

Earlier, Mr Tambo met about 30 Conservative MPS at the Commons, and declared himself delighted afterwards at what he saw as a change of heart among some Tories over the fight against the Botha Government. He told a meeting organised by Conservatives for Fundamental Change in South Africa that violence was inevitable as long as the Government refused to change.

Questioned sharply by some Tories about so-called necklace murders, he replied: "I regret it, but I cannot condemn it."

Meanwhile, Church sources in London reported new security force actions in South Africa. Three Catholic priests were detained in Pietermaritzburg when they tried to visit 21 seminarians from Cedara seminary who were detained a week ago. The names of two are Daniel Corijn and Edgar Weinmann

Four people were killed, apparently by police, in a house in Chesterville, a township of Durban. A girl went to the house claiming to be bringing weapons from the ANC in Pretoria. She brought an R1 rifle into the house and gave it to the occupants. R1 rifles are standard weapons of the South African Defence Force.

A FLAWED HERO OF NATAL.

Basutoland. But it was in the Zululand pie that he was most wont to stick his fingers. He became involved in the succession dispute which followed the Zulu civil war of 1856, placing the refugee prince Mkhungo at Bishop Colenso's mission school. In 1861 he met Cetshwayo kaMpande whom he recognised as the heir apparent, perhaps to further a pet scheme of obtaining for Natal a slice of north-western Zululand which could be both a dumping ground for "surplus" Natal blacks and a buffer against possible Transvaal expansion. In 1872 he led a theatrical expedition to Zululand to "crown" King Cetshwayo, only to be kept waiting for 16 maddening days and then discover that the Zulu had pre-empted him by holding their own coronation ceremony before he could stage his.

## Personal tragedy

Five years later the Zulu found — to their cost — that the transformation of the Secretary for Native Affairs into the Administrator of the Transvaal was a serious matter. With Britain's case for retaining the Transvaal resting on protecting the Boers from the Zulu, Shepstone suddenly discovered "the most incontrovertible, overwhelming and clear evidence" of which he had been previously unaware, which supported Boer claims to Zulu territory. He did not produce these documents, however, and historians have failed to find them! But to the extent that Zulu confidence in him was destroyed, and that he now wanted to foster Britain's federation scheme (for which the destruction of an independent Zululand was a prerequisite), and spoke of transforming Zulu warriors into labourers, so Shepstone helped to bring about the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879. After some initial (and characteristic) equivocation, he eventually endorsed the ultimatum sent to the Zulu by the British High Commissioner, Sir Bartie Frere. In so doing, however, he also brought personal tragedy upon himself, for his son George was to fall at Isandlwana.

## Unhappy farewell

In the Settlement after the Zulu War Sir Garnet Wolseley leaned heavily on Shepstone's advice in carving Zululand up into thirteen independent chiefdoms. Whether the chiefs were hereditary, with a tradition of independence, or new men owing their elevation to British patronage, they would assuredly see to it that the Zulu monarchy did not re-emerge. In fact, they ensured only that Zululand sank rapidly into the chaos of internecine strife from which, ironically, Britain sought to rescue her by restoring Cetshwayo to a reduced domain. And, irony of ironies, it was Shepstone who was brought out of retirement to meet the returning king at Port Durnford, escort him to Emthonjaneni, and install him. But many of the speeches on that occasion, from the greatest men of the nation, were personal, public attacks on Somtseu which punctured the myth Shepstone had created of himself as the Great White Chief who not only understood African thinking and needs, but also represented their true interests. It was an unhappy farewell to public life.

## Ruthless imperialist

It was not only the Zulu who became disillusioned with Shepstone. So, too, did his great friend, Bishop Colenso, whom Shepstone had supported faithfully during the fierce religious controversies which tore colonial society apart during the 1860s. The farcical trial of the Amahlubi Chief Langalibalele in 1874 after his "Rebellion", together with the atrocities visited upon his people and their neigbours the Ngwe by the colonial forces cast the Secretary for Native Affairs in a cold new light of the ruthless imperialist, and led to the abrupt termination, painful to both men, of a close friendship of twenty years.

## Ideological ancestor

What is a modern generation to make of Sir Theophilus a hundred years after his death? The *Witness* believed that he was "universally respected and beloved throughout the Colony both for his thoroughly upright character in public and in private and for his kind-hearted friendliness to all". On the other hand, his secretive and devious ways led Frere to speak of him less flatteringly as "a singular type of an African Talleyrand, shrewd, observant, silent, self-controlled, immobile". One must view him in the context of his times. Yet while his philanthropic concern to protect blacks from the exploitation of white settlers was undoubted, at heart he was an imperialist, ultimately devoted to the forcible extension of colonial power, whatever the price which might have to be paid by either Boers or Zulus. And who can doubt that the Shepstone System, with its confining of blacks to reserves, its indirect rule through dependent chiefs, its passes and other control mechanisms, its implicit categorisation of people as "surplus", and its plausible exclusion of blacks from the franchise, is the true ideological ancestor of the twentieth century's much grander system of apartheid. It is highly unlikely today that, as in the case of Gandhi, a centennial statue would be erected to Shepstone's memory. Let us hope, though, that the new South Africa will be mature enough to leave him standing where he is.

*The writer, a former teacher and lecturer in history at the old Natal Training College, is now a senior assistant superintendent of education in the Natal Education Department.*

THE CITIZEN

# COMMENT

# APLA

STATE President De Klerk yesterday announced strong action to deal with the terror attacks launched by the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

A comprehensive plan has been drawn up for areas affected by terror attacks, but because an "element of surprise" is necessary for success, full details of the plan will not be released, he told Parliament.

The plan will require a fairly drastic increase in manpower levels of the security forces for a period. Accordingly, the Defence Force will urgently send out call-up instructions over a "reasonably wide front".

The police have also drawn up a 10-point plan to deal with terror attacks.

Mr De Klerk announced that 18 APLA members have been arrested for questioning and more arrests will follow.

However, the steps taken by the government will not satisfy those who feel that as a terrorist organisation, APLA should be banned.

Or that the Pan Africanist Congress, of which APLA is the military wing, should be barred from further talks and negotiations until it distances itself from APLA and renounces violence.

The government should also act against the Transkeian Government in the light of the Goldstone Commission committee's provisional findings that:

Both the PAC and APLA still propagate the armed struggle.

APLA uses Transkei as a springboard for attacks into South Africa. Arms and ammunition are stored in Transkei for use by APLA units. The presence of armed APLA members in Transkei was known to members of the Transkeian Police.

The Transkeian Government has supplied APLA with arms allegedly for VIP protection purposes.

APLA's operational activities are aimed at members of the SAP, the SADF and White civilians in general.

The PAC controls APLA's budget.

APLA members have received training in Transkei.

Arms and explosives are being smuggled into the Republic and Transkei for use by APLA members.

APLA's internal High Command for the Republic is based in Transkei.

The committee recommends that the international community be asked to request all nations to withhold assistance to APLA; and to bring pressure to bear on the PAC to cease to condone and support acts of violence by APLA, and to join other political groups in South Africa in their search for a negotiated settlement.

It also wants the international community to ascertain from the government of Tanzania its response to the allegations by the SAP and the SADF concerning the training of APLA members in that country and the existence there of an APLA base.

The government has asked for Transkei's urgent response to the committee's findings.

Transkei military leader, Major-General Bantu Holomisa's answer is to reject them.

The government should not hesitate, then, to cut the amount of money it pays to Transkei (after all, the Transkei Government cannot expect to live off the very same taxpayers whose lives are endangered by its support of APLA), and raid APLA bases in Transkei, or engage in hot pursuit there.

While we understand the delicacy of the problem facing State President De Klerk at this critical stage in the negotiation process, we feel that the measures he announced yesterday should be regarded as only a first step.

Indeed, we stick to our belief that APLA should be banned.

Furthermore, we believe that with the committee's report providing evidence that APLA and the PAC are jointly responsible, strong action should be taken against the PAC, too, by refusing to have any more dealings with it until it ends its armed struggle and denounces violence by APLA.

Finally, we commend Mr De Klerk's decision to ask Parliament to consider whether the moratorium on hangings should be scrapped.

We hope the answer will be a resounding Yes.

16/1/91

# ANC chief comes back

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela returned to South Africa from his United States visit yesterday saying he was looking forward to the forthcoming Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

On hand to greet him at Jan Smuts Airport were his wife Winnie and Mrs Adelaide Tambo, wife of former ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo.

## Delegation

The ANC delegation to the US, including international affairs head Mr Thabo Mbeki, landed on a British Airways flight from London at 9.15am, about 40 minutes late.

Pressed for comment from national and foreign journalists, Mandela would only say he was looking forward to Codesa.

A smiling Mandela was warmly welcomed by a small group of supporters and admirers before being taken away in a black luxury car.

## Exiles

His wife Winnie stayed behind to receive the first group of 120 exiles from Tanzania expected to arrive at the airport on a chartered Tanzanian Airways flight at 11am.

Their return is part of the R84 million repatriation programme. - *Sapa.*

# Special meeting today

**Sowetan Reporter**

THE Mamelodi branch of the Pan Africanist Congress has appealed to its members to attend a special meeting at the local community hall at 7pm today to discuss final arrangements for the conference in Cape Town on Monday.

Branch secretary Mr Themba Mahlangu says other issues include transport to the venue, where the PAC leadership is expected to be given a fresh mandate on negotiations by members.

# Dave and boycott

IN a report issued on Monday, *Sapa* quoted Indian Traders Association secretary Mr HA Dave as saying, after a meeting with the Venda Consumer Boycott Committee, that Indian traders in Venda would not be affected by an Azapo-organised boycott of shops over the festive period.

On Tuesday Dave said his organisation had not met the Venda Consumer Boycott Committee and did not know if such a body existed. - *Sapa*

16/1/91

# ANC may bar foreigners from owning SA land

NT Witness 22

DAYS after Nelson Mandela warned that South Africa faces economic collapse, the ANC has again put nationalisation on the agenda.

African National Congress deputy president Walter Sisulu, interviewed in *Partnership* magazine, which is aimed at British opinion formers, also said foreign businessmen may be barred from owning land and other natural resources or from borrowing money. However, foreign investors prepared to fit in with government growth and development objectives would enjoy special advantages.

"We can't simply say no, we will never nationalise," Sisulu said. Nationalisation is one possibility, should evidence suggest it would be good for the economy to expand the public sector.

Mandela's earlier warning about the state of the economy has been interpreted as evidence of a new ANC realism, adding urgency to the need for constitutional talks. Sisulu's comments will come as a shock to foreign investors already nervous following the Bisho massacre.

"There is a perception in the black community that imbalances can never be properly corrected without some form of state intervention," he said. "We are simply saying that nationalisation is an option, but that we are going to be guided by the balance of evidence in our national economy."

Sisulu said the ANC wants the business community to invest and it is reluctant to formulate policies that would have the opposite effect. "We are dealing with two constituencies here. We can't simply say: no, we will never nationalise. But we are also flexible and realistic."

He pointed out that the ANC is guided by the policy guidelines adopted at the organisation's national conference in May. These support a mixed economy that will foster a constructive relationship between the people, the state, the trade union movement, the private sector and the market.

"I would like to reassure business people that within the mixed economy there is a major role to be played by the private sector," he said. "We need the private sector to play a dynamic role, employing the acumen of all South Africans." The ANC also does not see nationalisation as a policy objective, but as a possible instrument to be considered.

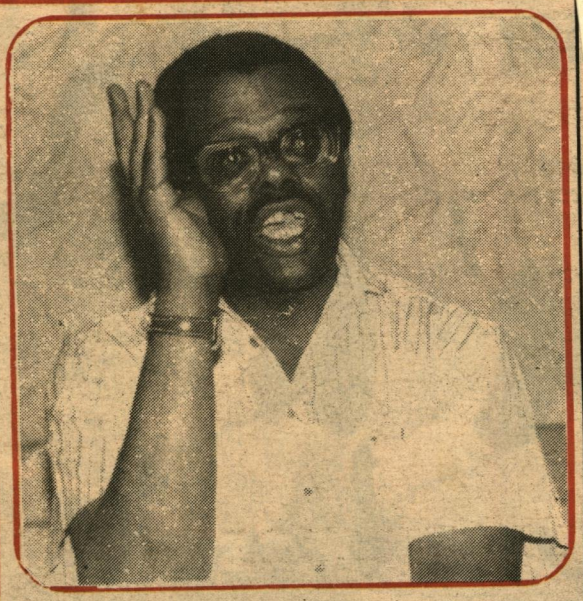
Earlier Sisulu said the ANC regards the budget as an important part of its redistribution programme, but not the only one. Government expenditure will be redirected to end all racial allocations and the duplications of the apartheid period.

"The ANC's primary objective is that in the medium to long term the whole country will benefit from socio-economic development."

—Witness Reporter.

SPORTS Nation

16/1/11



# ANC sports policy will not change – Steve Tshwete

**MAJOR changes to the ANC's sports policy are not likely to occur at the organisations's week long conference which starts in Durban next Tuesday.**

According to the ANC sports representative, Steve Tshwete, while sports would be on the agenda, it was doubtful that the ANC's sports policies would change.

In an interview with SPORTS NATION, Tshwete said: "Conference will have to discuss and emerge with a clear position regarding the 1987 position on selective boycott. We need to embellish it, we need to strengthen it we need to consolidate it.

"It is a very sensitive topic in the South African community and it is an issue which can be used very effectively to mobilise the white community in particular, onto the side of the democratic forces. Precisely because of the sensitivity of sport in this country, and the real meaning of non-racial, democratic sport, it has implications on the whole strategy of the movement. We have championed the cause for non-racialism in this country and we will remain at the helm of non-racialism."

## Unity

Tshwete said the present unity talks among various sports codes would not be discussed because the ANC had encouraged unity "rigorously years before we came back into the country.

"We have had numerous meetings with various sports organisations, ranging from organisations on the side of the establishment to organisations that are on the side of the democratic forces.

## Upliftment

"The focus should not be on international competitions. International competition will come at the right moment. The focus should be on development and upliftment and that is why we supported the position of the International Olympic Committee when they said there must be unity based on the principles of non-racialism and that the various codes involved in unity talks should formulate a visible development and upliftment strategy, directed at upgrading the deprived and disadvantaged black athletes.

"We need to make our people feel that they are part and parcel of this integration process, that they are participating, so that unity does not just end at the level of top administrators.

"It is only then that we can say unity is meaningful. If you neglect upliftment and upgrading and concentrate on the sponsorship of tours and so on, you will be missing the boat.

Unfortunately the press is at fault for harping on the international re-admission, to the total neglect of the principle of upgrading, the principle of integration, the principle of making facilities and resources available on an equal basis to all athletes."

BP CHART OF WHO'S WHO POLITICALLY, FREE WITH THE DAILY NEWS TODAY

Anniversary of Soweto uprising to be launch pad for sustained campaign

# ANC sets the date for mass action

**Daily News Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG: Next week will see the start of the ANC's biggest mass action campaign, it has been announced in Johannesburg.

The alliance made up of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu has decided to use June 16 — the 16th anniversary of the Soweto uprising — as the launch pad for a sustained campaign aimed at forcing concessions in negotiations from the Government.

Nationwide rallies and a "people's referendum" — a send-up of the whites-only referendum earlier this year — will mark the beginning of the campaign.

ANC youth league president Peter Mokaba told a media conference yesterday that more than 70 rallies would mark the beginning of preparations for mass action "to break the current log-jam in the negotiation process and propel the country into a non-racial democracy".

He said business leaders who feared that mass action would harm the country's economy should respond by putting pressure on the Government to move speedily in negotiations.

ANC national executive committee member Marion Sparg defended her organisation's decision to embark on mass action.

The ANC, she said, did not think mass action would endanger negotiations in Codesa, and considered it to be "as important as negotiations themselves in the struggle for democracy.

"By engaging in mass action we are articulating the feelings of our people on the ground. Mass action is not aimed at the people or any sector of the country's population, but at the Government."

Mr Mokaba said the ANC youth league would work towards promoting youth unity around a programme of action whose aims would include demands that schools be opened to all races by January next year and the formation of a single education department.

The league said it would mobilise other youth organisations to make submissions for a draft piece of legislation to be called the "Transition to Democracy Act", aimed at countering the Government's idea of an interim constitution.

Ms Sparg said the "Bill" was being discussed and a draft would be made available to the international community and South Africans once it was completed.

16/1/11

# ANC: Mouskouri payment claim scandalous

Citizen Reporter

THE ANC has described a claim that Greek singer, Nana Mouskouri, was asked to pay the organisation $250 000 (R700 000) in order to tour as "scandalous".

The original report from Sapa quoted a "prominent public relations figure", whom the ANC identified in a statement issued last night as former SABC newscaster, Mr Michael de Morgan, who later worked at the South African Embassy in London.

Mouskouri's manager announced the cancellation of her proposed tour because of fears of a negative internal reaction if she toured, and he also denied claims that she had refused to pay the ANC the money before she would be permitted to tour.

# A cheek

THE CITIZEN

TUT-TUT! The United Democratic Front has suspended relations with the British Government and its representatives.

Why? Because British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher recently called the African National Congress a "terrorist organisation" after it threatened to attack British companies in South Africa. The UDF demands she apologise to the ANC.

It is also angry because charges were dropped in London against people who allegedly plotted to kidnap ANC members living in Britain.

The UDF, which has no standing in the matter, wants the charges reinstated and a commission of inquiry appointed to expose the "conspiracy" and the "undercover actions" of the South African Government on British soil.

The UDF is also upset because Mrs Thatcher has opposed comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

This, according to the UDF, has caused widespread anger. Among whom, it doesn't say. Certainly it doesn't cause anger among the majority of people, White and Black, who find any form of sanctions reprehensible.

What interests us is the cheek of the UDF in announcing it is suspending relations with the British Government.

Who does the UDF think it is?

Such a powerful voice that if it is raised in anger the British Government will quake in its boots?

An organisation with which the British Government must be on good terms, otherwise it will suffer some dire (unspecified) consequences?

No. The UDF is a radical organisation that uses the word "democratic" in the same way as Robert Mugabe does, in other words, it is not democratic at all.

It is a radical organisation some of whose leaders have links with the African National Congress.

Some people surmise that parts of the UDF are a front for the ANC.

Whether this is so or not, the UDF's sympathies are certainly with that terrorist organisation. Which explains why the UDF has taken up the cudgels on the ANC's behalf.

Elements of the UDF were behind much of the pre-emergency unrest.

And it was the UDF that exploited situations here to give South Africa a hammering in the overseas media.

When the story of this period is written, it will be seen that the UDF was not a force for unity, reconciliation or democratic change, but helped to bring about disorder, confrontation and division.

The emergency, however, has clipped the UDF's wings. That is why it tries to focus the spotlight on itself again by attacking the British Government.

However, the British Government will not change its policies to suit the UDF.

Mrs Thatcher will remain opposed to further sanctions because she genuinely believes they are counter-productive and mainly harm Blacks.

If the British Government doesn't tell the UDF to go to hell, it is because the Brits are very polite people.

# ANC behind unrest, Nel tells foreign envoys

THE Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Louis Nel, yesterday told a group of foreign diplomats that the African National Congress was behind the recent months of township rioting, which he said had been aimed primarily against moderate Blacks.

Mr Nel said in Pretoria that although the Government was committed to the expansion of democracy among Blacks, any potentially successful democratic structures were being thwarted by the rioters and their inciters.

On Thursday, the State President, Mr P W Botha, told a joint sitting of the three Houses of Parliament that he had taken steps to see that law and order were maintained in the country, where township unrest has escalated since last September.

Yesterday Mr Nel said: "There is incontrovertible evidence of an orchestrated attempt by forces from beyond our borders, joined by radical elements inside the country, to politicise certain target groups for their own purposes. The ANC is behind this."

Mr Nel told the more than 50 diplomats and overseas journalists gathered at the Union Buildings that the aim of the rioters was to make the country ungovernable and to bring about a revolutionary situation.

"I wish to emphasise that support for the ANC and for the perpetrators of violence in South Africa is support for the interest of the Soviet Union," he said.

In contrast to the Blacks who had shown "a willingness to work towards peaceful reform," he added, "the instigators (of unrest) reject negotiation and consultation.

"They know that to succeed in reaching their goal of total power they cannot allow the emergence of a moderate Black majority."

However, Mr Nel said, moderate Blacks had become the primary targets of rioters. Eight Black councillors and policement had been murdered during township unrest, which has left more than 300 people dead in the past seven months.

Over 100 councillors had been attacked and 147 forced to resign, Mr Nel said, "for fear of their lives and damage to property." — Sapa.

# 'Abandon violence'

## FW condemns funeral rhetoric for whipping up emotions

PRETORIA. — The anti-government rhetoric at the Boipatong massacre funeral drew a sharp rebuttal from President De Klerk.

"The tone of many of the statements at yesterday's funeral for victims of the Boipatong massacre gives rise to concern," Mr De Klerk said in a statement last night.

He was reacting to speeches at Monday's funeral service where threats were made "to take the government to hell", Mr De Klerk was declared incompetent and his resignation called for, and he was accused of being directly involved in the continuing violence.

"Instead of using this occasion to mourn the tragic deaths of the victims and to console their families and loved ones, the funeral was exploited to whip up emotions and to harden attitudes against negotiations and reconciliation," Mr De Klerk said.

He said the repeated allegations concerning the involvement of the security forces and of the government in the tragic events at Boipatong were devoid of truth, and there was not a shred of evidence to support them.

Mr De Klerk invited anyone with evidence of government involvement to get in touch with the police or the Goldstone Commission.

He pointed out that further lives had been lost since the Boipatong tragedy. Immediately after the funeral a man was brutally murdered and necklaced in front of journalists.

During the past 24 hours a further 16 people had been killed in Natal. Most of them were apparently Inkatha supporters, and another policeman was senselessly murdered in the course of his duties.

"The death of any of our countrymen in violence — whoever they may be and whatever party they may support — diminishes us all and makes the goal of a peaceful and negotiated settlement all the more difficult," Mr De Klerk said.

He appealed to all leaders and to all South Africans to abandon violence and brinkmanship, saying the present course of confrontation, race hatred and violence, would, if left unchecked, lead to tragedy.

"The South African government will be firm in taking responsible steps to prevent this," he said.

Mr De Klerk said he would respond in more detail to the situation soon. — Sapa.

# ANC tactics 'led to tragedy'

**THE ANC and its associates are guilty of double standards over the Boipatong tragedy, say readers.**

**Mr R Fisher, Claremont:** Boipatong and other tragedies among the black community are a direct result of ANC tactics to make the country ungovernable and increase the unemployment rate by encouraging sanctions and disinvestment. The sooner the ANC considers the welfare of blacks instead of themselves the better for all South Africans.

**Mr W Bluhm, Montagu:** Boipatong is a tragedy, but what about Welkom during the VAT strike? Eighty-six killed and 383 injured. The Goldstone Commission cited NUM as responsible. NUM are associates of Cosatu and the ANC.

**Mr A Muller, Mowbray:** In playing political football Archbishop Tutu has again put his foot in it. After the Boipatong massacre he called for the suspension of our participation in the Olympics. But, take note, he did not object to the rugby match between the Australian schoolboys and Bishops, a college he is closely associated with. Is this not double standards?

**Ms G Joslin, Kenilworth:** Athletes who suffer from minor health problems should consider using homeopathic remedies which stimulate the body's natural resistance instead of resorting to medicines containing steroids.

**Mrs A Keith, Newlands:** The Black Sash and their members have inserted many messages of sympathy over the Boipatong massacre. Why was there a deathly silence from them after the massacre of 30 Inkatha supporters, among them women and babies, in the Crossroads squatter camp on the East Rand on 2nd April?

**● To comment on these and other issues, contact Teleletters between 10am and noon only at 488-4722. Preference will be given to Teleletters that are brief and topical. Please note that Teleletters cannot be accepted from public telephone boxes or by post or fax.**

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Business Report

# Motor industry predominates

# Strikes up 73% in second quarter

**STRIKES increased by 73,3% in the second quarter of 1992 over 1991 with grievances the main reason, and the motor industry and the National Union of Metalworkers of SA predominating.**

According to an Andrew Levy & Associates report yesterday, strike activity is expected to increase when the Cosatu/ANC-/SACP mass action programme clashes with a general hardening in employer attitudes towards stayaways.

In addition the major wage negotiations in the metal and mining sectors are expected to contribute to a rise in the mandays lost.

The second quarter figure was 650 000 compared with 375 000 last year, but 45,83% lower than the 1990 high of 1 200 000.

Commenting on the mass action programme, Levy & Associates says: "As a result of this, it is anticipated that there will be an increased potential for conflict in companies housing unions with different ideological viewpoints, as workers who do not support the campaign will come under severe pressure to do so.

"It is also envisaged that because of a noticeable hardening in employer attitudes towards stayaways in general, further disputes will arise as a result of discipline meted out during this sensitive period.

"It is interesting to note that grievances (39,8%) are the main trigger factor followed by wages (32,3); recognition/bargaining levels (13,9) and dismissal/discipline (10,5).

"Wages traditionally dominate the trigger scene but during a period marked by a high degree of confrontation and political tension, a number of strikes have taken place over issues such as unfair protection of white employees, calls for the dismissal of white management and differential treatment between the race groups."

The automobile industry accounted for the largest number of mandays lost (36,3%) mainly as a result of the Toyota strikes in May and June.

The retail sector was next (14,7) and the State (13,9) next due to an upsurge in hospital strikes and that between the SABC and Mwasa.

Intermittent strike action at Impala Platinum Mines contributed to the figure of 12,9% for the mining sector.

The most active unions in terms of mandays lost to the economy were Numsa (37%), Saccwu (14,8), NUM (13,4), Nehawu (10,4), Fawu (9,2) and Mwasa (6,4).

The unions responsible for the greatest number of strikes were Saccwu, Nehawu, Numsa, Fawu, Cwiu and Sacwu. — Sapa

# All our political leaders should work at the Allied —South Africa needs people you can talk to!

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# ANC's leaders at odds over power-sharing 'deal'

**TOS WENTZEL**
**Political Staff**

AMID sniping within its own ranks, the national executive of the African National Congress met today to decide whether to ratify the agreement reached with the government on power-sharing in an interim government of national unity.

The government and the ANC deny that a firm "deal" has been struck, and have emphasised that such agreements can be reached only at multiparty talks. But elements in the ANC are unhappy with the terms of the agreement.

Bilateral meetings between the government and potential negotiation partners at resumed multiparty talks will continue today.

The Democratic Party is to meet a government delegation led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

Later today the Afrikaner Volksunie, which broke away from the Conservative Party, will resume talks with a government delegation led by Mr Meyer.

A sub-committee of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) is to meet Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel. The group consists of Inkatha, the CP and the governments of Bophuthatswana, Transkei and Ciskei.

This afternoon President De Klerk will meet President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana. Tomorrow the government and Inkatha will resume bilateral talks.

In the war of words after last week's meeting between the government and the ANC, the ANC's Natal Midland region has come out in open revolt against the power-sharing agreement.

Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala said: "We will try to persuade the NEC to rethink. We want a special consultative conference to review the negotiations strategy."

The Pan Africanist Congress has accused the ANC of "selling out the struggle".

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said his organisation believed reports that the ANC and the government had made a secret deal, and warned that South Africans would not know peace unless all organisations were involved in negotiations.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht said the power-sharing agreement was an attempt at a coup d'état to benefit the ANC.

The Western Cape region of the ANC has instructed its delegates to oppose power-sharing at the NEC meeting.

Regional secretary Tony Yengeni said: "We are going to listen to a report-back from our negotiators, see what they bring back and discuss it with delegates before making a final decision."

He said the Western Cape region feared the ANC could be tricked into believing power-sharing would be for a limited period, only to find out it was something more permanent.

# Hani happy to sleep with the enemy . . . for a while

**The Argus Correspondent**

LONDON. — SA Communist Party general-secretary Mr Chris Hani has no problems with the term "power sharing", he told a news conference here.

It was a process that would begin to normalise South Africa, he said yesterday. But power sharing between the African National Congress and the government would be for only a limited period.

If getting into bed with the government, or rubbing shoulders with Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer for a few years, was the quickest way to get rid of the government, the ANC would do so.

But he suggested 15 percent should be the minimum vote needed by a political party to secure representation in a power sharing cabinet — not the five to 10 percent proposed by President De Klerk in a television interview at the weekend.

Mr Hani and SACP colleague Mr Essop Pahad are in London on their way home from Cuba.

# Ex-PAC man to start new party

**Political Staff**

**A FORMER member of the Pan Africanist Congress who returned to South Africa last year is to launch a new political party which will contest the country's first all-in elections next year, he said.**

**Dr Thamsanqa Bam, who headed the Soweto-based underground People's National Action Council before he left the country in March 1976, said it was becoming apparent that the main political players in the country were not addressing important issues.**

**Dr Bam, 54, said his soon-to-be-launched People's Democratic Christian Party — so far consisting of educationists, intellectuals and returned exiles — would address "the problems which face the country" such as high unemployment, the shortage of housing and the spiralling crime rate.**

**A founder member of the PAC in 1959, Dr Bam joined the ANC for a year in Dar es-Salaam before returning to the PAC a year later. In 1977 he left the PAC "because things did not go right" and trekked to Holland, where he has lived until he returned home last year.**

**During his stay abroad he studied in the United States, Britain and Belgium, and now holds a doctorate in theology.**

**He described himself as a linguist and literacy specialist.**

# An appalling situation

SIR — Attorneys for Mr Johnny Mhlungu, chief whip of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and chief executive officer of Khulani Holdings, have objected to your report on how this company paid R124 000 for 28 hectares of commercial land in KwaMashu, valued at R46 million.

I am grateful to the attorneys for drawing attention to this appalling situation, and to your report which turns out to be completely correct. This vast area was indeed awarded by the KwaMashu Town Council at this ludicrous price.

The selling price, we are told, was set by the Central Government in 1978. I would be very interested to find out how long that proclamation lasted, and when it was overtaken by more realistic valuations.

But the key point is that this land, belonging ultimately to the taxpayers of South Africa — as KwaZulu is not independent — was sold for a bit more than peanuts.

Had the land been sold at market valuation, the state would, for example, be able to use the money to pay an additional R100 in pensions annually to nearly 500-000 pensioners. There are many other far better uses to which the money could have been put than to sell 28 hectares to one company for a farcical figure.

As someone with a keen curiosity in how our money is used, I am struck by this extremely interesting deal, and would value further revelation by your newspaper on how we were brought to sacrifice this land so generously.

CRISPIN HEMSON

# The Mandela separation

SIR — I felt quite a sadness for two people who have admitted in public that they will always love each other, yet these two prominent people have been crucified — call it what you will, by the political pressures of this country; fighting for what they see to be right, a freedom which has called for such courage to make their stand.

We do condemn all murders, killings in whatever way, from whatever source, and we surely have seen plenty of this.

We remember when we took our marriage vows 43 years ago, where one part said: "Those whom God has joined together let no man put asunder." We cannot help thinking that these two people have been forced to part, for political reasons, by man.

They have both been through a lifetime of trouble. "Forgive them, for they know not what they do." We are sorry for what we have done to you, to have driven Winnie to such an impulsive nature to gain her stand. She cannot help it.

We are all guilty in some way, what better time than now in the Christian world to ask God for His forgiveness, to ask Him to help us all to bring peace, love and understanding among us, for all His people.

THE WOODS OF ESHOWE

# ANC to attack civil targets

By STEPHAN TERBLANCHE

**THE banned African National Congress plans to intensify infiltration into South Africa in order to attack civilian targets, senior officers in the Security Branch of the SAP stated yesterday.**

They said this represents a shift away from previously declared ANC policy that only "hard" targets such as political, military, and police installations should be attacked.

Interviewed in Pretoria, the Security Branch officers said the public should be alerted to the new strategy.

They added, however, that the SAP had hitherto enjoyed an almost 100 percent success rate in its internal fight against terrorism and that the ANC was rated as one of the most unsuccessful terrorist organisations in the world.

Many ANC operatives had been killed or arrested before they reached their targets in South Africa.

## Stresses

Moreover, the ANC had little or no internal logistic infrastructure and had been denied bases in neighbouring countries.

For the first time since 1969 the ANC plans to convene a full conference somewhere in Africa.

This shows that there are stresses within the organisation, police said.

Among topics believed to be slated for discussion is the opening of all ranks in the ANC to people of all races.

At present whites, coloureds and Indians are admitted only to the external wing.

Greater attention will also be given to combining the armed struggle with mass political and labour action, said the police sources.

At present the ANC claims to have 7 000 trained cadres, but it aims to increase this number.

However, the Security Branch officers pointed out that the ANC had no internal wing which could be enlarged.

"We believe international fund-raising and its internal political dimension will remain the ANC's priority business," one officer said.

# ANC demand can bring civil war — Buthelezi

ULUNDI. — Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that the ANC's "totally destructive, ill-conceived and power-grabbing" ultimatum to President F W de Klerk could provoke civil war in South Africa.

He urged President F W de Klerk to inform the world of the seriousness of the new situation and seek the help of freedom-loving nations in curbing the ANC's "lust for power".

And he suggested strongly that the ANC's hawks had out-manoeuvred moderates like Messrs Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki in an attempt virtually to wreck the negotiating process.

The government could not recover from meeting the ANC national executive committee's demands, and the ANC would now not be able to recover from not continuing to make them, the Chief Minister and Inkatha president told the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in a special statement.

He pointed out that radical reform in South Africa was already totally unstoppable. There was nothing in current politics (until the advent of the ANC's ultimatum) that could be regarded as a threat to the emergence of democracy.

Now, however, "we face the crisis from which the prospects of the proposed negotiations may not recover from one totally destructive, ill-conceived, power-grabbing attempt by the ANC and its Communist Party ally to thwart the whole process."

Simply put, the ANC had made what it knew to be totally impossible demands which it knew would not be met.

After listing the demands in the ultimatum, Dr Buthelezi said the driving forces in the ANC's military and violent wing had now pushed it into a "no-return" position, setting the stage for a power-grabbing attempt which had always been the radicals' intention.

They had never had any intention of negotiating themselves into a position in which the ANC would simply be one party among many. Their timing had been "exquisitely correct" if it was destruction that was intended.

The SA Government could not survive if it gave in to the ANC demands. The NP would break up under the resultant internal conflict and a very substantial proportion of its supporters would go to the CP or even the AWB.

"What the ANC is actually doing is making the kind of demands which would precipitate what would be nothing less than a civil war in South Africa."

Dr Buthelezi questioned whether the new development arose from a bid for power by the ANC's Chris Hani radicals (against the "moderate nationalist faction led by Dr Mandela and Mr Thabo Mbeki") or a mobilisation of the NEC's Communist Bloc votes by Mr Joe Slovo.

Mr Mandela had had the courage to "cock a political snoot" at the radicals when he met him (Buthelezi) in Durban on January 29. And only six days before the "fateful open letter" to the State President, the IFP and ANC leaders had met for five and a half hours.

It was Dr Mandela who had then talked about the need for them to address joint rallies. This had not been a Dr Mandela "who was about to wreck the politics of negotiation (and) who was planning a renewed open declaration of war against the Inkatha Freedom Party". — Sapa.

# '84pc of attacks against Inkatha'

Citizen Reporter

OF the 24 serious violent incidents recorded in Natal and Transvaal over the past two months, 84 percent were regarded as attacks against Inkatha supporters, according to statistics released by the Inkatha Institute yesterday.

The Institute claimed that between 70 and 90 percent of all violent killings in the period from January 29 were as a result of shootings.

## Tribal

It was responding to what it termed the, "tribal weapons" debate, following an ANC call to government to have the carrying of these weapons banned.

ANC publicity and information chief, Pallo Jordan, pointed to the ANC's statement of Friday April 5, in which it called for: "The outlawing by Parliament of the carrying of weapons, 'traditional or otherwise', at public processions, assemblies and rallies."

On Inkatha's claim that 84 percent of serious attacks had taken place against Inkatha supporters, Dr Jordan expressed shock.

## Troublemakers

"That's an incredible statement to make. The fact of the matter is that everyone has gained the impression that the majority of troublemakers are Inkatha supporters.

"Ask the Natal and Transvaal squatters and refugees. To say that Inkatha people do not comprise the majority of attackers is a lie of "Goëbbelesian" proportions, he said, referring Second World War Nazi Germany's propaganda Minister, Joseph Goebbels.

Law and Order spokesman, Captain Craig Kotze, could also not confirm any Inkatha statistics but agreed that most killings and injuries in the townships were caused by AK-47's. "You only have to look at the Sebokeng and Alexandra massacres and at the number of shots fired at police almost daily, to confirm this," he said.

He disputed allegations that most AK's were smuggled in from Mozambique and said they were part of numerous ANC arms caches set up within South Africa since the suspension of the armed struggle.

## Cashes

"I seriously doubt if the ANC itself is aware of the whereabouts of all these caches. They have established so many over so many years."

Capt Kotze pointed out the enormous, incomparable differnce between the AK-47 and traditional weapons.

"One machine gun can do the work of 1 000 traditional weapons in one minute.

"The AK is contributing directly towards cultural violence in the townships," Capt Kotze said.

# SA Reds back ANC ultimatum

THE South African Communist Party internal leadership has expressed support for the African National Congress' ultimatum to the government to end violence and sack the Ministers of Law and Order and Defence.

The decision was taken at a weekend meeting at which a wide range of issues was discussed, including escalating violence and the deepening economic crisis, SACP media liaison spokesman Mr Essop Pahad said yesterday.

Mr Pahad said the SACP reiterated its belief in a negotiated political settlement, and a relatively peaceful solution to the problems of the country.

"But the escalating violence seriously jeopardises the negotiations process, more so since in our view the government has failed to carry out its duties and responsibilities."

The SACP also expressed grave concern at the refusal of the government to grant full indemnity to the organisation's Central Committee member Mr Ronnie Kasrils and others alleged to be part of the alleged Operation Vula plot.

He added: "Retrenchments on gold mines, and the closing down of the Stilfontein mine in particular, are a reflection of the failure of capitalism in South Africa," Mr Pahad said.

He said all groups should protect and defend the workers' livelihood. —Sapa.

# Azasm and Cosas 'wary' of Govt's new deal on SRCs

By Michael Tissong

**Two student bodies have reacted warily to the Government's concession that recommendations from such groups would be considered in the drawing up of a constitution for student representative councils in schools.**

The reason for this is that the Government will make the final decision on the constitution, said the Azanian Student Movement (Azasm) and the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) — the two principal organisations representing students involved in the education crisis.

## Criticism

The Department of Co-operation, Development and Education announced on Wednesday that the SRC constitution would be reconsidered following criticism from student bodies. It asked all interested parties to make representations to ensure the widest possible acceptance of the SRCs.

Cosas secretary-general, Mr Jabu Khumalo said Cosas submitted recommendations via the Soweto Parents' Committee to the Department, but these recommendations were rejected. He questioned the motive for the Government asking for the recommendations again.

Azasm publicity secretary, Mr Kabelo Lengane said the invitation by the Department of Co-operation, Development and Education, would be discussed at Azasm's student executive council meeting at the Maryland Centre in Cape Town on December 14 and 15.

Mr Lengane said the original constitution, drawn up by the department, was rejected because students were not consulted when it was drawn up.

"The unilaterally-drawn up constitution was a violation of democratic principles. The department should have consulted us and been open with us from the beginning," he said.

Mr Lengane said student organisations from across the political spectrum should be involved in drawing up a single joint proposal for the SRC constitution.

Mr Khumalo said the Government was making insignificant reforms "to confuse people. This new step is a factor that will deepen the crisis in education. It will make us angry.

"According to previous discussions between parents and the Government, the final drafting of the constitution was to have taken place on December 10. The date has now been shifted to January 9. This is a delaying tactic."

## Proposal

The Soweto Parents Committee which met the Minister, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said the new proposal by the Government would be discussed and a statement issued later.

In his announcement the Deputy Minister, Mr Sam de Beer, appealed to all the groups, associations and bodies involved to submit proposals for his personal attention before January 9 1985, to Private Bag X212, Pretoria.

# As far as keeping blacks out of 'white' areas is concerned, nothing succeeds like failure

# Busy going nowhere

**THE brickwork has for years been crumbling, the cement flaking, the edifice atremble.**

Now Grand Apartheid — a magnificently misdirected attempt at social engineering — is facing its most critical test. Economics and the realpolitik of the 1980s have finally called it to account.

There are two sides to this coin; one a quixotic effort to keep people in the homelands and the other a Canute-type obsession for keeping people out of the "white" metropolitan areas.

Both endeavours have, inevitably, failed spectacularly.

And in the aftermath — hastened by drought, economic recession, political resurgence and international pressure — has come an intense national debate centred on the two most immediate symptoms of this Government's contemporary ideological malaise; consolidation and black-spot removals on the one hand and influx control on the other.

## Bunkum

Consolidation has for years been to all intents and purposes bunkum. No less an authority than former Deputy Minister of Land Affairs Hennie van der Walt conceded that even if all the multi-billion-rand consolidation proposals were carried out it would not increase the GNP of the homelands by 0,5 percent.

And neither has it.

Successful rural development in Southern Africa has three preconditions; a ruling group prepared to accept fundamental agrarian reform, a means to reduce the population carried by the homelands and an effective and tremendously resourced national development strategy.

Pretoria's ideological commitments ensure imperfect compliance with all three preconditions.

The homeland structure is buttressed by the traditional, conservative chiefs, whose greatest power lies in the right to allocate land for communal use; hardly the cutting edge for a rural renaissance.

The Government's drive to get blacks off "white land", meanwhile, has grossly overloaded the homelands.

Between 1948 and 1980 the per capita agricultural production of the homelands *dropped* by 25 percent as the Government trucked in millions from "white" South Africa. Land — lots of it — does not exist.

And talk of national strategy becomes laughable when one considers the numerous homeland authorities, district and regional, through which development money trickles and sometimes disappears.

The long-gestating crisis of the homelands — compounded by the drought — makes the Government's plans for "black-spot" removals and more wholesale shunting of unwilling people from place to place harder to justify and more difficult to accept.

And that is where the first critical debate is taking place.

## Sordid

An estimated 600 000 people are earmarked for resettlement in the short term. The Black Sash and other organisations which have monitored the sordid forced-removals saga believe a major government offensive is about to begin.

But is it ? If the truth be known the Government itself is not quite sure. It faces a major dilemma.

A move ahead on large-scale removals will certainly be courting unprecedented international condemnation, shatter any claims of "reformist" intentions and embarrass its already badly compromised coalition partners from the coloured and Indian communities.

And the cost — a big factor to a pragmatic Government — is enormous.

Public surveillance of forced removals has upped the ante; in compensatory land, compensation for existing dwellings, facilities at the new sites and the quality of transport.

But the other horn of the dilemma is political. To admit there will be no more removals is to deny a fundamental tenet of the apartheid ideology which has guided the National Party for years.

This hole in the doughnut will be quickly exploi-

BUSY GOING NOWHERE.
PAGE 2 OF 2

ted by white conservatives, who, while slow on rationality, are desperately quick on ideological sloganeering.

The arguments over, round and under consolidation and black-spot removals will be critical in the coming months.

The second side of the coin is, of course, the Government's problems with keeping blacks out of "white" South Africa. And that involves influx control.

Having trucked hundreds of thousands of black South Africans into the homelands in the interests of whitening large parts of the country, the Government has successfully created the very conditions which have ensured a massive exodus of the same blacks towards the "white" metropolitan areas.

## Pointless

In dealing with this influx — research indicates that most of it is the consequence of dire economic necessity — the Government has consistently opted for the negative approach; direct intervention through legislation and an enormous bureaucratic machine.

The "dual-track" approach of direct negative control in the urban areas and a positive developmental approach in the rural areas through the creation of decentralised industrial growth points is also in large part bunkum.

The job-creation programme — not to be dismissed entirely — is still not nearly big enough to deal with the problem and is horrendously expensive at a time when cheap jobs are what the country needs.

And the negative controls — resulting in the criminalising of 300 000 South Africans this year alone — have proved pointless.

Studies show that even an area like the Western Cape, where the harshest forms of influx control exist, still boasts an "illegal" population of 42 percent.

Other studies would indicate that more than 2,5-million people have urbanised themselves in informal settlements in homeland areas which border "white" metropolitan areas.

They are in everything but name city dwellers, but, because of State ideology, they are phantom legions — unrecognised, unprovided for, unplanned for.

The Government has in recent times perfunctorily genuflected to omnipresent realities; pushed home-ownership, lowered housing standards, encouraged the informal economic sector and cautiously probed site-and-service options.

But there is as yet no overall urbanisation strategy which accepts as bottom-line the inevitability of the urban flow.

At a time of desperate need for a stable urban community, it is ludicrous to think that every recent government attempt to modify influx control has been aimed at *reducing* the corps of permanent urban residents instead of expanding it.

## Charade

The charade cannot continue; the Government seems as aware of that as anybody else. Its problem — no less than in rural development — is ideological.

A rapid and publicly acknowledged urbanisation process for blacks reduces the saliency of the homelands as political platforms.

Influx control has thus become the second critical issue of national debate, with a quite awesome body of opinion marshalling to demand its phasing out — not least of all in business quarters, among organisations such as the Urban Foundation, in some Government think-tanks and verligte circles.

This week Gillette opened a subsidised legal-aid clinic on the East Rand as part of its social action programme.

This largely unrecorded event is important; big business, at last, is actively weighing in against an unrealistic programme of social organisation based on an outdated urbanology and 19th-century demography.

the following: the movement is now a government of a democratic South Africa. It is now subject to media (domestic and foreign) and public scrutiny. The movement is no longer faced with the task of the "seizure" of state power, but socio-economic upliftment of the poor, who largely happen to be black people. The ANC's responsibilities are not merely limited to South Africa, it is also expected to play a major role in regional and continental affairs. Calls for intervention in Zimbabwe and plans to revitalise the African continent at large are examples in point.

Understanding the nature and inclination of various leaders of the ANC demands an assessment of the particular historical conditions upon which a particular leader is at the helm. Without skinning of their individual capacity to project a particular vision, prevailing circumstances nurture the content and vision that leaders adopt from time to time. Mbeki has suffered from the lack of this contextualisation by being expected to act as Mandela's duplicate, regardless of the different circumstances within which both leaders had to operate as presidents of the ANC.

However, the ANC leadership in particular cannot be completely absolved. For one, the ANC continues to sell itself as a liberation movement. Despite the fact that it forms the government of the day. The ANC wears the liberation tag because it argues it still has the mission to socially and economically liberate the masses.

The contradiction is the ANC also argues that economic resources, both nationally and internationally, are in the hands of the private sector. How then does it hope to advance economic liberation for the masses?

More than anything else, the ANC's continued embrace of the liberation movement tag allows it to employ a similar type of leadership as that used in the days of exile and underground political entity. Consequently, accusations abound that there is too much power in the hands of the national executive of the ANC and the president. And consultation and grass-roots discussions and consensus have been relegated to oblivion.

Probably the sensitive line that faces the ANC leadership is how to balance the pressures on government to think and act swiftly as the current trends of economic globalisation demand, with the need to consult and build consensus so major players in society believe they are valued as such in the development of South Africa.

# A new approach to African time

THE hard-working lad had burst into my glass office, uninvited as usual.

Of course, I am no fat-cat politician who always expects ordinary people to make an appointment before I can see them.

I, too, have always perceived it to be a problem for some folks who have self-transmogrified into VIPs and, by virtue of their new-found status, expect me to make an appointment before I can see them in their offices or plush homes.

We blacks just don't do things that way.

We approach the future with our backs and are dictated to by our feelings.

Anyway, this guy had something bothering his soul.

He needed someone to unburden it. Much as I am not a psychologist, I was willing to hear him out.

"I have decided to sever my ties with this girlfriend," he said.

"I find her to be a waste of time. In fact, I can spend six hours with her, but when I try to gauge how I have benefited from her company, it always amounts to nothing."

I have known this guy over the years. He has moved on in life and is beginning to make a name for himself in his field.

In fact, he is a dreamer who takes himself very seriously.

Fortunately, he is not the arrogant type. But he could easily be mistaken for someone who thinks he is happening and "with it" simply because of the kind of people who recognise him and acknowledge his presence at prestigious functions.

I wondered why one always has to "benefit" from keeping the company of friends.

"Some people are there for us to just sit back and relax with," I offered.

"You do not have to have a deep conversation that will dramatically change your life.

"You sit, drink and look at each other. That is the nature of life."

But he would not listen.

He had come to the conclusion that people need to contribute to one's life in some way in order to be worth having around.

shall call him, is coming from.

He is deeply into kwaito and listens to Mdu, Trompies, Bongo Maffin and the rest.

But it is the Mandoza smash hit that came to mind as I looked at his perturbed expression. He was greatly concerned: *Uzoy'thola Kanjani Uhlezi Ekhoneni?*

It was my turn to take careful stock of my utterances and wonder: Do we have the right to hang out with people just for the sake of it?

I know there are many people who do not add value, in any way, to meaning and purpose in life. Does that make them any less human?

I insisted to Mduduzi that he should see the sister friend as someone who does not have to add anything to the quality of his life.

What is important is that he is adding quality to her life, and that should be enough.

But it is about time that more and more black people, especially, realise that time is the most precious commodity, time is the most useful tissue of life.

In fact, most black people must just stop wasting time!

Yes, Mduduzi is correct not to want to waste any part of it or hang out with people who do.

We have to salute young men – and a few women! – who are determined to make the best possible use of their 24 hours a day, to make every minute, every hour count.

So, my brother, my sister, you must budget to take care of all the necessities of life, leaving a comfortable margin of leisure for self-improvement and preparing for your own future.

This Mduduzi chap is grappling with working out a stern system of self-discipline, permitting no waste of precious time, no foolish "extravagance", to interfere with plans to use his time on earth to just hang out with friends who make it impossible for him to make progress.

This nation is not working – as Thabo Mbeki anticipated – because people are wasting time.

*Uzuy'thola Kanjani Uhlezi Ekhoneni?* Ask yourself that and you will be surprised how it could change your life and attitudes.

Weekend Argus

# 6 000 attend festive ANC rally

**WILLEM STEENKAMP**
Weekend Argus Reporter

WHAT a bash!

Drum majorettes, boerewors rolls, singalongs and 6 000 avid supporters and curious onlookers marked the scene in Elsies River yesterday when African National Congress president Nelson Mandela put to the test his support in the coloured community.

Addressed by Mr Mandela and local ANC executives Allan Boesak and Cheryl Carolus, the Avonwood Stadium rally and the preceding street carnival were festive affairs at which supporters enjoyed the pleasant weather, drinks, snacks and music.

Many people were dressed in ANC colours, wore ANC caps or waved ANC flags. People were signing on as ANC members at a table, and by mid-afternoon about 30 new members had already joined up.

Vendors were doing brisk business with the sale of food, drinks and ANC caps and other memorabilia. Tickets offering winners the chance of shaking hands and having their pictures taken with Mr Mandela were also selling like hot cakes.

Marshalls had their hands full controlling traffic and frisking rally-goers for hidden weapons at the gates. Around the stadium people climbed on walls and fences to get a view of the proceedings.

Surprisingly, most of the afternoon's proceedings were in Afrikaans — seen by many as the language of the oppressors.

☐ **COLOURFUL SUPPORT:** Rallygoers wave ANC flags to show their support for Mr Nelson Mandela, president of the ANC, during yesterday's mass rally at the Avonwood Stadium in Elsies River. Although the ANC estimated about 20 000 people would attend the rally, a crowd of about 6 000 people showed up. Picture: WILLIE DE KLERK, Weekend Argus.

But one of the masters of ceremonies explained that "this is our language, the people's language, the Cape's language, Elsies River's language".

Two United Nations observers stood by quietly, watching the proceedings.

"We are observing," explained one of them, sporting a blue United Nations jacket.

The police maintained a low profile, with hardly a policeman in sight. Solo artists and a band supplied music while people waited for the arrival of Mr Mandela. Proceedings were opened with prayers and John Pretorius, a local artist, sang a song for peace in South Africa.

Most of the rally-goers interviewed by Weekend Argus said they came to the rally to find out what the future would hold for coloured people under the ANC after the elections.

"I came to find out what the future holds for us so-called coloured people. It will take time, but I believe the ANC can do a better job than the National Party, which had forty years to solve our country's problems and could not," said Mr Stanford Flandorp of Eerste River.

Mr Soze Mhlaba of Kraaifontein said he came to hear Mr Mandela speak. "I believe a lot of things will change for the better after the election next year. We will get better housing, jobs and education. The ANC will solve our problems," he said.

There were no incidents of violence.

■ Earlier, at a breakfast in Beaufort West on Friday, attended by local "opinion-makers", Mr Mandela said South Africa was already overtaxed and a future government should take care not to impose further tax burdens.

After the meal he made a brief appearance at a rally attended by about 2 500 people.

Mr Mandela said at the breakfast it might not be necessary to impose further taxes to mobilise financial resources for the state. South Africa was a country committed to peace and the defence budget could be slashed and recommitted to development and reconstruction.

The ANC was devoted to blacks first and foremost because it was blacks who were deprived of the country's resources and of all political power.

■ Mr Mandela will address churchgoers at the Lawrence Road Catholic Church in Athlone this morning, after which he will attend a rally and prayer meeting at Langa stadium at 9 am and a church service at Nonswakazi Methodist Church in Guguletu at 11 am. He will then address a rally at Khayelitsha Stadium between 12 and 5 pm. It is expected that up to 50 000 people will attend this rally.

## Mandela rally posters torn down

Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

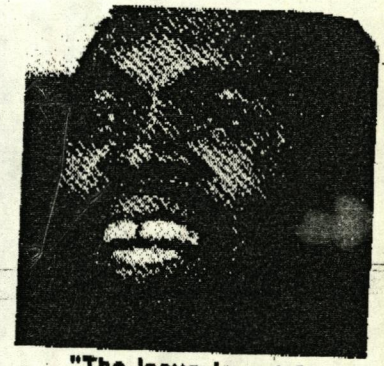
HUNDREDS of African National Congress posters advertising a public rally to be addressed by ANC leader Nelson Mandela in the Cape Town civic centre on Monday night have been torn down, the ANC said yesterday .

ANC spokesperson Sue de Villiers said most of the posters appeared to have been torn down or removed systematically in the southern suburbs area stretching from Wynberg to Rondebosch. Altogether 3 000 posters announcing the rally had been put up. Approval for displaying the posters had been obtained from the Cape Town City Council.

The New Nation
May 9-21

'There should be an immediate transfer of power to the people," Aubrey Mokoena, RMC.

"There must be consultation between leaders and the people," Winnie Mandela.



"The issue is not for the ANC to renounce violence..." Sidney Mufamadi, Cosatu.

# ANC to consider 'truce' deal

**THE AFRICAN National Congress is considering a 'truce' deal made by the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons Group, in a bid to halt the escalating violence in the country.**

By NEW NATION reporters

The proposals apparently call for peace talks between the South African Government and the ANC that would be followed by the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC.

An ANC spokesperson in Lusaka hinted this week that the movement was studying the implications of the reported proposals. He said the organisation had not yet been officially presented with the proposals.

Some ANC sources, however, have expressed concern that the EPG may have extended the mandate it was given at the Bahamas Commonwealth conference last year.

Meanwhile, there is a strong likelihood that the planned May 15 meeting between President PW Botha and the Eminent Persons Group, could lead to the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC.

The recent meeting of western heads of state in Tokyo has now paved the way for another series of talks between the EPG, the South African Government, the ANC and other local leaders.

While welcoming the new round of talks, leaders within the country have cautioned against over-optimism and said negotiations between the government and the ANC could not take place before the scrapping of apartheid.

Winnie Mandela called for a consultation between the leaders and the people.

"Those who are in prison must be released for a joint consultation with the people who elected them," she said.

Congress of SA Trade Unions assistant secretary, Sidney Mufamadi, said the government was being forced into negotiation because of events within the country and internationally.

"The issue is not to get the ANC to renounce violence but for the government to accept that it does not have the support of the majority."

President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak, said the ANC had emerged as the unquestionable movement of the people.

Spokesperson for the Release Mandela Campaign, Aubrey Mokoena said: "There should be an immediate transfer of power to the people."

The Chief Minister of KaNgwane, Enos Mabuza said: "The ANC cannot be wished away. It is a vital fact in working for a political solution for the future of our country.

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Voters scorn the 'reform' polls and black unrest flares

# 1984: A year for the Government to forget

By Gary van Staden, Political Reporter

**That was 1984, that was. The year of George Orwell and of the new era in South African politics which saw the Government implement "reforms", dragging a kicking and screaming right wing every painful step of the way — while having to contend with political unrest worse than that which swept the land in 1976.**

It was, for the Government, a year to forget; and for two disfranchised population groups in South Africa an historic year which brought with it a painful decision — to participate or not to participate.

Seldom have the coloured and Indian communities been so divided. Some high-profile leaders, such as the Rev Allan Hendrickse and Mr Amichand Rajbansi, campaigned hard and long for an acceptance of the new deal as a starting point in the dismantling of apartheid.

"It's just not good enough," said the United Democratic Front, the Azanian People's Organisation and a host of other organisations.

And so when the election campaigns began in late June the major issue was not who or which party to vote for, but whether to vote at all.

On the one side were political parties such as the Labour Party, the National People's Party, Solidarity and the People's Congress Party urging their followers to vote, preferably for them.

Support came from Government Ministers such as Mr P W Botha, Mr Chris Heunis, Mr Pik Botha and Dr Piet Koornhof.

Ranged against the "participate" faction were mainly the UDF and Azapo, with their smaller affiliates lending a hand.

The issue was debated from Pietersburg to Cape Town in an always intensive and sometimes ugly campaign.

In the end the coloured and Indian voters gave their verdict.

Only about 30 percent of registered coloured voters went to the polls. The figure for the Indian community was about 10 percent less. These figures do not include those who never bothered to register. If their numbers are taken into account both percentage polls were lower than 19 percent.

If the Government wanted to know whether its "reforms" went far enough, the election results told it quite plainly that they didn't.

Both election days, August 22 and 28, but particularly the latter, the Indian elections, were marked by violence.

Peaceful demonstrations in Lenasia were disrupted by riot police. In the inevitable course of events violence was met by violence until central Lenasia became a battle zone long into the night.

## Stone-littered streets

In the calm of the morning of August 29 Lenasia streets were littered with stones, empty teargas cartridges and the remains of petrol bombs. The stench of teargas still hung over the satellite city.

The elections were over and there was some prospect of the country returning to normality as Azapo and the UDF celebrated their election boycott victory on that same morning, amid protests from the Government about intimidation and some suggestion that a 20 percent poll was a workable mandate.

The normality lasted until the first weekend in September, when simmering discontent flared briefly in the Vaal Triangle but went almost unnoticed.

# 'Apartheid' problem holds up airline anti-fire test

NEW YORK. — Things at the big, deliberate crash of a Boeing jetliner in the Californian desert may not have gone quite as planned — but at least they went with the Black and White "passengers" firmly integrated and apartheid defeated.

At the last minute, it seems, an "apartheid problem did arise abroad the aircraft which was to be crashed, at a cost of R22 million, to test safety devices.

The jetliner was carrying 73 dummy passengers, all strapped in with their seatbelts fastened.

But the first batch of dummies to arrive at the air force base where the aircraft was being prepared for the crash were all White.

Workers began filling the seats with the dummy passengers from the front to the rear.

The next batch of dummies, from a different manufacturer, were all Black and the workers promptly placed these in the back seats.

But then a foreman became "sensitive" to possible public reaction to photographs showing all the White "passengers" up front, and all the Black "passengers" consigned to the back.

"Heavens, it looked like something out of South Africa" an anguished official said.

So the order to integrate rapidly went out and the dummies were shuffled around.

But the hurried change did not prevent problems during the crash, planned to demonstrate the efectiveness of a new fuel mix designed to prevent the fires that frequently follow airline crashes.

While the new fuel worked in quelling an initial fire after impact, a secondary fire ripped through the aircraft.

It was not immediately clear what caused the fiery outburst that presumably would have quickly killed most if not all the passengers who might have withstood the impact of the crash.

The fuel mix has worked well in scores of on-the-ground tests, and the American Federal Aviation Authority plans to make it compulsory for all commercial airliners by the end of the year.

But Mr Tom Tripp, a spokesman for the Air Transport Association, which represents the country's major air carriers, said yesterday "If anybody needed proof that it was too early for proposing a rule to make the new fuel mandatory, they got it". — Sapa.

# A-Z of politics as PW makes eyes at Chief!

**Tribune Reporter**

AN embryo alliance covering the A to Z of South African politics has been conceived and could grow into a giant in the next decade.

"A" stands for Afrikaner and "Z"for Zulu, the two most dominant language groups in the country without whom no peaceful solution is possible.

It has been disclosed that some of the most influential business leaders in South Africa were instrumental in achieving the recent meeting between President PW Botha and Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu.

The urgency of the need to bring the two leaders together was so great that they had to swallow their personal differences dating back to their last meeting in 1980 which ended in acrimony.

Political strategists believe the country is seeing the start of a potential new alliance that could dominate South Africa in the 1990s.

Further evidence of the Government's new attitude to Chief Buthelezi was this week's news background programme on SABC TV which presented a sympathetic view of the Buthelezi Commission's findings.

Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, Director of the Centre of Applied Social Science in Durban and secretary of the Buthelezi Commission, participated in the programme.

He said this week that all blacks would like a system of one-man-one-vote in a unitary system.

But the commission had found that two thirds or more of "rank-and-file" blacks would be prepared to accept an alternative option.

This would involve black representation at national level although not necessarily on a proportional basis. It would allow for geographic federation.

Inkatha sources believe Chief Buthelezi, leader of the million-strong Inkatha movement and of the Zulu people estimated at between five and seven million, is seen as the only powerful black leader capable of forming a bridge between the existing system and a new order.

Chief Buthelezi makes allowances for white fears and makes provision for a system of geographic federation which could avoid domination by any one group.

Chief Buthelezi's strategy to build up his black power base while retaining white links could thrust him into the centre stage of South Africa by the end of the decade.

# As Africa starves, its appetite for guns grows

**STANLEY UYS in London**

THE RAVAGES of famine in Ethiopia remind one of Dr Henry Kissinger's prediction — 10 years ago — that, within a decade, no child anywhere in the world would go to bed hungry.

In that decade, in fact, the number of starving children in the world has doubled. This year alone, 15-million children are expected to die of starvation.

No fewer than 500-million people — one-eighth of humanity — are said to be suffering from chronic malnutrition.

And nowhere is the situation worse than in Africa, where some 150-million people (one in every three Africans) are threatened with malnutrition or starvation (United Nations figures).

It is difficult for well-fed Western Europeans to conceive of suffering on such a scale.

The world, it is claimed, produces enough food to give every person on earth a nourishing 3 000 calories a day, but transferring the surpluses of the West to the Third World is easier said than done: someone produced those surpluses and someone has to pay for them.

The famine situation should be of particular concern to South Africans, because no fewer than 21 of the world's 34 poorest countries are in sub-Saharan Africa.

A United Nations official estimates that at least seven-million Ethiopians still face severe malnutrition or starvation. "If something drastic is not done in the next 12 months," he said, "at least two-million will die."

The situation in Chad is not much better. That country faces the worst drought in living memory.

Chadians are abandoning rural areas where crops have failed, and there are at least 200 000 displaced persons.

And so the scene unfolds in Africa: the drought has cut swathes of devastation right across the continent.

But it is not only the drought that is responsible. Mistaken agricultural policies, blundering governments, corrupt officials ... all must share the blame.

Sadly, even now in Africa's hour of distress, there are Westerners who are reluctant to contribute to famine relief because they are not sure their donations will not be frittered away or end up on the black market or in the pockets of corrupt administrators.

Africa began its real decline in 1973, when the oil price quadrupled ... a decline that was accelerated in 1979 when the oil price doubled.

Burdened by huge oil bills, African countries were forced to switch from growing their own food to producing cash crops to earn foreign exchange ... crops such as tobacco, cocoa and cotton.

In Guinea Bissau, for example, the sale of groundnuts was banned locally ... the groundnuts had to be exported to earn foreign exchange.

From being part of the staple diet, especially of children, it became a feed for pigs and cows in Europe.

Africa's difficulties have been compounded by the decline in demand for those very cash crops ... the result of the world recession.

Peasants also find themselves farming exhausted land: an estimated 207 200 square kilometres of land is lost this way every year, an area equivalent to the size of England and Scotland.

Africa's other — and related — problem of course is over-population, a problem it shares with the rest of the world.

When the 20th Century began there were fewer than 2 000 million people on earth. By the end of the century there will be more than 6 000 million.

Of this increase, 90% will be in the Third World (200 000 are being born every day in under-developed countries which cannot feed themselves), and nowhere is this Third World population growth higher than in Africa.

Africa's population today stands at 435 million. By the end of the century it will be 817 million ... the highest growth rate in the world.

By the end of the century, too, it is calculated, Africa will have to import 44% of its food. The highest population growth in the world is in Kenya (almost 4%).

Now comes the final irony. In an outstanding television series on ITN here, David Chater pointed out that in the midst of this tragedy Africa's 25 poorest nations are spending R6 000-million a year between them on defence, mostly to fight civil wars, like Ethiopia's war with its provinces of Eritrea and Tigre which has lasted now for almost two decades.

Ethiopia is one of the biggest arms buyers in the region, spending an estimated R1 000-million a year, supplied by the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union, incidentally, is reported to have contributed only 10 000 tons of rice to famine relief in Ethiopia, with whose Marxist government it has close ties.

About 80% of Soviet aid to the Third World goes to its six communist allies.

Last year the Soviet Union sold R12 000-million worth of arms to the Third World yet gave little more than R1,200-million in economic aid.

The West is in the same game. Last year it sold twice as many arms as the Soviet Union to the Third World.

The Reagan Administration increased its military aid to Africa by 157% last year, according to Chater, but reduced its food aid by more than one-third.

Most African states are technically bankrupt. The total foreign debt of 39 sub-Saharan states has soared from R9 167-million in 1976 to more than R81 336-million, with interest payments this year totalling R16 753-million.

And the World Bank projects a further rise in interest payments in 1985-87 to R19 630-million.

But, says Chater, while African governments find it difficult to obtain credit to feed their people, their credit worthiness is "hardly questioned" when they want to borrow to buy arms.

There have been 200 wars in the Third World since 1945, in which millions have died. Chater claims that the Third World, in fact, has become a "testing ground" for the West's conventional weapons. And the appetite for arms is increasing all the time.

Chater concluded his programme by quoting the Brandt "North-South" report: "More arms do not make mankind safer ... only poorer."

Chad could confirm the truth of this observation.

One of the poorest countries in the world, it spends about R1 100-million a year on arms and is growing poorer all the time.

There seems to be no way out of the vicious circle in which so many African countries have been trapped.

**JOHN CHAMBERLAIN**

# A Swiss model for Pretoria?

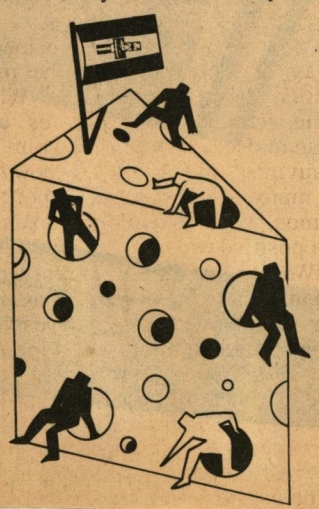
Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi of the South African tribe of Zulus, which is 6 million strong, is not in favor of a so-called unitary government based on the English Westminster model.

Unitary states work well where parliamentary institutions are firmly established and two-party systems respect each other's ins and outs. But in Africa the unitary state falls prey to the strongest tribe. It is happening in Zimbabwe, right next door to South Africa, as it has already happened in Mozambique and Ethiopia.

Mr. Buthelezi has told American black economist Walter Williams that he would like to see something based on the Swiss model for South Africa, a federal system in which the tribes, including the white tribe of the Boers, would have their own guaranteed rights (including the right of property ownership), yet would bow to majority rule in foreign and military policy.

It sounds good, but how would it work out in practice?

In Switzerland, they dispense with personal symbols of authority. Presidents are not chosen by popular vote — they hold office on a rotational system that elevates one member of a seven-person federal council to the top spot for a limited period. In times of peace there is no general for the Swiss army. In five centuries there have been only four generals. They served briefly during such crises as the Franco-Prussian War and World Wars I and II.



Streets are named after them for no more conspicuous service than convincing the "enemy" (Hitler in the latest instance) that the Swiss "porcupine" would leave too many uncomfortable quills in an invading army.

Taxation in Switzerland favors the cantons. In his illuminating book about the Swiss army, John McPhee says that a person who earns, say, 20,000 francs a year in the Canton of Vaud pays taxes of less than a hundred francs to the confederation and 1,800 to the canton.

Yet it is all deceptive — the Swiss federal government remains strong enough for its purpose, which is to defend Switzerland, simply because the Swiss people are the Swiss army, and vice versa. Every family keeps a well-oiled rifle in its home. For three weeks each year Swiss men have compulsory refresher service in the field. The Swiss don't talk about it much, but every important bridge or tunnel is mined for demolition in case of an invasion. As a defense against the atomic bomb there are spaces underground for some 80 percent of the population. There are airstrips in the high mountains, but the hangars are under the rocks.

The officer corps of the Swiss citizen army is drawn primarily from leaders in civilian life. Bankers and insurance men and wine merchants may command artillery corps. Promotions in civilian life may result from friendships formed in the field.

Since there is a singularity of purpose in federal Switzerland, the system works. How well would it apply to Chief Buthelezi's South Africa? Can tribal homelands, as presently constituted, serve as separate cantons? There would first have to be an extensive rearrangement of economic opportunities in various geographical areas.

And for defense, how do you deal with the "enemy" when he is internal? In Switzerland there is no Communist problem. In South Africa the African National Congress is riddled with Communists and their sympathizers.

There will be plenty of problems confronting the Zulu chief before he can create something on the Swiss model in South Africa. But the job must be done to keep the country from going the way of Ethiopia or Zimbabwe. Patience is required. But patience is the last thing in the minds of those who want sanctions applied pronto.

What is more likely than slow adaptation to a cantonal system under a bill of rights is a period of repression followed by general chaos. The Zulu chief has his job cut out for him, and the world should give him both sympathy and aid.

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*John Chamberlain is a nationally syndicated columnist.*

**By Isaac Moledi and Sipho Mthembu**

A TEMBISA MOB dug up the grave of the alleged leader of the notorious Toaster Gang, dragged his body to a taxi rank 5km away and set it alight, apparently in revenge for the attacks which followed his burial on Sunday.

The charred remains of Mr Clement "Yster" Jonase, who was alleged to have conducted a reign of terror in the township before he was shot dead on May 1, were discovered by residents next to Ndayeni Section taxi rank in Tembisa yesterday morning.

Tembisa police said they received information yesterday morning from Jonase's mother, Mrs Mabel Jonase, that his charred body was lying in an open veld.

They said Jonase's body was exhumed by a mob at Emfihlweni shortly after the funeral on Sunday night.

The mob left a poster with the words "*Yster wuye lo oshile, lala Toaster*" (This is the burnt-out body of Yster, rest Toaster) next to the charred remains.

At least one person was killed and six others injured and about 140 houses damaged after they were looted when Inkatha Freedom Party members, returning from Jonase's funeral, went on the rampage on Sunday, police said.

Police spokesman Major Eugene Opperman said police arrested one person after he was found with an AK-47 tucked under his coat during the attack.

He said three people, who were injured and were admitted to the Tembisa Hospital on Sunday night, had stab and hack wounds.

Opperman could not, however, confirm a report from Inkatha that three Inkatha Freedom Party members, among them IFP Tembisa chairman Mr Goodman Mbatha, had sustained gunshot wounds.

He said he believed the burial might have been peaceful if IFP members had not been provoked. But Tembisa residents interviewed yesterday said the attack by Inkatha members in the township was unprovoked.

Another police spokesman, Captain Joseph Moki, confirmed that Jonase was once arrested in connection with the activities of the "Toaster Gang" but was later released "due to some technical legal problems".

This was vehemently rejected yesterday by the IFP, who accused police of "spreading disinformation with the intention of dividing the community".

## Arrests follow Nasrec killings

JOHANNESBURG. — Arrests have been made in connection with the murders of Mr Rudolf Botes and Mr Alfred Dreyer at Nasrec near the FNB stadium on the day of the funeral of SACP leader Mr Chris Hani.

A brief statement issued by the police in Pretoria yesterday said police last Friday received a call on the Crime Stop numberfrom someone offering information on the identities of people involved in the killings.

"The matter is still under investigation and the names of the suspects cannot yet be made known," the police statement said. — Sapa

## Goldstone calls for joint review

PRETORIA. — A meeting to review past and future mass action and demonstrations should be urgently convened between the African National Congress' tripartite alliance, police and the Peace Secretariat, said Goldstone Commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone yesterday.

His comment was made here at a preliminary inquiry into the violence following the death of SACP leader Mr Chris Hani.

Earlier, counsel for the SAP submitted the ANC alliance's proposed mass action campaign should not be permitted because of the threat of more violence. — Sapa

## Call for ideas on protection

PRETORIA. — Goldstone Commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone has requested political parties to make submissions on the subject of protection for political leaders.

Mr Justice Goldstone, who is chairing a preliminary inquiry into the violence which erupted during mass demonstrations in the wake of the assassination of SACP leader Mr Chris Hani, said yesterday that the safety of senior-, middle- and lower-level political leaders, regardless of their political affiliation, was of national concern. If any should come to harm it could lead to public violence. — Sapa

# Row expected today at multi-party talks

**Own Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — A row is expected to erupt at today's multi-party talks between the government and the ANC on the one hand, and Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) on the other.

ANC and government sources said they were concerned the Cosag parties would stall the talks and would latch onto "any conceivable excuse as they demonstrated on Monday".

This would cause "a substantial row", particularly from the ANC as its secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, has no intention of allowing a repeat of Monday's proceedings where no real negotiations took place.

Today, the 26 parties are due to discuss the violence and the formation of six technical committees to examine key transitional issues.

These are an independent electoral commission, media commission and telecommunications authority, a transitional executive council and sub councils, the repeal and amendment of repressive legislation, the strengthening of the peace accord and the formation of a peace corps.

# An urgent need for meaningful change

**THIS article concludes the summary of the statement made by Dr Chester Crocker before the U S Senate Africa subcommittee on the Reagan Administration's policy towards South Africa.**

**THE STARTING point in this administration's approach to South Africa and southern Africa was to recognise the nature of U S influence in a regional context and to identify those constructive things we can do to advance our goals.**

We are one element in a complex regional equation. Our approach is to engage ourselves positively, to add our weight in support of American value, to back ideas, institutions and groups that can add to a dynamic for change, to propose alternatives, to open doors and build bridges — not the reverse.

In the South African context much of our influence derives, we believe, from the self-image of the South African leadership and the white minority generally as part of the West as well as of Africa struggling to preserve its identity, to maintain its security and to avoid international isolation.

## *Siege mentality grew*

Such attitudes for much of the post-World War II period were accompanied by complacency interrupted by sudden shocks as occurred with the Portuguese revolution, the spread of decolonisation to Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and the Soweto riots of 1976.

Gradually in the past decade complacency gave way to a siege mentality, heightened by internal outbursts of black anger and alienation, by an increase in cross-border guerilla violence, by the projection of Soviet-Cuban military power into the region and by increasingly strident Western criticism of the South African system.

Digging in its heels, the Afrikaner establishment ... developed an elaborate vision of itself as a regional superpower prepared to go it alone if necessary, to hang on to Namibia, and bring maximum pressure to bear on neighbours which are the host for guerilla movements. The siege mentality included, at the time President Reagan took office, a determination above all to maintain Afrikaner ethnic unity inside the National Party and a highly abstract commitment to domestic reform ...

ty was hostile to serious reform we moderated our public rhetoric in an effort to persuade the Government there to respond to the realities of the South African situation itself.

This is not the place to recount in detail sustained diplomatic efforts to reverse the escalating cycle of violence that risked engulfing the region in the early 1980s.

But that effort — to obtain an internationally accepted settlement in Namibia on the basis of UNSCR Resolution 435, to reduce cross-border violence in both directions between South Africa and its neighbours, and to encourage a regional climate of detente and the withdrawal of foreign forces from the area — has been part and parcel of our South African policy.

Our message to the South Africans has been to stress the benefits of co-operation and negotiation within an agenda we have put forward to all governments in the region.

We have spelled out the costs and risks of failure, in terms of South African interests and our bilateral relationship.

We believe the effort to define and build on areas of common interest and mutual benefit throughout southern African is far preferable to simply accepting the drift toward polarisation and violence.

We strongly doubt that serious internal reform in South Africa is likley in a climate of constant fighting with adversaries along its borders.

We know that U S regional interests and those of our allies are best served by a regional climate of greater stability, enhanced economic growth, and reduced openings for external intervention.

Today, three years later, we believe there is clear evidence of progress toward a more favourable climate for limited extent, offers opportunities for wider political participation.

Even this slight expansion of political rights to coloureds and Asians has been seen by some whites as a threat and the 'thin edge of the wedge'.

The fact that the new constitution made no provision for the inclusion of the 73 percent of the South African population who are black was bound to reinforce black bitterness.

This administration has been consistent in pointing out this fundamental flaw in the new constitution and our opposition to the attempt to 'denationalise' blacks by declaring them citizens of the so-called homelands.

Nevertheless, it would be premature to dismiss the new willingness of the whites to support the concept of reform or to dismiss the potential of the new constitution for stimulating future change.

The very exclusion of blacks ironically has forced the future political role of blacks on top of the public agenda. President Botha indicated as much in his inaugural address.

has stressed that the new system requires dialogue not only among whites, coloureds and Asians but also with blacks.

The burden now is on the Government to recognise and invite valid black interlocutors to the table. This is a process we encourage, even if we have no direct role in it, and do not presume to come up with prescriptive formulas.

A second feature of our efforts to back change is our quiet diplomacy on behalf of specific improvements and concrete problems of human rights and civil rights.

By definition, one cannot discuss publicly the content of specific efforts. Nonetheless, while we recognise that the major impetus for change must come from within we have actively concerned ourselves on several fronts to seek concrete improvements: our interest in such issues as detentions and bannings — until recently, dramatically reduced — urban residency rights for blacks, forced removals of settled black communities, and the issuance of travel documents and visas have been proud.

FINALLY, I would be remiss in not saying a brief word about our regional efforts and accomplishments in southern Africa. Today, after three years of active diplomacy with all regional states concerned and our allies, we are closer to the threshold of Namibian independence than ever before.

The underbrush has been cleared away.

Though negotiations are at a sensitive stage we have reason to believe we may be close to the fundamental political decisions on implementing resolution 435 and an agreement on the Cuban-troop issue in Angola.

We have identified the basis for a settlement and are committed to succeed.

On a broader regional basis, the level of cross-border violence in southern Africa is sharply reduced. In spite of fundamental political differences neighbours are increasingly sensitive to the responsibilities of coexistence.

Contact and communication are on the increase.

The U S role is one of a catalyst. Where that role is welcomed by both sides we will play it.

Let me make clear, however, that we are not party to any effort to impose a standard formula on relations between South Africa and its neighbours. Each relationship is distinct and stands on its own merits.

The dramatic example of Mozambique and South Africa concluding a formal political agreement met the needs of those two catalysts.

Where that role is welcomed by both sides we will play it.

Coexistence can take many forms.

What we do support, however, is a regional climate of dialogue that gives negotiation and peaceful change a chance.

We can be proud that the doctrines of guerilla violence and the garrison state have been set aside — at least for now — as the parties explore other roads.

We wish them all well.

## More favourable climate

A central element of US policy for the past three years has been to address both the complacency and the siege mentality I have described, and to encourage the emergence of a more favourable climate for change.

Repeatedly, we have emphasised the imperative of basic change while making clear that we recognise that such change entails a process, not a single decision.

In our dialogue with South Africans of all races we have made clear our view that meaningful change is an urgent matter. At the same time we have stressed that such change can only flow from consultation and negotiation within South Africa and among all South Africans.

We do not seek to impose an American blueprint. Recognising that the cult of Afrikaner unichange.

Today the state of relations between the United States and South Africa matters very much to the South African leadership; the closeness or distance in that relationship depends heavily on internal change, evidence of momentum, and progress toward regional security.

Our conscious effort to relax the siege mentality no doubt played a part in enabling then Prime Minister — now President — Botha, to take the bold decision to put forward constitutional proposals which cost the National Party one-third of its core Afrikaner constituency and gained it new white voters beyond Afrikaner ranks.

It is an irony that the turmoil of the past days and weeks and the repression used to suppress it should have coincided with the introduction of a constitution which, to a

## Will add impetus

The departure from 'whites only' politics may well prove to have a substantial effect on those who govern South Africa. The very fact that participation in the coloured and Asian elections was so low will add further impetus to existing pressure on newly elected members of their chambers to fight for change.

We do not believe the debate over whether this new constitution represents a step forward can be resolved only by future historians.

For our part we believe that, whatever the intentions of its authors, it is an irreversible step.

Its effect — precisely because of widespread boycotts — will be to accelerate the reappraisal of future options among whites and to further erode complacency.

We remain confident that there is a new dynamic at work in South Africa, driven by socio-economic and political requirements.

This is by no means contradicted by the unrest and rioting of the past weeks.

We are urging the South African Government to recognise that repression provides no lasting answer to this problem.

We hope it will recognise that it is in its own interest to release those recently detained quickly, or, at the very least to charge those it has decided to put on trial without delay, so that they have a chance to defend themselves in a court of law.

We have taken note that President Botha himself, in his inaugural address,

widely recognised in South Africa's human-rights community — in sharp contrast to the distant critics who may afford the luxury of dismissing such matters as 'mere amelioration' of the current system. We will remain engaged in such endeavours.

A third element of our approach has been to provide concrete, tangible support of those groups, institutions and processes which are essential to change in South Africa.

Through deepened contact with those who are on apartheid's receiving end and who seek the tools to promote peaceful black advancement we have defined a series of assistance programmes of which Americans can be

# A black American activist brings a new agenda to social investment.

ing. Sometimes, however, the project suffers because of the connection, Mr. McLeod said.

"I've seen lots of mismatched projects here," he said. "The guidelines between funders and needs of the recipient have no meeting place. If companies only seek to improve their own portfolios, it's hard to imagine that recipients will be enthusiastic." He added, "I've found that the people in local groups know best what they need and how to go about it."

An example is the teachers' training center near here in Alexandra, one of South Africa's poorest black townships. The center helps teachers become computer-literate, a skill badly needed in black schools, where math and science training — for teachers as well as students — has been notoriously deficient. The trust has helped fund the center.

Indeed, there is great demand throughout the country for people who are trained in information technology. And that, Mr. McLeod said, is where he hopes to make a difference.

For instance, Lotus and Wordperfect worked together here on software to help a national food distribution project go online. More of these joint ventures are among the long-term goals of Mr. McLeod.

As a black American, Mr. McLeod said he has a special mission. "The distance in well-being and quality of life between the population of color and the white population is stunning when you see it, and most people underestimate the efforts required to bridge that gap," he said. "I certainly did."

Moving here, he said, "felt like I was coming home." And now that he is here, he has no intention of leaving soon. "For people interested in contributing their skills, there's a whole career path," he said. ■

□ **AT THE READY: Members of a Pietermaritzburg township defence unit keep a night-long vigil**

THE NATAL MERCURY

# ANC TIME WARP

BARRING ANY further upsets, Mr Nelson Mandela's meeting with President de Klerk this afternoon, his qualified acceptance of the Government's new security measures, and his willingness to put peace talks with Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi back on track are encouraging developments in an otherwise confusing scene.

It would serve no purpose here to go into who is to blame for what. That will have to be left to proper fact-finding inquiry and the judgement of history.

What is imperative is that the vicious spiral of carnage and destruction in Natal should be stopped so that festering wounds can be healed and shattered communities rebuilt. In the short term that is a task for the police and the army; in the long term, a supreme challenge to the statesmanship of all concerned.

It is also enormously encouraging that there is now wide international understanding and acceptance of the essential dynamics of the process set in motion by Mr de Klerk on February 2. The perspective is broader, the response more even-handed.

Mr Herman Cohen, who shapes the United States Government's Africa policy, describes the present phase, traumatic though it is, as 'just a bump in the road' which should not deter progress. We tend to agree. And there will be more bumps along the road on which there is no turning back.

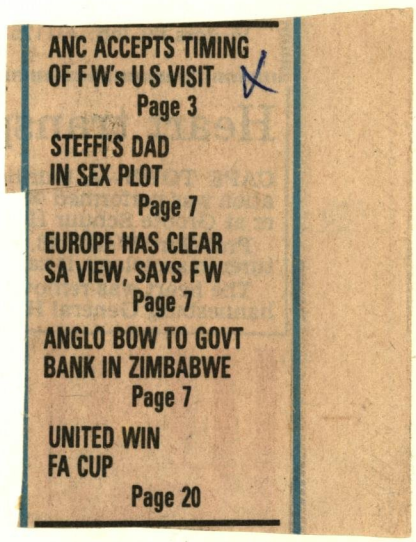
The British Foreign Office says the violence calls for more negotiation, not less, and that it is important for blacks to resolve their differences.

There is a lot of distracting political static in the air: apparent misunderstandings over meeting places, criticism of the Minister of Law and Order and evident pique that he consulted some leaders and not others, and criticism of the Government's 'unilateral' security action.

Mr Mandela also talks of police bias and loss of credibility. Undoubtedly there are problems here. But he should remember that for years the ANC has specifically designated the police, their homes and their families as legitimate targets in the 'armed struggle'. And they have suffered grievously. Homeland leaders and institutions have also been prime targets of the ANC and its affiliates. If that has changed, we have yet to hear of it.

And that, as we see it, is the central problem at the moment. The ANC is caught in a sort of time warp. It talks of peace but beats muffled war drums. It cries for law and order but subtly undermines the forces of law and order. It says it wants to negotiate but baulks at the first hurdles.

We have some sympathy for these men who stand blinking uncertainly in the light of a new dawn after years of incarceration and exile. But if they wish to avoid the suspicion of working to a hidden agenda they must move quickly to resolve serious anomalies and contradictions in their post-February-2 position.



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# ANC calls off talks with govt

● MANDELA

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday called off talks with government in the wake of killings in the Vaal Triangle township of Boipatong.

Addressing 20 000 angry supporters in Evaton a day after President F W de Klerk's aborted visit to the area, Mandela said he had instructed ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa — who was due to lead an ANC delegation in talks with government tomorrow — not to have further direct dealings with government.

He had also called an emergency meeting of of ANC national executive committee for tomorrow to "examine our options in light of what has happened".

ANC spokesmen said later that Codesa committee meetings would go ahead as planned — for the time being. Only bilateral talks with government would be affected at present.

Acting President Pik Botha said last night urgent talks with the ANC were necessary to consider the facts surrounding Wednesday's massacre of 39 people in Boipatong. He issued a statement reaffirming government's commitment to negotiations, but said the ANC had not responded yesterday to an invitation to talks.

In his speech, Mandela directly blamed government for the massacre and likened De Klerk and Inkatha to Nazis.

"I can no longer explain to our people why we continue to talk to a government which is murdering our people. The negotiation process is completely in tatters," he told the emotional crowd, which frequently taunted the ANC leadership with cries such as: "You are acting like lambs while the enemy is killing our people."

Describing the massacres at Boipatong and Slovo Park as the "one of the most horrific incidents during the NP's brutal reign", Mandela said he had come back to

**DUMA GQUBULE**

the area where the Sharpeville massacre of 1960 had occured to find it repeated with a ferocity that could put an end to negotiations. SA would never be the same again after what had happened at Boipatong and Slovo Park.

"We have gone back to the Sharpeville days. The gulf between the oppressor and the oppressed has become unbridgeable."

Mandela called on the anti-apartheid movement to intensify pressure against government and not to be in a hurry to ease sanctions.

He would also request the UN secretary-general to call a special meeting of its security council to discuss the killings. "I will address that meeting," he said.

He said "faceless murderers" had been working closely with De Klerk and his police. De Klerk and his regime had to bear full responsibility for the violence.

"Just as the Nazis in Germany killed people because they were Jews, in SA De Klerk, the NP and Inkatha are killing people because they are black.

"If the hostels had been transformed into family units, as government had promised, all the people killed on Wednesday would have been alive and free today."

Referring to De Klerk's visit to Boipatong on Saturday, after which police shot and killed three people and wounded several more, Mandela said he was now certain the NP had started an election campaign among blacks.

Apparently alluding to the possible announcement by the President of a state of emergency, Mandela said: "Let me warn him that the introduction of anti-democratic measures will result in a defiance campaign with myself leading the campaign."

He said the day the funeral was held for the victims of the Boipatong massacre should be a day of mourning throughout the country. "We want all our people to stay in their homes and close their businesses."

The ANC had proposed the establishment of a disaster fund to be adminstered by the Red Cross for all victims of violence countrywide. Mandela said his organisation had contributed an initial R100 000. He hoped government would support the fund and more than match the R8m of taxpayers' money that it had given to Inkatha.

In his statement, Botha blamed the ANC's mass action campaign for heightening tensions. Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel repeated the accusation on last night's Agenda programme on TV.

☐ To Page 2

☐ National peace accord chairman John Hall said last night all key signatories yesterday had recommitted themselves to the accord. He said a key July 30 meeting should be brought forward in light of the Boipatong massacre. Page 2

☐ The death toll in Reef townships continued to rise yesterday. Five people were shot dead at a Vosloorus shebeen, while five died when gunmen attacked a hostel in Dobsonville, Soweto. Page 2

☐ New Zealand Labour Party leader Jim Anderton has called for the All Blacks rugby tour of SA in August to be reconsidered because of the violence. New Zealand Rugby Union chairman Eddie Tonks said no discussions on cancelling the tour had taken place.

☐ President F W de Klerk left for a four-day visit to Spain last night. He will meet King Juan Carlos and visit SA's pavilion at a trade fair. Foreign Minister Pik Botha has been sworn in as Acting President.

## ANC

☐ From Page 1

"The ANC also knows that the police alone cannot change the climate of violence in this country. There is a responsibility which rests on all leaders to call for calm from their followers and to act in a reconciliatory manner."

It served no useful purpose to sling accusations at one other without some self-examination.

Botha said government was deeply shocked at the butchery at Boipatong.

Our Cape Town correspondent reports that Constitutional Development Minister and government's chief negotiator Roelf Meyer said Mandela's announcement was "a major setback and I think they (the ANC) planned it that way".

Minister of State Gerrit Viljoen described the ANC's move as a shock. "It's a matter of great and fundamental importance," he said.

NP information director Piet Coetzer said his party was "very, very concerned" by the latest turn of events.

● Picture: Page 3
● Comment: Page 6

THE CITIZEN

# ANC demand can bring civil war — Buthelezi

ULUNDI. — Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that the ANC's "totally destructive, ill-conceived and power-grabbing" ultimatum to President F W de Klerk could provoke civil war in South Africa.

He urged President F W de Klerk to inform the world of the seriousness of the new situation and seek the help of freedom-loving nations in curbing the ANC's "lust for power".

And he suggested strongly that the ANC's hawks had out-manoeuvred moderates like Messrs Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki in an attempt virtually to wreck the negotiating process.

The government could not recover from meeting the ANC national executive committee's demands, and the ANC would now not be able to recover from not continuing to make them, the Chief Minister and Inkatha president told the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in a special statement.

He pointed out that radical reform in South Africa was already totally unstoppable. There was nothing in current politics (until the advent of the ANC's ultimatum) that could be regarded as a threat to the emergence of democracy.

Now, however, "we face the crisis from which the prospects of the proposed negotiations may not recover from one totally destructive, ill-conceived, power-grabbing attempt by the ANC and its Communist Party ally to thwart the whole process."

Simply put, the ANC had made what it knew to be totally impossible demands which it knew would not be met.

After listing the demands in the ultimatum, Dr Buthelezi said the driving forces in the ANC's military and violent wing had now pushed it into a "no-return" position, setting the stage for a power-grabbing attempt which had always been the radicals' intention.

They had never had any intention of negotiating themselves into a position in which the ANC would simply be one party among many. Their timing had been "exquisitely correct" if it was destruction that was intended.

The SA Government could not survive if it gave in to the ANC demands. The NP would break up under the resultant internal conflict and a very substantial proportion of its supporters would go to the CP or even the AWB.

"What the ANC is actually doing is making the kind of demands which would precipitate what would be nothing less than a civil war in South Africa."

Dr Buthelezi questioned whether the new development arose from a bid for power by the ANC's Chris Hani radicals (against the "moderate nationalist faction led by Dr Mandela and Mr Thabo Mbeki") or a mobilisation of the NEC's Communist Bloc votes by Mr Joe Slovo.

Mr Mandela had had the courage to "cock a political snoot" at the radicals when he met him (Buthelezi) in Durban on January 29. And only six days before the "fateful open letter" to the State President, the IFP and ANC leaders had met for five and a half hours.

It was Dr Mandela who had then talked about the need for them to address joint rallies. This had not been a Dr Mandela "who was about to wreck the politics of negotiation (and) who was planning a renewed open declaration of war against the Inkatha Freedom Party". — Sapa.

# ANC man gunned down

● From Page 1

Richmond road when the car was fired on.

Hadebe, who was in the passenger seat next to Jeffreys, was hit in the neck. Jeffreys drove to Ixopo Hospital but, accoring to Martins, they could not receive treatment there and Jeffreys drove to Maritzburg.

On Monday night, seven IFP supporters from the Ezimeleni squatter camp in Umlazi were massacred.

According to Umlazi IFP Youth Brigade chairman Mzwandile Sabelo, 10 balaclava-clad gunmen wearing camouflage uniforms knocked on the doors of homes in the camp, claiming to be security force members.

"As the victims opened the doors, they were shot," Sabelo said.

Six people were killed. Sabelo said three of the bodies were burnt and four houses razed.

According to Sabelo, a seventh man was shot dead by security forces. A KwaZulu Police spokesman said he could not confirm the shooting of the seventh man by security forces, but said a seventh body was found with bullet wounds.

The IFP said two men, believed to be ANC members from Glebelands hostel, were arrested.

The latest deaths continued the pattern of attacks between IFP and ANC supporters that culminated in the weekend massacres at Folweni and Mpushini which left 26 dead.

Deputy Law and Order Minister Gert Myburgh announced yesterday that a special SAP team had been appointed to investigate the weekend massacres.

The team will be headed by former Durban Murder and Robbery Unit head Captain Hendrik Engelbrecht.

# ANC and NP views converge

□ From Page 1

of privatised apartheid and inequalities.

**A federal or unitary state.** Both agree that there should be three levels of government — central, regional and local.

The ANC, however, favours a strong central government with powers to redress historical imbalances in housing, education and health care. It proposes that there be elected forms of regional and local government. They would "exercise delegated powers but will have wide discretion in regard to the priorities to be pursued at these levels".

In a speech to provincial administrators in Natal last year, President De Klerk said the NP favoured expanding the powers of regional and local government to prevent any one group from monopolising power.

Dullah Omar, a senior member of the ANC's constitutional committee, said this was contrary to everything for which the liberation movement, including the ANC, had fought for decades.

**A two-tier Parliament.** The National Assembly, both parties propose, should be elected on a one-person-one-vote, proportional representation basis.

The parties' proposals for the Senate, however, differ radically.

The ANC proposes that the Senate be elected by universal suffrage and make provision for regional representation.

The NP believes that all parties in the National Assembly should be granted equal representation in the Senate.

The ANC proposes that the Senate be the guardian of the constitution with power to refer disputes about the constitution to the appropriate court for a decision. It would be able to delay legislation but not veto it.

The NP-envisaged Senate would have the power of veto. It would also have to approve by a two-thirds majority any attempt to change the constitution. The ANC proposes that amendments to the constitution be approved by a two-thirds majority of only the National Assembly or by a two-thirds majority in a national referendum.

Mr Omar said this week that the government's proposal for a new parliamentary structure would be unacceptable to the ANC because it was designed to frustrate majority rule.

This was because while the government accepted the need for one House elected on a one-person-one-vote nonracial basis, it proposed a structure for the second House which would in effect nullify the democratic principle and majority rule.

**The Presidency.** The ANC has suggested that the head of the executive be a State President but has not committed itself on whether he should be elected by the public or Parliament.

It proposes that he act in consultation with a Cabinet headed by a Prime Minister. The President would appoint both the Cabinet and Prime Minister.

The NP proposes that a Prime Minister be elected by the National Assembly and be the prime mover in government.

The President, it believes, should be elected by the Senate and serve as the guardian of minority rights and act as mediator when the two Houses disagree.

The NP also believes that the composition of the Cabinet should reflect on a proportional representation basis the state of the parties in the National Assembly. As an an alternative, it has proposed that the Cabinet consist of non-parliamentary ministers in much the same way as the US Cabinet does.

**The public service.** The ANC document proposes that a public service commission should have as one of its tasks the implementing of "an affirmative action programme in regard to appointments to senior positions in order to redress existing race and gender disparities".

"Provision will be made for a representative structuring of the public service and the defence services," it says.

Dr Viljoen declined to comment on the ANC document as it was still the subject of internal debate within the ANC.

In its proposals the ANC has also suggested the appointment of:

- An independent ombudsman with powers "to investigate complaints against members of the public service including the police and other holders of public and private power and to investigate allegations of corruption".
- A human rights commission to ensure that violations of human rights are investigated.

16/1/91

## *De Klerk and Mandela's hard-sell campaign paying off*

# Angling for big buck

DAILY NEWS

**Nelson Mandela and F.W. de Klerk may not be working in tandem, but their efforts are bringing in investment rewards. This report from Daily News Correspondents in Washington.**

PRESIDENT de Klerk's and ANC leader Nelson Mandela's hard-sell campaigns to attract investment here in the US capital are making an impact.

Potential investors are sitting up and taking notice of South Africa as an investment destination, according to a wide range of sources who have watched the two leaders in action over the past few days.

The two are conducting seemingly uncoordinated but remarkably similar drives to reassure potential investors that South Africa is a safe place for their money.

Mr Mandela addressed hundreds of top political and corporate leaders at the World Economic Development Congress here at the weekend and promised foreign investors, security of investment, repatriation of profits and dividends, competitive rates of taxation and stable and predictable public policies.

Mr de Klerk told the same gathering that consensus was rapidly emerging on economic policy, citing the recent agreements on the final debt repayment to foreign bankers, the terms of the offer to the Gatt Uruguay Round and the approach towards seeking IMF assistance.

South African officials believe the two chose the perfect time to make their pitch, riding the wave of interest excited by the lifting of sanctions and exploiting a captive audience of influential political and financial leaders gathered for the annual IMF and World Bank meetings.

Wall Street security firms and development bankers have expressed surprise at the level of interest in investing in South Africa that has been generated here. Boe Marsh, president of Saicor Securities Inc, a firm devoted to South Africa, says 90% of firms on Wall Street want to know more about South Africa.

Today, the climate for investment will be further improved. Finance Minister Derek Keys will boost credit-worthiness by announcing the final deal for the repayment of foreign debt caught in the standstill net. Sources in the development community believe this will boost investor confidence that South Africa is a good credit risk.

Meanwhile, a $850-million (R2,9b) IMF drought-relief loan is virtually assured, needing only a few technicalities to be concluded.

■ International Monetary Fund managing director Michel Camdessus said after meeting Mr Mandela at the weekend that he was eager to channel within days the first multilateral assistance to South Africa since sanctions were first erected in the early 1980s.

"I look forward in the following days to the preparation of the first disbursement from the IMF to compensate for the dramatic drop in exports," Mr Camdessus said.

**See Pages 4, 7 and 8**

AN Inkatha supporter gets the crowd going at Umlazi's King Zwelithini Stadium. **Pictures: STEVEN NAIDOO**

A ZULU warrior listens attentively at the Shaka's Day commemoration rally.

MANGOSUTHU Buthelezi asked for the dc each to create "protection units

# R5 tax 'not a call to arms'

**Political Staff**

KWAZULU Chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has denied that his calls to Zulus to contribute R5 each for the formation of Zulu "protection units" was a call to arms.

Speaking at a Shaka's Day commemoration rally in Umlazi's King Zwelithini Stadium yesterday, the IFP leader urged Zulus to pay the money by today at the latest so that protection units could be formed to counter the attacks on the Zulu nation.

Dr Buthelezi said the units would be formed from the end of next month, adding: "We intend doing this openly, legally and without getting anyone's permission."

Thousands of people gathered at the stadium to hear King Goodwill Zwelithini speak. Monitors from the United Nations, Commonwealth Observer Mission and the structures of the National Peace Accord were present.

Both Dr Buthelezi and the Zulu monarch launched scathing attacks on the participants at the multi-party negotiations and the Transitional Executive Council, saying the National Party Government and its negotiation partners were determined to obliterate KwaZulu as a political force.

King Goodwill said the multi-party forum was being used by major political parties to launch attacks against the Zulu nation.

The king warned that he would not let this happen.

Addressing thousands of ANC supporters who attended a three-day cultural festival in Kwa-Ximba near Cato Ridge, fiery ANC youth league leader Peter Mokaba said South Africans must chose "between the ballot or the bullet".

Any attempts to postpone the forthcoming elections would lead to more violence in the country.

He went on to say that IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi should stop making threats about civil war because he did not have a monopoly over the use of violence.

He warned that ANC members did not stop fighting to negotiate because they were cowards but because they were committed to peace.

# Alliance grasps nettle of absolute deadline

**DALE LAUTENBACH**
Weekend Argus
Political Staff

THE absolute deadline of January 24 for a constitutional settlement has been grasped by the Freedom Alliance which, without Ciskei, will seek talks with government and ANC next week.

"Yes, this is it," acknowledged Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi after talks with fellow FA leaders in Pretoria yesterday.

Previous deadlines have come and gone but this time the FA seems to consider the January 24 target as the last.

"After that there will be just 90 days to elections," said FA chairman Rowan Cronje.

"I hope and pray," said Mr Buthelezi, placing the ball firmly in the government and ANC court as the parties which should move to accommodate the FA.

Crucially, the FA now considers its position to have reached what Mr Cronje characterised as "the bottom line".

The group is working from a document of its constitutional positions as they stood on December 19 last year.

Mr Cronje stressed that these positions — on issues from the powers and functions of regions to the number of ballot papers in the election — had been reached in negotiation with government. In other words they constituted the FA's compromise positions from which they will not budge they say.

The FA leadership met from 10 am yesterday and when they called in the Press at 2 pm, they appeared in relatively good spirits having decided to go ahead in trilateral talks with government and the ANC once more.

The decision hinged on a meeting on Thursday night between Mr Cronje and his Kwazulu colleague Ben Ngubane and government's Roelf Meyer and ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa.

It appears that what unlocked the stalemate in which talks had ended late last year, was the loosening up of a government-ANC demand that the FA should commit itself now to the understanding that, if agreement was reached, they would support the transitional structures, the constitution and the elections.

The FA insists that it should reach agreement first and then make the commitment and Mr Cronje, while not wanting to say in so many words that government and ANC had backed down, confirmed that the FA would not change this position.

General Tienie Groenewald of the Afrikaner Volksfront told reporters the government and ANC had indeed "dropped" their demand for an immediate commitment.

Mr Cronje did not expect the trilateral talks to begin before Wednesday next week and he thought too that it would certainly take more than one meeting to sort out an agreement if one were possible.

"We have no idea what the ANC's position on these (FA) issues are," he said. Government had "some clarity", he said.

It has been acknowledged that there is even quite substantial agreement between government and the FA on the powers and functions of regions and their financing but the ANC has not discussed present positions on these matters directly with the FA.

Further, one of the most intractable issues on the agenda still appears to be the issue of a volkstaat.

Mr Cronje named self-determination as one of the FA demands but the white far-right definition of self-determination involving a separate area in which whites remain dominant through differentiated citizenship is anathema to the ANC.

# ANC bid for stake in SA's TV industry

**MANDY JEAN WOODS**
Weekend Argus Correspondent

THEBE Investments, the African National Congress's investment company, is investigating options for becoming a player in the television broadcasting industry.

Thebe, through its wholly-owned subsidiary Sports Afrique Investments (SAI), has opened discussions with a recently established television company Videosat, about the possibility of becoming a shareholder in the company.

Videosat holds the licence to broadcast the CNN International 24-hour subscription service as well as programming in South Africa from an American channel, Black Entertainment Television (BET).

In a statement yesterday, SAI chairman Moss Mashishi said he could confirm SAI had been "exploring and evaluating" the possibility of entering the electronic media industry.

However, he added, "any speculation about the form of the involvement of Thebe or SAI in this industry is merely conjecture", he said.

SAI last month announced it had acquired an 18 percent stake in the gambling and lottery management company called Games Africa.

# ANC economic plan 'could still change'

From GRETA STEYN

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC alliance's Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which will define an ANC-led government's economic policy, could change substantially between now and the election, spokesmen for the organisation said yesterday.

Former Cosatu secretary general Jay Naidoo told a media briefing in Johannesburg: "We want a public debate on the policy options of a democratic government. The document is part of a process; it is not cast in stone. It is not a blueprint."

The RDP will be the most important topic on the agenda of this weekend's ANC conference here.

Also on the agenda will be the finalisation of the election manifesto, which will draw heavily on the RDP.

Possible areas of change as a result of debate at the conference include the controversial proposal that mineral rights revert back to the state and the section referring to nationalisation.

## Nationalisation mineral rights issues 'on table'

A further aspect likely to be discussed intensely is the fiscal constraint faced by a new government.

A deficit limit of 6% has been set, which is in line with the IMF's present requirements from SA but leaves little room for manouevre.

The RDP, which was released for public comment last week, has come under fire from political parties and the business sector, with some opponents arguing it was a "pie-in the-sky" return to old-style socialism.

ANC economics head Trevor Manuel yesterday defended the inclusion of nationalisation as a policy option in the document, saying the RDP was a grassroots project. Some Cosatu-affiliated unions had pushed hard for flexibility on the issue, he said.

The RDP does not state the case for nationalisation, but says it should be considered as an option when assessing the balance of evidence for restructuring the public sector.

Manuel noted the response to the RDP from business had been much more muted than the "predictable" scathing reaction from political opponents.

As an example, he cited the Chamber of Mines's response to the proposal in the RDP that mineral rights revert back to the state.

Further talks would be held with business in the next few weeks, in the hope of conveying the message that "a national endeavour" was needed.

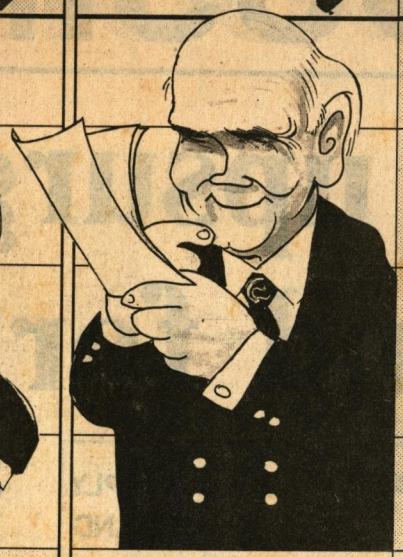
Figures committing the democratic government to spending 3% of GDP on capital investment by the end of a ten-year period ending in 2004, creating 2,5 million jobs over the period, were omitted from the draft released to the press.

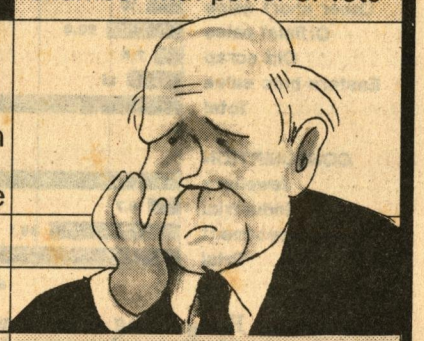
## African National Congress (ANC)

| GAINS ✔ | LOSSES ✖ |
|---|---|
| A democratically elected constitutional assembly | |
| The new non-racial constitution drafted by a popularly elected constituent assembly | |
| The adoption of the new constitution by a two-thirds majority | |
| Final decisions made by the constituent assembly | |
| | No power-sharing |
| | No federalism |
| | A nationalised & centralised command economy |
| Timing only | A justiciable bill of rights |

## National Party (NP)

| GAINS ✔ | LOSSES ✖ |
|---|---|
| | A rotating troika presidency with perpetual power-sharing |
| | The new non-racial constitution drafted by a multi-party conference |
| | The adoption of the new constitution by 70% for general clauses & 75% for clauses relating to regional affairs |
| | Constituent assembly to be vetted by a second chamber with power of veto |
| A Transitional Government of National Unity (TGNU) in which power will be shared between all parties obtaining five percent of the vote | |
| Autonomous regions | |
| A market economy | |
| Timing only | A justiciable bill of rights |





GRAPHIC: NICKY TAYLOR, LIZ WARDER

rial in the conservative newspaper, The Citizen.

"If the government makes any more concessions," the newspaper states, "it might as well give up now and hand the country over to the ANC, since the ANC is getting its way on most vital issues."

But against that it can be argued — and is by DKA loyalists — that the DKA has kept its head in a difficult process and successfully advanced its key objectives. Its steadfast defence of its overall objectives has been combined with flexibility over the mechanisms for achieving them, DKA men reckon.

The core objectives are defined as power-sharing, federalism (as a way of dividing and therefore sharing power), a market economy, a justiciable Bill of Rights and — associated with it — constitutional guarantees against domination of one group by another.

The proposed transitional government of national unity (TGNU) — in which power will be shared between all parties obtaining five percent of the vote in the constituent assembly elections in proportion to their showing in the poll — is a form of power-sharing, whatever objections the ANC may have to the phrase.

The TGNU will not necessarily last longer than five years after the elections, a limitation which causes conservatives to scornfully assert that the DKA has been outmanoeuvred. A rejoinder is, however, in order.

The DKA's achievement in negotiating a deal which will give De Klerk's NP a guaranteed role in the governance of South Africa until the end of the century should not be underestimated.

As The Economist notes in an editorial written with the advantage of the perspective of distance, the deal is "a breathtaking achievement" by De Klerk, ensuring that the NP, "the inventor of apartheid", will remain in power until the close of the century.

On the crucial question of federalism the ANC stance has shifted during the negotiation process.

It has moved from a position of regarding regionalism as a form of neo-apartheid to recognition of the need for effective regional government. According to a well-placed observer who has followed bilateral discussions between the DKA and the ANC closely, the ANC now accepts that there should be autonomous regions.

Regionalism, as everyone knows, is code language for federalism, the "F-word" of South African politics. The ANC's changed thinking on regionalism marks a softening of its opposition to federalism.

On another critical issue — that of economic policy — there has been an even more significant change in ANC thinking.

From a stand propagating nationalisation of mines, banks and "monopoly industry," the ANC has come to reject a centralised, command economy in favour of a mixed one with a strong private sector. At the same time the ANC has begun to look to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund — those bastions of international capitalism — for help in the reconstruction of South Africa.

On the Bill of Rights the differences between the DKA and the ANC are about timing and detail, not essence.

There is concurrence that a comprehensive and justiciable Bill of Rights should be enshrined in the constitution to guarantee the rule of law — what the DKA calls a constitutional state — and to protect fundamental human rights and liberties from abuse by government power.

Who, then, has outmanoeuvred whom? The best answer is to look again at the score card and judge for yourself. □

# A man who dared defy Verwoerd

STAR
20 March

**There can't be many who crossed swords with that granite symbol of apartheid, Hendrik Verwoerd, and not only lived to tell the tale but can claim, at least occasionally, that the future South African premier came off second best.**

**Stoep Talk**

MICHAEL SHAFTO

In his capacity as manager of the Johannesburg City Council's Non-European Affairs Department, Willem Carr spent the better part of his working life after World War 2 in confrontation with Dr Verwoerd, then Minister of Native Affairs.

As far as Dr Verwoerd was concerned, Mr Carr, who had been a major in the British army, was a particularly annoying enigma. Of Scots-Afrikaans heritage, his Afrikaner mother was given full say in the choice of first names and christened her son Willem Jacobus Petrus Carr.

"I was bilingual practically from birth," he jokes.

## Difficult

And this, more than anything, was what Verwoerd found so difficult to come to terms with. Here was a man who conversed with him as one Afrikaner to another, but whose Englishness irked him terribly.

Soon after the war, when he was promoted to manager of the NEAD, Mr Carr often travelled to Pretoria to consult with the Minister on the removal of blacks from Sophiatown and surrounding areas to the newly created Soweto.

People in the Minister's department at Union Buildings referred to him as "daai Engelsgesinde Carr van Johannesburg". This description of him as an English "sympathiser", says Mr Carr, carried about the same connotation of contempt as that reserved for "kaffir boetie".

At 82, Mr Carr has just published the definitive work on the sprawling black township.

## Gruelling

It is entitled "Soweto — Its Creation, Life and Decline". It is a labour of love that took two years of gruelling work which he completed in 1989 before his wife Jenni took over and typed the final manuscript on an ancient Smith Corona.

Mr Carr's memories of Dr Verwoerd aren't by any means happy ones. He remembers him as "surly, a man of no warmth". They clashed continuously as the huge task of moving 80 000 blacks from Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare began, and the clashes were on-going when Dr Verwoerd's department switched its attention to Hillbrow's "Locations in the Sky" and the removal of a similar number of black people from that area to hostels in Soweto.

Says Mr Carr: "I was always fortunate in having the backing of a management committee of intelligent, reasonable men, who approached black problems with great sympathy."

Not so Dr Verwoerd. He couldn't bear to be thwarted, says "Will". When told by the council that it couldn't see things his way and would rather pull out than go ahead with removals as he wanted them done, he immediately created the Bantu Resettlement Board.

The much-hated hostel system and its separation of peoples on an ethnic basis, which recently has brought so much bloodshed and bitterness, came about as a direct result of Verwoerdian edicts.

"We were dealing with the most powerful figure in the National Party," says Will, "a classic case of the tail that wagged the dog."

Will Carr often wonders why he wasn't fired. As a "licensed officer" of the Government, his immediate boss, after all, was Dr Verwoerd before the council. His wife says bluntly that firing him would have caused too much of a furore.

In the study of his Norwood, Johannesburg, home, is an original Bob Connolly cartoon, titled "Apartheid Watchdogs".

## Enormous

It shows two enormous dogs with black spots towering over Will in the hot seat at his NEAD desk. But through the council which always backed him and told him to "get on with it and do it your way", he was sometimes able to thumb his nose at the department.

"There were squatters everywhere, conditions were terrible. We got stuck in, built 20 000 houses a year, 70 000 in plus-minus four years."

It was at this time that the council — and thus the NEAD — had its most shining hour in confrontations with the Government. Mr Carr remembers how Councillor Boris Wilson took Sir Ernest Oppenheimer to see the conditions for himself. Mr Carr was with them.

"He said very little, but it was obvious he was shocked. He gave us a loan of £3 million, repayable over 30 years.

"Then the fat was in the fire. We had, of course, to go to Pretoria for the Minister's approval. Verwoerd was furious. He didn't want to agree to it but he had no option."

It is a book that had to be written. It details an important part of Johannesburg's heritage. The only person with the qualifications to do it was Will Carr.

# A walk on the wild side and meeting death in a township

**MARK STANSFIELD**
Weekend Argus Correspondent

STRIPWIRES attached to handgrenades in backyards, snipers with high-velocity rifles taking potshots at "political suspects", booby-trapped dustbins waiting to blast the curious to bloody mincemeat, "No-go" and "Safe" political areas which depend on your own particular political beliefs, panga and axe-wielding madmen running amok, bone-crushing bricks falling like hail and AK47-cradling assassins hidden in cupboards waiting for someone to make the mistake of discovering them ...

A walk through Alexandra while it was writhing in bloody agony was to catch a frightening glimpse of future suburban South Africa if political intolerance and politically inspired territorial conflicts are not checked.

It was an apocalyptical vision of wailing citizens and suburbia covered in palls of ash and smoke, a country burnt, robbed and murdered because of differences in political beliefs and intolerance.

Most of us watched Alex burn from the comfort of our homes ...

But a walk (scared and on tiptoe) through the shack-mazes and debris-littered streets showed the sophisticated methods both sides used to eliminate each other to gain control:

■ "Don't touch any wires. Don't scratch in dustbins and make sure my body is covering you from the line of fire at all times ... I don't want you dead," Piet, a member of the SAP Internal Stability Unit's Charlie 21 patrol whispered as we walked into the maze of shacks.

Between Alexandra's hoards of warring political factions stood five young men. They were members of the SAP Internal Stability Unit's Charlie 21 outfit on foot patrol — a diminutive David standing between two collossal Goliaths.

"We are the pattie in this political hamburger," growled a colonel.

"Who in their right minds would start something like this so they could stay away from their families for weeks at a time?"

Out on patrol we have entered one of the most hotly disputed areas of the fighting — a maze of shacks and houses bordered by Fourth and Fifth avenues and London and Rooth streets. In the background looms the uninspired edifice of the Madala hostel — the Inkatha-held "fortress" from where many say the attacks were first launched.

It is significant that in the fighting it was areas bordering the hostel which bore the brunt of attacks.

"I constantly wait for a bullet to come out from behind a cupboard door or a handgrenade to be lobbed over a fence," one SAP man whispered.

We went round a corner and found two young men lounging on some furniture outside deserted, burnt-out shacks.

The sight is incongruous, as are the soft strains of Kwela coming from a radio somewhere out there ...

Who are they?

"We're Zulu's," they grin.

What are they doing here? Where are all the other people?

"They ran away," says one, his hand motioning to somewhere out there.

"They were Xhosa and Shangaans. We live here now ..."

A professor and student from the University of Pretoria had just left the farm after examining a dead cow.

General van den Bergh said there was no reason for the Government or anybody to be scared of him.

"I have never harmed anybody. I challenge you to find someone I have harmed.

"I have never killed anything. The only thing I would kill are flies because I don't like them.

"I have had chickens, and I asked my wife to give them away because I couldn't kill them."

## *'Skunk'*

Asked about his Press conference, he said: "Newspapers are not interested in the truth, just sensation."

He said if he announced that one of his cows had given birth to an elephant it would be published without being checked because it would be sensational.

The Press was making him out to be "a skunk who stinks so terrible, you can't come within a mile of him."

The general would not comment on a report saying he was in contact with former Secretary for Information Eschel Rhoodie.

It quoted General van den Bergh as saying he was in contact with Dr. Rhoodie, who would be returning to South Africa.

I asked General van den Bergh why the Government was scared of him as suggested by Mr. Colin Eglin, Leader of the Op-

• TURN TO PAGE 2

*'Civil war is inevitable. The only question is, who is it going to be between: whites and blacks or blacks and blacks?'*

## A LOOK AT SOUTH AFRICA

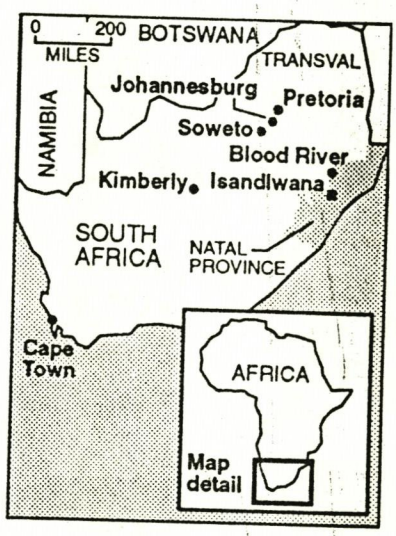
■ **AREA:** 475,381 square miles, bigger than Holland, Belgium, Italy, France and West Germany combined.

■ **POPULATION:** 38.1 million. Three-quarters (28 million) are black; 5.4 million are white; 3.3 million are of mixed race; and one million are Asian, mostly of Indian origin. Among blacks, the two largest ethnic groups are Zulus (seven million) and Xhosas (four million).

■ **ECONOMY:** 1990 GDP was $80 billion, three times that of South Africa's 10 nearest African neighbors combined. Per capita income is $2,290 a year. Unemployment totals 4 million and among blacks may be as high as 49 percent. It is estimated each black worker supports nine people.

■ **SOCIAL:** South Africa's population is 59 percent urban, the rest rural. Nearly half the black population lives in 10 black "homelands." Infant mortality among blacks is 52.8 per 1,000 births. For whites it is 7.3 per 1,000. About 60 percent of the population has no access to electricity. The education budget gap for whites vs. blacks has narrowed from 18-1 in 1969-70 to 4-1 in 1989-90. Despite desegregation of black hospitals, only 5,882 black patients were admitted to white hospitals in 1990 — just 4 percent of blacks hospitalized. One person in 11 has a telephone. One-fifth of all South Africans over 16 have never been to school and 50 percent of adults are illiterate.

■ **HISTORY:** South Africa was loosely held by various black tribes whose artifacts have been dated tc 20,000 B.C. Bartholomew Diaz discovered the Cape of Good Hope in 1488 and the first white settlers arrived April 6, 1652. Britain annexed the Cape in 1795 and abolished slavery there in 1833.




The "Great Trek" inland of the original Dutch settlers occurred in 1835-1838. The Anglo-Zulu War secured Natal province for British rule in 1879, but the British were defeated by the Boers in the first Anglo-Boer War of 1869-80. Diamonds were discovered in 1867, sold in 1886: The second Anglo-Boer war, from 1899-1902, was won by the British. The Union of South Africa (1910) became independent in 1931.

The era of apartheid began with the victory of the National Party in 1948. Demonstrations against "pass laws" requiring blacks to carry identity cards in white areas provoked the "Sharpeville Massacre" of 1960, in which 69 blacks were shot and killed. South Africa withdrew from the British Commonwealth in 1961. The Soweto riots of 1976 ushered in a three-year period of unrest which, combined with international sanctions, resulted in the abolition of apartheid, beginning on Feb. 2, 1990.

SOURCES: "South Africa 1992," (The South Africa Foundation); "Race Relations Survey 1991-92," (South African Institute of Race Relations).

# APLA: We hit hotel, burnt man to death

**Citizen Reporter and Sapa**

A CALLER purporting to be from the Azanian People's Liberation Army, the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, yesterday claimed responsibility for the attack on the Riverside Lodge in Ladybrand and the murder of Delmas plot owner, Mr Ignatius Badenhorst.

Mr Badenhorst, 37, burnt to death in his bakkie after youths attacked him and set him alight while he was dropping off an employee in the Mandela squatter camp, in Daveyton.

Damage of R1 million was caused to the hotel when it was attacked on Saturday night by five gunmen, who also threw petrol bombs and hand-grenades.

In a call to Sapa on Sunday, a man claiming to be from the Azanian National Liberation Army (AZANLA), the military wing of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (AZAPO), which is part of the broader Black Consciousness Movement, claimed AZANLA attacked the hotel.

The man who telephoned The Citizen yesterday was the same person who called the newspaper on August 30, giving his name as Carl Joma. He claimed then that APLA was responsible for the murder of a Soweto policeman.

He claimed yesterday that APLA was responsible for attacks on the police, including Saturday's incident in Soweto in which Constable David Modika, a municipal policeman, was killed when he and a colleague were on patrol in White City.

Black youths in South Africa should prepare for civil war, and he made a call in this regard on members of the Pan Africanist Students Organisation, (PASO), the student wing of the PAC.

Police have yet to determine who was responsible for the attack on the Riverside Lodge, but police sources said it had all the hallmarks of an APLA attack.

AZANLA is the smallest of the armies of the liberation movements and last year its cadres were said to number around 30. However, some of them were reported to have returned to South Africa recently.

Several attacks dating back to last year along the Eastern Free State border have been attributed to APLA.

In his call to The Citizen yesterday, Joma said that schools and school buses would be targeted by APLA, and that a civil war would ensue from April 27 next year, the date of South Africa's first multi-racial election.

The war would continue until the land was restored to the people, he added.

A purported APLA caller, identifying himself as Ropa Hondo, told Sapa he led the attack on the Riverside Lodge.

He strongly disputed claims that AZANLA carried out the attack, giving details of the weaponry and the mode of operation, and charging that ballistic tests on the cartridges would reveal that similar weaponry was used in attacks on Free State farmers.

"We conducted the Ladybrand operation and we want to clear the confusion. Five people conducted the attack and I led it. We are now in hiding in Ladybrand and not in Lesotho as the police claimed," said the caller.

However, he could not give a password used by APLA commander Karl Zimbiri despite saying he had been ordered by Zimbiri to call Sapa.

The reason for not claiming responsibility earlier, he said, was to enable the attackers to find a safe haven among Ladybrand residents.

"We challenge anyone who claims they conducted this operation to see whether their bullets are the same used on the Ladybrand attack. The police have conducted ballistic tests on cartridges during some of our attacks in the Free State and the police know our bullets," said the caller.

Hondo said the tracks across the Caledon River were deliberately planted to fool the police. His cadres had backtracked into the Free State, using the original spoor to give the impression they had walked ahead.

Mr Botha was in Mbabane with State President De Klerk to attend Swaziland's Silver Jubilee celebrations.

# Axe for 'bogus' Turf doc

**By Mathatha Tsedu**
Investigations Editor

THE VICE-RECTOR of the University of the North, Professor Gesler Nkondo, has been given until Thursday to resign or be fired after it was discovered that there were some irregularities in his qualifications.

The university issued the ultimatum after it was discovered that Nkondo's doctorate, awarded by Yale University in the United States, had been withdrawn following irregularities in the dissertation.

A *Sowetan* investigation has revealed that the chairman of the university council, Professor Kader Asmal, met with Nkondo, rector Professor Njabulo Ndebele and vice-rector Mr John Malatji on August 20.

It was at this meeting that Nkondo was confronted with a letter from Yale which indicated that his doctorate had been recalled.

Mr Gesler Nkondo

Nkondo is understood to have said he had not been aware of the withdrawal. He listed the doctorate as one of his qualifications when he applied and was appointed vice-rector in 1990.

The sources said Asmal then gave Nkondo two options: resign by September 9 or face dismissal.

Other sources said Nkondo's response would be dealt with at the university's executive committee meeting on Friday.

Ndebele said yesterday no date had been set for Nkondo to resign. He said issues relating to "senior personnel are dealt with by council", which would sit on September 16.

*Sowetan* has been unable to interview Nkondo about the matter, fixing and cancelling appointments several times.

*Sowetan* can, however, reveal that Nkondo has applied for the rector's position at the University of Venda, where preliminary interviews were conducted last week.

Understood to be a frontrunner, Nkondo has informed the Univen authorities about the problems of his doctorate.

A source at the university said he listed his qualifications as two Master's degrees, among others, and said "problems" had arisen about his doctorate.

A source told *Sowetan*: "He submitted a sworn statement indicating that Yale had withdrawn his doctorate. He said he had reapplied for resubmission and this had been granted but his senior supervisor had then died. There is a letter from Yale stating that he had reapplied for resubmission."

Nkondo left the country in 1975 on a Fulbright scholarship. He was at that time a senior English lecturer at Turfloop and chairman of its Black Academic Staff Association, which played a prominent role in an inquiry into student unrest at the campus.

Nkondo stayed on in the US after completing his studies. He taught at Vassar college until he returned to South Africa in 1990.

He was appointed vice-rector at Turfloop in charge of transformation and applied for the position of rector earlier this year. Despite support from student representatives on the university's council, he lost.

# ANC a horrendous killing machine, says Ferdi

**By Fred de Lange**

THE leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, yesterday called on his people to prepare themselves to resist the ANC's threat to crush the Conservative Party.

The ANC was, he said, a horrendous killing machine.

Dr Hartzenberg said the threat by the leader of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, proved correct his statement that a Transitional Executive Committee would be seen as a declaration of war on the Afrikaner nation.

Mr Mandela did not wish to see true democracy.

His idea of peace was the destruction of democracy and the crushing of all opponents of Communism.

He said the so-called peace process over the past three years proved that the Communists did not change their spots.

Since Mr Mandela's release, the tripartite alliance and the whole of the Patriotic Front's participation in the so-called peace process had become a blood trail of violent crushing of political opponents throughout South Africa.

This left more people dead since his release than those who died in the Vietnam War.

Mr Mandela's revolutionaries were the common denominator in all incidents of political violence in South Africa.

"No other political group is involved in revolutionary war anywhere in South Africa. Since March this year 3 983 of Mr Mandela's forces had been arrested for crimes linked to violence.

The revolutionaries who signed the Peace Accord had broken that accord 230 times since March this year.

The ANC was the most horrendous killing machine this country had ever seen. Mr Hartzenberg said.

If Mr Mandela wanted true peace he should stop ignoring the right of the Afrikaner to self determination.

Without freedom there could be no peace.

He warned that Mr Mandela could be biting off more than he could chew if he wanted to take on a task that the mighty British empire could not succeed in doing during the Anglo Boer War.

The CP leader warned Mr Mandela that should he want peace, the Afrikaner Boer nation's right to self-determination should not be ignored.

— Sapa.

# Van attack in T'kei: Farmer dies in hospital

UMTATA. — An Elliot farmer, wounded in the stomach when gunmen hijacked his delivery van in Transkei 10 days ago, died in Frere Hospital yesterday.

Mike Meyers, 48, of Killchollumkill farm, was ambushed by two gunmen at Xongoro, 20 km from Umtata, on his way home from delivering milk to the city.

The killers shot Mr Meyers without saying a word and left him bleeding on the side of the road.

His 21-year-old daughter Donne, who was travelling with him, was abducted and later found dead.

Transkei Police said she had been shot in the head at point-blank range.

Two men, Zama Thuta, 36, of Nqamakwe, and Maxwell Miya, 21, of Uitenhage, were apprehended by police less than two hours after the shootings. They appeared briefly in an Umtata court last week.

Mr Meyers was airlifted to East London from All Saints Hospital in Engcobo last week, after an operation to remove his spleen.

— Sapa.

Natal Witness

# 3 000 at Ntombela funral

**by Nomusa Cembi**

MORE than 3 000 people attended the funeral of special constable Mr Drake Zakhe Ntombela (23) who was shot and killed at Elandskop last Wednesday evening. He was the son of KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member Mr David Ntombela.

According to his father who was in Ulundi when the incident took place, Drake went with two friends to assist Mr John Ntshangase who was being attacked by unknown persons.

On their way back Zakhe was shot in the head by unknown people. Mr Ntombela said he could not pin his son's death on the UDF as he had not seen his son's killer.

Police spokesman Major Pieter Kitching described Constable Drake Ntombela as a diligent and courageous worker who always strived for peace among his people.

"He died in an attempt to restore peace. Although his father is a prominent Inkatha leader, this did not affect Constable Ntombela's execution of his duties and he did not use the South African Police to achieve the goals of the organisation," he said.

Court stops Carletonville council from applying Separate Amenities Act

# Abolish apartheid law now, Nats told

**BRUCE CAMERON**
Political Correspondent

THE Government was today challenged to have the courage to now scrap the Separate Amenities Act in the wake of the court judgment preventing Carletonville town council from applying the Act.

And on the basis of the court ruling, the Government came under fire from parliamentary leaders for its handling of the Mass Democratic Movement's campaign of defiance against the application of the law on beaches.

Labour Party leader, the Rev Alan Hendrickse, said today that the court ruling showed the "stupidity" of police action two weeks ago against the MDM "picnic on the beach" at the Strand in the western Cape.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer, welcoming the court decision, said that getting rid of apartheid had been his central message in the election campaign, but it was clear that Mr F.W. de Klerk lacked the guts to get rid of it.

The Pretoria Supreme Court effectively ruled yesterday that the Conservative Party-controlled Carletonville town council could not apply the Separate Amenities Act if it was to the detriment of any of the town's residents.

Mr Hendrickse said: "This important judgment certainly takes the sails out of the CP.

"I think the decision is certainly in the best interests of South Africa and should do something to improve the country's image.

"I have no doubt that the Separate Amenities Act will have to be one of the first laws to be scrapped along with other apartheid laws as part of the first steps towards reform."

Dr de Beer said: "I am naturally delighted by this decision.

"What the court has effectively said is that apartheid is an unnatural and harmful policy in relation to normal free enterprise business activity.

"My central message to the electorate throughout this campaign has been that South Africa can no longer afford apartheid in any form at all.

"Nationalists under Mr de Klerk lack the guts to get rid of it and the voters should know how to respond to that gutlessness."

Meanwhile, the CP is likely to fight the Supreme Court decision.

This was made clear by Mr Koos van der Merwe, CP information officer, who said it appeared as if the court had challenged the validity of the Separate Amenities Act. This view was shared by DP judicial spokesman Mr Dave Dalling.

Mr van der Merwe said the judgment appeared to mean that wherever amenities had been reserved for different groups — including those in NP-controlled towns — they could be successfully challenged.

"It also seems at face value as if the judiciary has come into conflict with democracy. All the council in Carletonville did was to carry out the mandate of the electorate."

Mr Dalling agreed with the CP that the Supreme Court had come "pretty close" to challenging the validity of the Act.

# A legacy of despair

**THE people of Tsetse have a shining legacy from the South African Government: a set of silver-bright metal lavatory outhouses.**

The outhouses were given to them about four years ago when they were "relocated" in the dry bush of the Western Transvaal, some 300km from Johannesburg.

Not much else was given to them. For Tsetse is a "resettlement" camp for blacks. The estimated 3 500 people who live there are victims of the giant process of people-shuffling that stems from apartheid.

They had no choice. They were simply ordered by the Government to move from where they were. They are but a tiny sample of the hundreds of thousands who have been, and are being, remorselessly uprooted.

In some ways their conditions are perhaps a bit better than elsewhere; in others they are worse.

Previously, the people of Tsetse lived about 160km to the east, at Doornkop. They had been there for many years, perhaps since late last century. They were small farmers, with pieces of land to plough for maize and on which to graze cattle.

Most of their houses were humble but were seemingly reasonably substantial.

If they could not grow enough food for their needs, men and women could usually get work in the nearby "white" towns.

But unfortunately for Doornkop, it was a "black spot". It was black-owned land in the middle of fertile farming ground owned by whites.

So the Government evicted the blacks. Indeed the entire area around the Western Transvaal towns of Ventersdorp and Lichtenburg was cleared of "black spots" and there are four other resettlement camps near Tsetse. Altogether, they hold about 15 000 people.

There were no known local white protests against the removals. They could hardly have been expected: in Lichtenburg, old racial ways remain in the sight of a white woman sitting alone in the cab of a bakkie she is driving, with a black woman sitting separately in the open back.

## Hundreds of silver toilets in a desolate landscape

Back at Doornkop, a few piles of stones are all that remain of what were once the homes of the black people. A barbed-wire fence runs close to one of the ruins, enclosing ploughed land. Cattle graze on other stretches of the land.

### Dirt road

It's an infinitely more benign and hospitable area than the harshness of Tsetse.

As the people from the Doornkop area are of the Tswana tribe they were "relocated" in Bophuthatswana.

Tsetse itself lies on a flat piece of land between two small hills. It is reached by a dirt road which branches off another dirt road which in turn branches off the main tarred highway which runs from Johannesburg to the border with Botswana.

Although Tsetse is only about 20km from the town of Mafikeng it is largely isolated from the world.

When the black people were moved to Tsetse the South African Government gave them the outhouses as well as huts made from the same galvanised iron material. The huts were removed after six months, the people say, but the hundreds of outhouses were left.

Not only do the outhouses perform a practical function, but they are nastily symbolic of the plight of the people there — to the extent even that the structures are unstable, and tend to fall on their sides when the wind blows strongly, to the obvious discomfort of anyone using them at the time.

### Foraging around

Apart from the outhouses, the South African Government has left behind outdoor taps from which water can be drawn. There are about 750 houses, but a far smaller number of taps. Unfortunately, too, the water supply often dries up late in the afternoon, and sometimes fails entirely for one or two days. The water is pumped from elsewhere to a concrete reservoir: the cover was blown off by a high wind and remained unrepaired for some two months.

There is not a single telephone and electricity does not exist. For cooking — and heating on sub-zero winter nights — people go foraging around, searching for cattle dung or making what use they can of the straggly bush.

They live in crude houses, the more substantial ones made from mud bricks, or otherwise from battered sheets of corrugated iron.

There is one other gift from South Africa: brick buildings for the primary level school on top of one of the hills. But there is an acute shortage of furniture and three to five children cram into desks meant for two. Or they sit on plain benches.

In any event, the buildings cannot accommodate all the 1 108 children in the school, so nine of the 19 classrooms remain the original metal huts erected when the people were first dumped there. The huts stand on the bare ground.

The 20 teachers also live in metal huts.

### 'Another shanty'

The principal is an elderly bachelor, Johannes Rabaji. His office is a small metal hut, and so is his adjoining "house".

He is a gentle, quiet-spoken man and he speaks without bitterness as he sits in his steamy-hot office: "I keep in this shanty all day. At the end of the day I go to another shanty to rest."

Another hut, also measuring about 3,7m by 3,7m, is home for three women teachers. One of them has a baby with her.

The huts are fiendishly hot in summer and freezingly cold in winter.

On a broiling summer's day, the inside bare metal walls of the huts cannot be touched. To do so is extremely painful.

# ANC begins to come into focus

THE election of Mr Cyril Ramaphosa as secretary-general of the ANC is a powerful symbol, and yet less than it seems. It is a symbol of the rise, within the ANC, of a generation of young leaders who came to prominence in the bitter township struggles after 1984; it is less than it seems for two reasons. The first of these is that Mr Ramaphosa, as secretary-general of the National Union of Mineworkers, stood on the fringes of those struggles; the second is that both Mr Thabo Mbeki and Mr Chris Hani have not been so much eclipsed as held in reserve for a major role in negotiations.

Nevertheless, three broad currents can be discerned in the proceedings of the ANC conference in Durban as (at the time of writing) it approaches its conclusion. Firstly, there is the decay of the aged, exile leadership whose political roots were struck long ago into Stalinist soil, and whose Eastern European orientation is alien to young, modern South Africans. Secondly, a rush of new blood has had to be accommodated, not only at the top in the person of Mr Ramaphosa, but in the ranks of an executive which has been trebled to accommodate them. Thirdly, the SACP jockey remains firmly in the saddle of the ANC horse; many young communists are among the newcomers to the executive ranks, and the only real loss, Mr Dan Tloome, has fallen victim to age rather than to ideology.

Mr Ramaphosa, a former lay preacher and law clerk and at one time a figure much coddled and even nurtured by the Urban Foundation, refuses to say whether he is among those usually young labour leaders recently recruited into the SACP, like Mr John Gomomo and Mr Moses Mayekiso of the metalworkers' union, Mr Chris Dlamini, president of the Food and Allied Workers' Union, and Sydney Mafumadi of Cosatu. Whether his coyness indicates that he is part of the network of hidden "sympathisers" which the SACP is laying down in preparation for its "coming into the open" in December, or whether he thinks it inadvisable to repudiate the SACP, is impossible to tell. But at least he has been shaped in the fire and smoke of South African industrial conflict, not in the esoteric lecture rooms of Paris or Bremen. The leadership is coming home, and that must be welcomed.

At the same time, the dominance of the SACP at the higher levels of the ANC — the higher one goes, the more heavily the communist presence weighs — must continue to create difficulties for the organisation, and for many of its outside sympathisers. The Reverend Allan Boesak is not the only Christian confronting the atheist hurdle which SACP dominance has erected at the entrance to the ANC, and the Americans are not the only foreigners who are doubtful about funding a party which harbours in its leadership an outspoken admirer of Stalin like Mr Harry Gwala. The question posed by Izvestia — "What are the differences between the ANC and the SACP, and if there are no differences, why are there two organisations?" — remains unanswered.

For the rest, the conference has been as comfortingly muddled, rumour-ridden, backroom-dominated, manipulated, and confused as any National Party congress. That it has been an exercise in nascent democracy is beyond question; what does remain questionable is whether the ANC can win sufficient internal support to free itself from overwhelming dependency on foreign funding.

# Open-door policy

WHAT began as an exercise to release prisoners of conscience — people jailed under unjust laws for their political beliefs — has now degenerated into a disgusting scramble to free various killers, including dirty policemen, reckless terror bombers, and necklace murderers, plus an array of faithless wives, confidence tricksters and other scum. The release of Maureen Smith is justifiable on the grounds that her continued incarceration can do no earthly good, and on the grounds of mercy; it cannot be justified as part of a programme that entails releasing murderers, like former policemen Jack la Grange and Robert van der Merwe, the local equivalent of the notorious Brazilian death squads.

If such men can be let loose, there is no reason not to release any other murderer, no matter how depraved or cold-blooded. The government's pretence that it is willing to release political prisoners but not murderers or rapists now lies in shreds. When men of dubious sanity, like David Protter, are set free, there is no logical reason to hold Robert McBride, or Barend Strydom, or anybody else. Plainly, the government, under pressure from the ANC, has thrown up its hands and abdicated its responsibility to ensure consistent justice, to uphold a just order, and to protect the innocent people of society.

The sooner such a government negotiates itself out of office, so that the system of criminal justice can be repaired, the better for all of us.

# ANC says no talks without concessions

By SCOTT KRAFT
Los Angeles Times

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — The African National Congress formally broke off constitutional negotiations Tuesday and vowed not to return to the table until President F.W. de Klerk met a list of demands aimed at ending security-force involvement in township violence.

The decision by South Africa's leading black opposition group, approved without dissent by its 90-member national executive committee, indefinitely halted the search for a negotiated settlement.

It also marked the first full collapse of contact between the government and the ANC since Nelson Mandela's release from prison more than two years ago. And it opened a dangerous and uncertain new road for a country already racked by bloodshed, deepening black poverty and widespread distrust of the white-controlled security forces.

"We cannot tolerate a situation where the regime's control of state power allows it . . . to deny and cover up its role in fostering and fomenting violence," said ANC Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa, reading the executive committee's statement.

ANC officials urged an international inquiry into the June 17 massacre of at least 39 people in the Boipatong township, the most serious incident in a pattern of township violence that has left 8,000 black South Africans dead since de Klerk launched his reform program in 1990.

Ramaphosa said the government "cannot escape culpability" for the massacre, which the ANC contends was carried out by black supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party with the aid of the police.

De Klerk said the ANC's decision to halt talks was "based on a fundamental untruth": that the government was behind the violence and the massacre.

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## S. Africa

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And the president said the ANC, with its campaign of mass protests, was only heightening tensions in the country.

"It can be compared to lighting a match next to a gasoline tank," de Klerk said in Spain on Tuesday before his return to South Africa. He added that the only route forward was through "constructive negotiations."

The ANC said it would resume negotiations only if de Klerk's white-minority government met 12 demands, which Mandela said he planned to present to the president this week.

Among those demands are that the government cease all covert operations, suspend and prosecute all police involved in township violence, and force its self-governing black homelands to end political repression.

Other demands are that the government carry out its year-old promises to phase out migrant worker hostels, such as the Inkatha-controlled one from which last week's massacre was launched.

The ANC, reflecting the feelings of millions of black South Africans, has lost faith in the government's sincerity, believing de Klerk is pursuing a double agenda: embracing negotiations while conducting a covert strategy to subvert the political process and destroy the ANC.

Mandela had suspended direct talks with the government Sunday pending Tuesday's meeting.

Raymond Suttner, director of political education for the ANC, said a return to the largely ineffectual guerrilla campaign waged for 30 years was not raised as a serious option at the meeting. But the feeling of most ANC leaders was that the talks had failed to force the government to end the violence or acknowledge the role of its own agents in the bloodshed.

The ANC also said it would be "reviewing" participation of South Africa in international sports, a clear reference to the Olympics in Barcelona next month, where the country is to take part in the Games for the first time since 1960.

**Mnr. Derek Keys, Minister van Finansies.**

# ANC toon hy kan nie land regeer, sê Keys

**Politieke Redaksie**

DIE ANC se oproep tot landwye massa-aksie aanstaande maand diskwalifiseer hom as 'n bevoegde toekomstige regering, het mnr. Derek Keys, Minister van Finansies en Handel en Nywerheid, gisteraand in die Parlement gesê.

Mnr. Keys het gesê die beoogde massa-aksie is die jongste in 'n reeks skuiwe wat niks anders is nie as 'n "ekonomiese burgeroorlog" wat die organisasie teen die Regering en die land voer.

Hy het in sy repliek op die tweedelesingsdebat oor die Begrotingswetsontwerp gesê die organisasie se oproep tot massa-aksie aanstaande maand val in dieselfde kategorie as die voortgesette oproep tot die behoud van internasionale sanksies en die "minagting van die prestasies van die marksektor van die SA ekonomie gedurende die afgelope baie moeilike dekade".

Mnr. Keys het gesê hy kan as hy objektief probeer wees, die voorkeur verstaan wat in die verlede gegee is aan die bevrydingstryd en die feit dat alle ander dinge ondergeskik gestel moes word, of selfs opgeoffer moes word, om by die onderhandelingstafel uit te kom.

"Daar kom egter 'n punt waarby die wêreld wat toekyk sekere optrede van 'n moontlike toekomstige regering verwag wat die handelinge begin vervang van 'n bevrydingsbeweging wat veg om erkenning. Mnr. Cyril Ramaphosa (sekretaris-generaal van die ANC) verklaar dat die ANC gereed is om te regeer. Die oproep tot massa-aksie dui vir daardie wêreld wat toekyk eerder op die teendeel."

Hul beroep is op die "baie klein deel van oorsese nasionale begrotings wat aan skenkings en ontwikkelingshulp gewy word, eerder as op die duisend maal groter kragte wat in daardie ekonomieë beskikbaar is vir markgerigte optredes."

"Voortgesette geweld plaas SA in dieselfde kategorie as Sarajewo, Belfast en Beiroet."

# Security policeman joins ANC

■ Top security branch policeman Lieutenant-Colonel John Horak has defected to the ANC, providing them with information in detail about the "secret propaganda war" of the police.

**JACQUES PAUW**
Weekend Argus Reporter

ONE of South Africa's best known security policemen, Lieutenant-Colonel John Horak, has defected to the African National Congress, giving them detailed information about the SAP's alleged secret propaganda war.

Colonel Horak, who was chief of research and media adviser at Security Branch headquarters, has also instituted a defamation claim against the Commissioner of Police for calling him a liar after Colonel Horak told a newspaper that the police had spied on Judge John Didcott and tapped his telephone.

Colonel Horak is described in references by former Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok and the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, as an honest, credible and respected member of the police. Colonel Horak left the force towards the end of 1990 on early retirement.

Colonel Horak is the most senior member of the police to defect to the ANC. According to sources, ANC intelligence officers have recently debriefed Colonel Horak.

It has been established that Colonel Horak gave the ANC:

■ A list of names of police agents work-

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the talks between himself and Mr Ramaphosa had taken place in a good spirit.

He criticised the "reckless" attitude of some of the "radicals", saying they were pushing the country to destruction and chaos.

Mr Ramaphosa said the NEC meeting had re-affirmed that mass action was legitimate and had endorsed proposals to intensify the mass action campaign.

He welcomed recent announcements by the National Peace Committee and the Goldstone Commission.

He said the ANC had drawn up a "Transition to Democracy Act" to serve as a constitutional framework for the transition period.

# ANC sets out interim proposals

THE ANC yesterday published proposed amendments to the South African constitution that would facilitate the establishment of an interim government and a constituent assembly.

The ANC's proposed "Transitional to Democracy Act, 1992" provides for a 400-member national assembly, elected by proportional representation, to serve as both an interim legislature and constitution-making body.

It defines South Africa by its 1910 boundaries, eliminating the homeland system.

It sidesteps the key issue of regionalism by retaining for the interim the provincial system as the only form of regional government.

The president would be elected by a simple majority of the national assembly. The cabinet would have a multi-party character and take decisions, like the assembly, by a two-thirds majority.

All parties with 5% or more of the membership of the assembly would be entitled to nominate cabinet members.

The proposed law includes an interim bill of rights. — Sapa

# 'Abandon violence'

## FW condemns funeral rhetoric for whipping up emotions

PRETORIA. — The anti-government rhetoric at the Boipatong massacre funeral drew a sharp rebuttal from President De Klerk.

"The tone of many of the statements at yesterday's funeral for victims of the Boipatong massacre gives rise to concern," Mr De Klerk said in a statement last night.

He was reacting to speeches at Monday's funeral service where threats were made "to take the government to hell", Mr De Klerk was declared incompetent and his resignation called for, and he was accused of being directly involved in the continuing violence.

"Instead of using this occasion to mourn the tragic deaths of the victims and to console their families and loved ones, the funeral was exploited to whip up emotions and to harden attitudes against negotiations and reconciliation," Mr De Klerk said.

He said the repeated allegations concerning the involvement of the security forces and of the government in the tragic events at Boipatong were devoid of truth, and there was not a shred of evidence to support them.

Mr De Klerk invited anyone with evidence of government involvement to get in touch with the police or the Goldstone Commission.

He pointed out that further lives had been lost since the Boipatong tragedy. Immediately after the funeral a man was brutally murdered and necklaced in front of journalists.

During the past 24 hours a further 16 people had been killed in Natal. Most of them were apparently Inkatha supporters, and another policeman was senselessly murdered in the course of his duties.

"The death of any of our countrymen in violence — whoever they may be and whatever party they may support — diminishes us all and makes the goal of a peaceful and negotiated settlement all the more difficult," Mr De Klerk said.

He appealed to all leaders and to all South Africans to abandon violence and brinkmanship, saying the present course of confrontation, race hatred and violence, would, if left unchecked, lead to tragedy.

"The South African government will be firm in taking responsible steps to prevent this," he said.

Mr De Klerk said he would respond in more detail to the situation soon. — Sapa.

# Atonement and a new arrogance

THE CAPE TIMES

By RABBI PROF. J. NEWMAN

**who says that the Day of Atonement has a message for everyone, for the exercise of repentance plays a vital part in the shaping of human character**

THE CONCEPT of repentance is basic to practically all denominations. In Judaism, however, a substantial phase in the calendar has been set aside for reflection and critical self-analysis.

In Jewish tradition the span of 40 days which Moses spent on the Mountain of God, in order to procure forgiveness for his people after worshipping the golden calf (Exodus 34:28), concluded on the tenth day of the Jewish month of Tishre. It was then that he heard the Divine words: "I have forgiven according to thy words", and since then the 10th Tishre, Yom Kippur, is vested with the power of atonement while the first ten days of the month form the period of intensive penitence.

Though forgiveness is granted graciously with the passage of the day, the sinner has to plead for it before God. This he has to do by, firstly, regretting the sins committed, secondly by confessing his sins, and finally by resolving to avoid sinning in the future.

The healing power of the Day of Atonement applies, however, only to such wrongs and shortcomings as obtain in the inter-relation between man and his Maker. In matters concerning a person's association with his fellowman, no forgiveness is granted until such time as he has made efforts to appease the one whom he has aggrieved. Jewish law goes to great lengths in specifying the various methods that have to be adopted by the person who is seeking forgiveness from someone whom he wronged and who happens to be stubborn in his unrelenting attitude. It is mainly for reason of repairing rifts and wrongs in one's societal associations that ten days are dedicated to it every year.

The exercise of repentance has one very important bearing upon the shaping of the character and outlook of the human being: it should make a person realise that he is capable of sinning, liable to be wrong somewhere in his attitude and action and that there is likely to be room for his own further edification.

## Sinners

The person who assumes that he cannot possibly be wrong and that there is nothing to be found in his ways and principles that might justify a plea for forgiveness, is the greatest sinner of all. He displays arrogance — the worst attribute of man. There is a Talmudic dictum which maintains that "he who has excessive pride has no God in his heart". The implication of excessive pride or arrogance is clear. Such a person sets himself up as the only judge of his action and will not tolerate rebuke or correction from anyone. His brazenness spells intolerance of someone else's views and an unwillingness to accommodate his fellowman.

If I were asked which aspect is the most significant contributory cause in the sorry state of affairs in which we find ourselves today, I would have no hesitation to name it as arrogance. This expression or brazenness may be found in different disguises. The religious fanatic who cannot tolerate any mode of interpretation of Deity other than his own, and on the strength of his own conviction is ready to hurt others of different views, is ultimately arrogant in spite of his best intentions. Likewise the dictatorial politician who maps out a strategy which he considers to be of benefit to his country and then proceeds unilaterally to sacrifice life and limb, he too has an arrogance which stems from the conviction that he cannot be wrong.

## Zealots

Every page of the history of man testifies to the loss of hundreds of thousands of innocent, peace-loving people, because of the whims and fancies of zealots who invariably operate in the name of ideals and principles. These zealots and hard-hearted "principled" people have all one feature in common: the complete absence of willingness to accommodate another possible opinion or solution in a given situation. They are unable to conceive of the possibility that they might be wrong. They have never known the meaning, and certainly never applied the means, of repentance.

Our present era of tremendous technological and scientific progress has brought an added aspect of arrogance in its wake. Modern man has come to rely too much on the supremacy of the human mind. The concept and belief in a Deity and a Divine Presence in the universe has no longer any application. In a society where God has been squeezed out of existence and only man rules, arrogance is taking on a completely new dimension. The individual conscience — the barometer of the personal intuitive acknowledgment of the Divine — is reduced to a little whisper so easily drowned by the din of man's gloating and haughty self-assurance.

In a society where there is not sufficient reverence for One God, there the voices of many little gods come to the fore. Every individual deems himself to be one. In the face of such conceit, the individual feels free to act according to the light of his own convictions and beliefs. He sees no power that could possibly obstruct him, nor do any doubts about his own judgment and wisdom ever trouble him.

Much is said now about the need and the benefit of communication. This is of course very true. Communication is essential and can lead to great benefits. This, however, only applies if the communication is taking place between people who are prepared to listen to another point of view and, if need be, also accommodate it. If the communication takes place with an opponent who has demands and is not prepared to move an inch to facilitate another view, the benefits of such communication are more than doubtful.

## Anxiety

The crisis of anxiety which prevails today and which prevents man from enjoying the fruit of his inventive powers and innate gifts can, I believe, be linked directly with the relentless attitude of the Godless. These are the powers which deny the citizen the right to worship in the manner he prefers or to pursue a culture which appeals to him.

All this is done, ironically enough, on behalf of a "people's" government that seeks to improve and equate inadequacies in society. God has been eliminated as a disturbing factor in human life and in His stead there are concentration camps, and there is Siberia, there are nuclei of terrorists in every part of the globe, nurtured, encouraged and equipped by these powers, all in the name of humanity.

In this season of sanctified days, our liturgy turns its gaze towards an idyllic future which we hope will be reached at some stage, when "all wickedness will like smoke be banished, when thou wilst do away with the rule of arrogance from the earth". Note the stress on wickedness and not on the perpetrators.

This is due to an incident told in the Talmud. The sage Rabbi Meir was troubled by wicked neighbours whereupon he prayed to the Almighty that they should expire. Beuria, his wife, corrected him saying: "You need not pray for them to die. Rather enjoin the Almighty that the wickedness in them shall be banished." Beuria's opinion prevailed. We have now been praying for many centuries for wickedness to cease, but our hope has not been fulfilled. Yet we still adhere to the belief that one day it shall. And when arrogance in the individual will no longer play a dominant part, there will be ushered in the time of messianic realization: peace and goodwill among all men.

The Star

Established 1887

South Africa's largest daily newspaper

# Auspicious bosberaad

THE three-day bosberaad between the De Klerk administration and the ANC has been a success. The rapprochement signalled by the September 26 Record of Understanding has been consolidated.

The two sides have agreed on the urgent need to revive the settlement process. They have set themselves three immediate aims: revival of multilateral negotiations early next year; streamlining of the Codesa forum; and nonracial elections for a transitional parliament-cum-constituent assembly by late next year or early 1994. A second bosberaad will be held next month to sustain progress towards these ends.

The prospect of concerted action towards settlement between the De Klerk administration and the ANC is heartening news. They are the two most important and powerful political actors. Agreement between them is a necessary condition for a viable settlement. It is more than that: it is a sufficient — though not an ideal — basis for a workable resolution of South Africa's political conflict.

The best scenario for the coming year is one which draws Mangosuthu Buthelezi's IFP and Clarence Makwetu's PAC back to the negotiating table. Buthelezi must be persuaded to put his proposal for a largely autonomous KwaNatal on the negotiating table and Makwetu to rein in — or renounce — the revanchists in the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

South Africans should work towards making that a reality. They should endeavour to bring maximum pressure to bear on leaders of these movements to present their cases at the negotiating table.

Buthelezi and Makwetu should realise that the choice before them is either to become party to the solution or make themselves part of the problem. If they choose to stay out, the process of settlement will proceed inexorably without them. The bosberaad has set the scene for a fateful moment in our history: those who are not at the negotiating table next year will have excluded themselves from the momentous decisions ahead.

☐ TAXI BLOCKADE

# ANC denying me democratic right to work

PLEASE allow me, through your columns, to address Mr Nelson Mandela as regards the denial of my democratic rights by his supporters.

Mr Mandela, there is no point rushing around the Cape, or anywhere else for that matter, trying to reassure white people that they should not leave the country for fear, or economic reasons, when all around us we see the rule of law and ordered society crumbling, as the supporters of your movement and other liberation movements, vent their political and emotional immaturity, leading to the many very unfortunate events that occur, including the loss of valuable lives.

This morning, I amongst many thousands, was denied my democratic right to travel to work and to arrive timeously because, once again, the taxi drivers and their organisations decided to paralyse the city of Cape Town by barricading it in protest at the fuel price increase.

What makes these people any different from all of the Mr and Mrs Averages in this city? Or do your supporters think that all commuters, who do not subscribe to your particular brand of mass action, have unlimited amounts of money, or fuel wells in their back gardens? Believe me, we don't and it hurts us as well! We however, will cast our vote at the ballot box, as is done in civilised societies!

**LETTERS**

Letters to the Editor,
PO Box 56,
Cape Town, 8000

What is needed now, is for the city council to promulgate a regulation that specifies on the licence to operate any vehicle the sole purpose that the vehicle is to be used for.

If the vehicle is then used for barricading purposes, all that has to be done is to take the registration numbers of the vehicles so being used and have their licences to operate, rescinded.

Tough action you might think, Mr Mandela? Well, we the citizens of Cape Town, believe that the city council has, in the past, bent over backwards in trying to meet your supporters' demands and that those accommodations by the city council, are now being freely abused to the extent of paralysing the entire city.

We, the citizens of Cape Town, also believe that the huge responsibility that you carry, of educating your supporters to rightfully exercise their political voice in a mature fashion, in spite of the years of denial, is not being met by you, or your comrades.

The political rhetoric that is espoused from your political platforms, is one of the major factors leading to the events that we have recently experienced. Your movement/party is therefore not well placed to enter an election, because if you are at present unable to control your supporters, what will happen when and if you win the election and are unable immediately to meet the expectations that you have created in your supporters?

Sadly Mr Mandela, these actions and your rhetoric, polarise and cause people who were and who might have been sympathetic to your cause to leave the country, or to distance themselves from what they now perceive to be the advent of anarchy.

Durbanville

ALROE A JENSEN

# 'Privatised' schools must use hard-sell tactics to prosper

**KATHRYN STRACHAN**

AS SCHOOL fees rocket with the introduction of the state-aided Model C plan, parents increasingly want to know whether schools can match their claims of high standards against the new fees.

In return for double their initial fees, parents have been promised various advantages in a circular from the Department of Education and Culture. The fees, it claims, will "retain quality schooling for your child".

These costly advantages include being able to decide on additions to the curriculum; setting the admissions policy of the school; and deciding the financial policy. But the main advantage for parents, says the department, is that through the managing body they can for the first time choose the teachers they want — and they can provide incentives for teachers by paying higher wages.

The new autonomy also means, according to the circular, "the wider community in which the school is situated can make an important contribution to the well-being of pupils at the school".

Thus, as the Model C plan moves the control of white education away from the state and into the hands of the community, information about what the various schools have to offer should, in theory, be made more freely available to parents and the community generally.

The state will pay the salaries of only a specific number of teachers at Model C schools, leaving parent bodies to take care of other teaching, operating and administration costs. It is therefore crucial that schools attract sufficient pupils to meet the additional fixed costs for which they will become responsible from August 1. In the light of this, principals expect schools to start advertising their merits and facilities to attract pupils.

However, Transvaal Education Department (TED) director-general Ken Paine has declined to disclose the academic performance of schools, saying it is not "educationally accountable".

There are surprising discrepancies in results — even between schools in neighbouring suburbs, he says. Furthermore, Paine warned certain schools, in spite of their now having management autonomy under Model C, that they were infringing TED rulings by making their results available to Business Day. Several principals heeded Paine's ban and refused to co-operate with this newspaper.

Paine's reason was that teachers and pupils were doing the best they could, and that it was not fair to compare various schools. But this is exactly what school principals believe parents will be doing. Now that they are paying more, they will be more selective about what they are paying for.

Parktown Boys' High principal Tom Clarke says the new plan has freed schools to improve their results by having more control over teaching. He believes academic results depend primarily on the quality of teaching.

With their new autonomy, schools can appoint teachers immediately, sidestepping a lot of bureaucracy. Although the state will be paying for fewer teachers' salaries from August, schools will be allowed to decide, for the first time, how many staff they want to employ above the department's quota.

"Schools are now allowed to employ more teachers than before, which will allow them to have extra teachers to pay attention to slower pupils, or to provide enrichment for gifted pupils," says Clarke.

This partial privatisation has led many to fear that the new plan is merely a thin disguise for segregation in education where income levels will support privilege.

The great bonus of Model C, says Clarke, is that schools will, for the first time, be allowed to make their academic successes public knowledge. Clarke says the previous restrictions were "extremely unfair" as they placed the public spotlight on a school's sporting victories which could be publicised, thus often making them more important than academic results in setting the image of the school. This disclosure of results is precisely what Paine has attempted to block.

It also gave commercial colleges, which were allowed to advertise their academic results, an unfair advantage, and led the public to the incorrect conclusion that they produced better results than ordinary schools, says Clarke. "We will have

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to market our school more like commercial colleges, because parents will be more selective now that they are paying more. So schools will have to ensure that their academic standards are excellent."

Jeppe Boys' High principal David Quail supports the view that parents will look more closely at their choices. They will not only scrutinise academic results, but will consider facilities, sporting results, history and traditions of the school. This means schools will have to go out and actively market their image to attract pupils, he says.

Jeppe Girls' High principal Barbara Thompson agrees that many factors are taken into account when a school is chosen. Girls are drawn to her school as much by the flower shows and by the way the girls "turn out" as by its academic record — which is very good.

As the payment of school fees now becomes compulsory under Model C, Ferndale High principal Dan Brown says schools will be able to set their fees at a higher level. But it is critical that schools keep fees within the reach of the community, he says.

The success of the Model C plan hinges entirely on whether parents are able to pay, says a northeastern high school principal. Although state bursaries will be available to those who cannot afford the fees, as established by a means test, he says there are surprisingly many parents who do not pay even the existing fees. Taking into account the rising cost of living, the increase in school fees will strain many families' finances, especially if there are several children to educate.

Schools have been told they can prosecute defaulting parents but that can also be costly, he says.

Greenside vice-principal Anthony Mason also has reservations about the change, but from a different perspective. "We are now terrified of parental interference. Parents who know nothing about education are now going to come meddling in our affairs. What legal firm would allow me to tell them what to do — what would they say if I told them to cut back on secretaries?"

Much confusion still surrounds the change, and the degree of control the TED retains over schools. To what extent can it embargo information about schools? Principals say they have had very little in writing, and there is little clarity about whether schools will have to pay municipal rates — which explains a great deal of the uncertainty about final school fees. The rates for Sandown High, for example, are a potentially crippling R60 000 a year.

The state will pay rates for the next year and schools have requested the Johannesburg City Council to exempt them from payment thereafter.

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...ding into satellite technology stations.

# ANC angry over accusations

**Political Staff**

A FURIOUS clash broke out between the ANC and the government at Codesa over a government document which detailed alleged contraventions by the ANC of the National Peace Accord and other agreements.

The ANC yesterday said the "offensive" document could impede negotiations.

SACP negotiator Mr Ronnie Kasrils suggested that the government was trying to pin the violence on the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe to distract attention from recent remarks by two judges that the courts had found that "the police had a hand in the violence".

# ANC prisons: Probe urged

**JOHANNESBURG. — A German-based group yesterday called for an independent inquiry into allegations of torture and ill-treatment of former ANC detainees.**

**At the end of a two-week visit to South Africa, Christian Partnership against Violence executive Mrs Anny Brandt said she met several former ANC detainees, who told of how they were tortured in ANC prison camps. — Sapa**

# Prisoners buy freedom for R600 — MP

**PRISONERS were bribing their way out of Johannesburg's Diepkloof prison for a flat fee of R600, Mr Tony Leon (DP Houghton) has claimed.**

**Speaking in the debate on the Correctional Services Budget Vote, he said that in 1991, 81 awaiting trial prisoners had escaped from Diepkloof — known to inmates as "Sun City" — and none had been rearrested.**

**It was said a prisoner could bribe his way out for R600.**

**The 81 escapers represented two-thirds the number of awaiting trial prisoners who escaped in 1991 and there was a rate of recapture of between 80 percent and 100 percent elsewhere in the country.**

**● Some prisoners will be allowed out at weekends to spend time with their families.**

**Provision for this was made in terms of the Correctional Services Amendment Bill tabled yesterday.**

**Prisoners who did not return from weekend leave would be deemed to have escaped from prison.**

And the fact was that Sharon was beginning to falter. That is the interpretation he and his aides put on a recent, inglorious operation in Gaza. The Israeli army had been obliged to retreat from its punitive foray into Area A, that portion of the occupied territories over which the Palestinian Authority has exclusive control. The important thing here, he said, was that United States President George W Bush and the Europeans had told Sharon to stop.

So you believe that international intervention is indispensable? "This is what happened all over the world, in Bosnia, in Kosovo."

Some Israelis believe that you will do anything, even engineer another massacre, another Sabra and Shatila, to bring that about? "It has been done already — 25 000 people wounded. And what about all that destruction to houses, installations, schools, mosques and churches; even the synagogue of the Samaritans in Nablus has been bombed."

Was it not possible, if things got worse, that, instead of completing his "long march" to Jerusalem, he would be captured and put on a plane to Tunis, his former headquarters in exile, as some Israelis were urging?

"I will return," Arafat replied. "I have my ways, you know. I always used to come here secretly. This is my land. Here I shall die."

(Above) As the leaders entered the stadium, they were greeted by deafening toyi-toying from the ecstatic crowd.

(Above) The SACP banner is carried into the stadium. (Below) The guard of honour marches.

10/1/11

## Bomb sequel

# ANC delays return of 400 children

**By Michele Vermaak, Tony Stirling and Sapa**

THE return of 400 primary school children from Tanzania would be delayed until alternative arrangements could be made, following the weekend bombing of Hillview High School in Pretoria, the African National Congress said yesterday.

The ANC would not be intimidated by the bombing and would not capitulate to Right-wing pressure but would investigate all possibilities for accommodating the children, an ANC spokesman, Mr Karl Niehaus, said yesterday.

However, the safety of the children was paramount.

Hillview had not necessarily been abandoned as an option, but the renovations would take some time and the ANC wanted to bring the children back home as soon as possible, he said.

The school was badly damaged in a blast on Sunday.

The ANC was consulting with various communities and the government in a search for possible alternatives, Mr Niehaus said.

In an earlier statement the ANC said it was "outraged" at the cowardly attack on the school, which was to have housed the children, scheduled to start returning from Tanzania on August 15.

"The damage to the building is substantial and we will delay their return until alternative arrangements can be made. Obviously the safety of the children is our most important concern, and we will do everything in our power to ensure their safety on return to the

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Sunday Tribune 9/11/92

# ANC supporters don't want leaders to meet

A RECENT newspaper article quoted a government source as saying that Zulu people were furious with Nelson Mandela over his failure to meet Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi. This is not true.

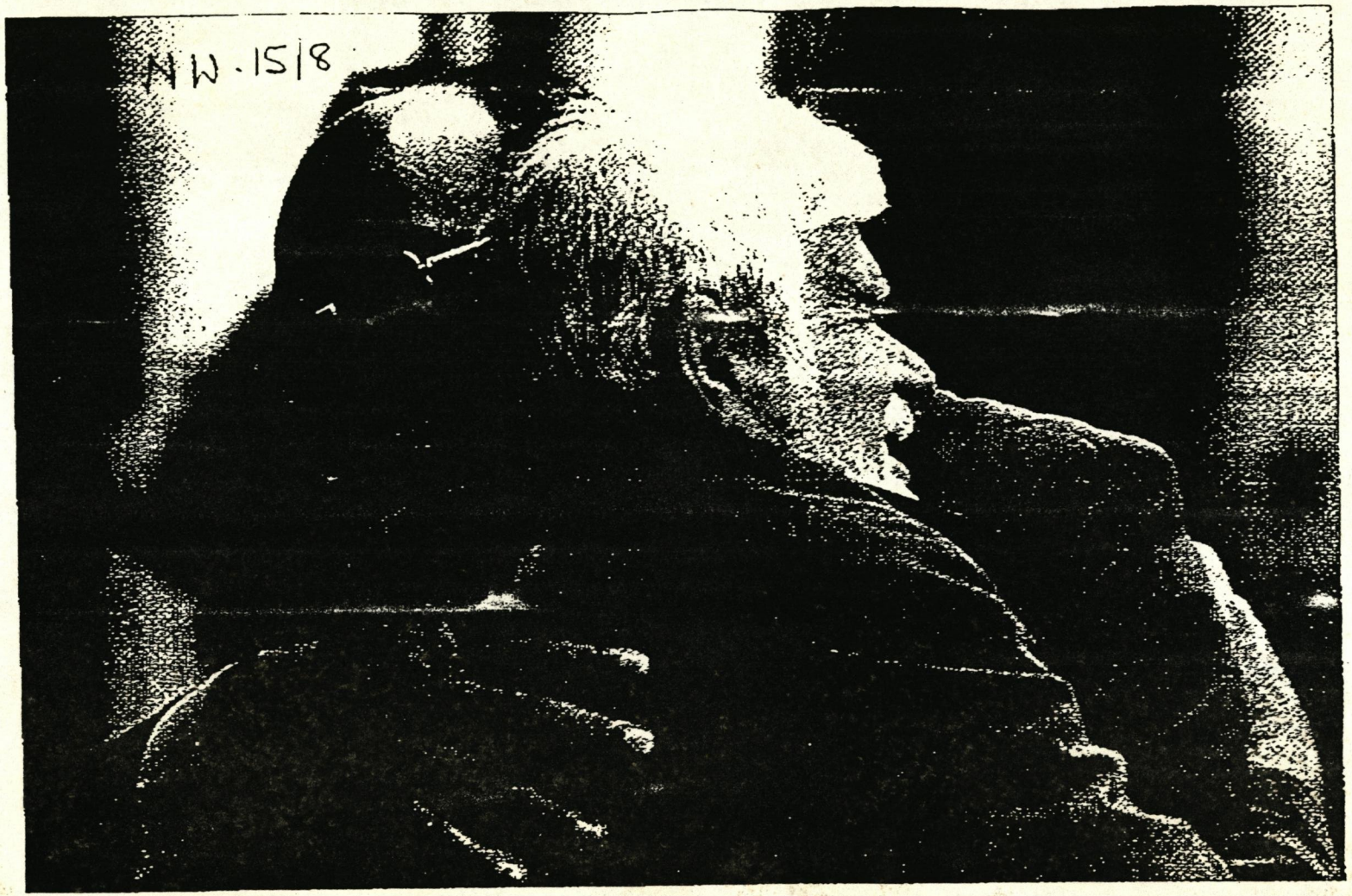
If that source was in touch with Zulu people who support the African National Congress and Mr Mandela it would know that we have no problem with Mr Mandela's not meeting Dr Buthelezi. Seeing the two men shaking hands in public with photographers capturing the "Golden Moment" is not going to save anything. Mr Mandela must not meet Dr Buthelezi because his loyal supporters do not want him to and those are the only people he should be bothered about, not his critics or editors of newspapers who are calling on him to do so.

"Seeing the two men shaking hands in public with photographers capturing the 'Golden Moment' is not going to save anything".

Another issue raised was that Mr Mandela should not be "gallivanting' overseas. What for, I ask you? He has done everything he can to stop the violence and his sitting around waiting for these stupid fighting Xhosas and Zulus to come to their senses is hardly going to solve anything.

If the government believes it released Mr Mandela so he could spend the rest of his life cleaning up its dirty work it had better think again. The government and Inkatha started this senseless violence so they are responsible for stopping it, not Mr Mandela.

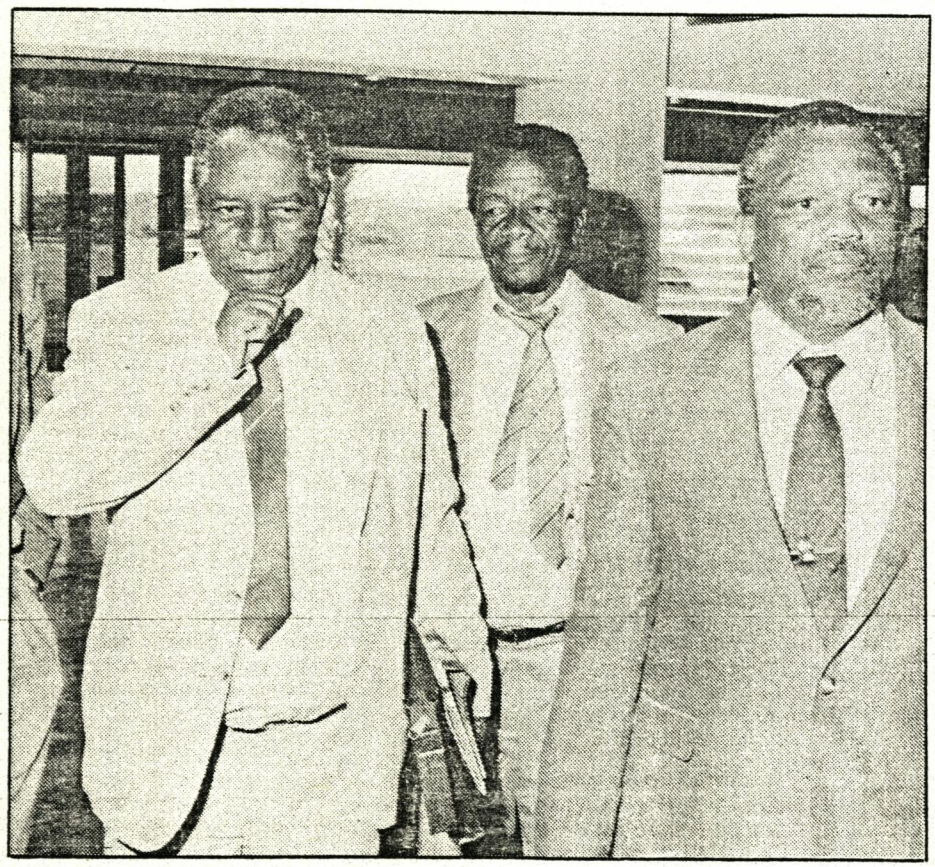
E. Khuzwayo
Merebank




**ANC leader greets new man**

ANC provincial leader Jacob Zuma welcomes Walter Felgate into his party's ranks. Picture by CLINT ZASMAN

# ANC and IFP meet over ambush crisis



The co-chairmen of the Inkatha Freedom Party and African National Congress peace committee, Frank Mdlalose (left) and John Nkadimeng (right) after their visit to the scene of Sunday's bus attack. KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member, David Ntombela, is in the background.

by CRAIG URQUHART

ON a day of mudslinging between the Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade and the ANC midlands regional branch over who was responsible for Sunday night's bus attack, a high-level joint delegation yesterday flew to Pietermaritzburg to address the crisis.

The co-chairmen of the joint Inkatha Freedom Party and ANC peace committee, Frank Mdlalose and John Nkadimeng, expressed their condolences to the families of the victims of the attack. They stressed that the peace initiative was still on course and there was no indication that either party wanted to abandon the agreement.

The delegation appealed to anyone from either organisation who witnessed the attack or who knew what had happened to get in touch with them or the police. The incident is to be raised at a meeting of the joint committee in Durban on Monday.

Earlier in the day, the ANC midlands branch accused Inkatha supporters of initiating Sunday's bus attack in kwaShange which left 18 people dead and vehemently denied that any ambush took place.

The Natal Witness has received reports from several sources that an attack in Gezubuso — an ANC stronghold — which left two people dead, sparked off the bus massacre.

Police spokesman Lieutenant Henry Budhram said approximately 500 people entered Gezubuso at 4 pm on Sunday afternoon and shot dead Betty Gumbi and Maister Zondi — both elderly residents — and seriously injured another woman. However, Budhram said police had no evidence to connect the killings with the bus attack.

ANC midland's chairman Harry Gwala said residents in kwaShange, which overlooks Gezubuso, witnessed the shooting. He said shortly afterwards the KZT buses arrived in kwaShange and the passengers began attacking residents in the area.

He said the first victim in the attack, "Mr Ngcobo" was a kwaShange resident.

"After that residents in the area mobilised and struck back," Gwala said.

He said that he had statements from several witnesses to the incident and added he intended taking the matter "much further".

The Natal Witness learned that only three 9 mm bullets struck one of the buses, piercing its outer skin. In addition, it appears that no one was injured inside the bus as there was no blood.

## Chief's house attacked in Ndaleni

**Witness Reporter**

VIOLENCE flared up in Ndaleni township near Richmond on Monday night when the home of Patrick Majozi, KwaZulu chief in the area, was attacked by men armed with R4 and AK47 rifles and handgrenades.

Police spokesman Lieutenant Henry Budhram said Majozi, who was at home with family and friends at the time of the attack, immediately notified the police.

Budhram said that when the police arrived, the attackers had already fled and that no one had been injured in the attack.

He said police found four AK47 rounds and three R4 rounds and three handgrenades had exploded around the house and the men had attempted to burn the house down.

Damage to Majozi's house is estimated at R5 000.

The chief's bodyguard said the shooting started at 9.15 pm and was followed by "several big blasts".

He said that the chief was a "target" in the area which is an ANC stronghold and that his house was burned down exactly a year ago in a similar attack.

However, it is unclear whether the attack was linked to the recent violence in the neighbouring township of kwaMagoda which left at least six people dead and 150 houses razed.

In a statement released yesterday, Vusi Khumalo of the IFP Youth Brigade said it was estimated that "at least five AK47 rifles were used in the attack as well as other small arms".

However, police say that only shotgun and R1 cartridges were found at the scene of the attack.

Gwala's version of the incident comes amid a scathing attack on him from the Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade which labelled him, among other things, "a warlord".

In response to Gwala's statement, KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member David Ntombela said that instead of sympathising with the victims he was trying to defend the killers.

Another KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member, Velaphi Ndlovu, last night called on Gwala to come clean and say whether the ANC had ambushed the bus or not.

He said Gwala obviously knew who had killed the two people in Gezubuso and who had ambushed the bus and should give that information to the police.

The accusations came just hours after a joint statement issued by the two organisations and signed by deputy president of the ANC, Nelson Mandela and IFP chairman Frank Mdlalose on behalf of KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi expressing condolences to the families of the people who were killed.

"We undertake to bend all our efforts to uncover the roots of these acts of violence and commit ourselves to leave no stone unturned in the search for peace and political tolerance among our people," the statement said.

• Ntombela said that yesterday evening an Inkatha supporter received facial injuries after the bus in which she was travelling was apparently stoned in Edendale.

Asked by Dr Alex Boraine, (PFP Pinelands), if the official Opposition would be given the same privilege, Mr Botha said he would decide on that at a lattr stage.

Mr Botha then turned to the "higher authority" mentioned by Mr Justice Erasmus in connection with the reversal of the undertaking to release the evidence.

The judge must have been referring to legal authority, Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha said one of the reasons he had given for asking Dr Mulder to resign was his failure to inform his Cabinet colleagues on certain matters.

He repeated his assurance that the Government would do everything possible to make clean administration possible.

State property both in South Africa and overseas had been brought under control and, apart from the money owed by Mr Louis Luyt and Mr Andre Pieterse, an amount of R3 462 513 had been recovered.

"Less than 10%" interjected opposition members.

Mr Botha said he had repeatedly asked why the police had not taken action against possible offenders. It was the normal practice that a police investigation began only after a judicial commission into the same matter had completed its work, Mr Botha said.

● See Page 5

Move undermines interim govt

# ANC sounds warning on bond issue

THE ANC has criticised government's 250-million ecu (R800m) public bond issue and warned that a "democratic" government would "assess its obligation" to service and repay debts contracted by the present government.

The ANC said in a statement yesterday the bond issue was in gross violation of financial and investment sanctions in force against SA, and of UN resolutions.

It implicitly criticised — without naming — lead managers Banque Paribas and Swiss Bank Corporation.

The ANC said it was "bound to declare, once again, that a democratic government will carefully assess its obligations to service and take responsibility for debts contracted by the SA government and its various agencies".

The ANC statement said it was particularly critical because the issue took place just before the formation of an interim government and such a government's formal request for the lifting of economic sanctions.

One ANC source said, however, that the ANC's anger was more a "shot across the bow" than an outright refusal to honour all new foreign loans, although ANC members insist the threat had to be taken seriously.

The ANC's concern derived from its impression that government was engaged in a cynical attempt to buy votes in a future election and to present itself as the champion of the poor for political purposes, the source said.

Finance director-general Gerhard Croeser said in a statement the money

SHERIDAN CONNOLLY and TIM COHEN

raised would contribute to the financing of the national Budget, "the thrust of which is increasingly the upliftment of the less advantaged part of the community".

In its statement, the ANC said it was significant that the ecu loan carried onerous interest rate charges. This represented a heavy burden on the economy and the people of SA.

"The ecu bond is for five years, and was launched at 10,375%, and is selling at par. This is some 3% higher than straight market rates of interest," the ANC said.

But a senior analyst rejected this claim, saying the interest rate was not unreasonable considering it was the country's first major entry into the ecu bond market.

In addition, considering the political risk involved, interest rates normally charged to developing countries were at a premium to those charged to developed countries, the analyst said. In any event, the 10,375% rate was only marginally higher than benchmark issues in the ecu market.

The ANC said it had learnt that Transnet planned to issue an equity-linked financial instrument to foreign subscribers which has the potential for providing investors with a rate of return of as high as 28%. A Transnet spokesman declined to comment.

The ANC said: "It is clear that the SA regime remains bent on a course of curbing the economic options of a future democratic government through the imposition

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## Bond issue

From Page 1

of a costly burden of indebtedness on the economy."

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said his organisation fully supported the ANC's position that a future government would have the right to review loans raised by the current government.

Coleman also rejected Croeser's statement that the loan was raised to help finance the Budget which was increasingly orientated towards social upliftment, adding that the loan was raised unilaterally.

"In whose judgment are they benefiting the majority?" he asked, criticising what he said was government's "top-down" approach and its reluctance to enter into negotiations on the issue.

In response to the proposition that European banks had indicated the ANC and Cosatu were bluffing when they suggested a new government would not repay the debts, Coleman said: "Their bluff may be called."

Comment: Page 0

# Apartheid Opponents Focus on Foreign Firms

By Mark Potts
Washington Post Staff Writer

Opponents of South Africa's apartheid policies, who have been making headway in their efforts to get U.S. companies to withdraw from that nation, are turning their sights to a much tougher target: foreign concerns with holdings there.

"My anticipation is that there will be a new focus on all companies in South Africa as the American withdrawal becomes more pronounced," said Rev. Leon Sullivan, the Philadelphia minister who has been a leader of the efforts to reduce U.S. corporate involvement in South Africa. "A number of companies from around the world, I think, will have to look at their presence, also, as public opinion develops around the issue."

"This is really quite an international movement now," said Tim Smith, director of the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, a New York group that has been involved in efforts to force U.S. firms to divest their South African operations. "International focusing is already well under way."

The broadening of the efforts to put economic pressure on South Africa to end its segregationist apartheid policies comes as Sullivan has taken his hardest line yet on the issue, calling two weeks ago for the complete withdrawal of U.S. corporations from South Africa. It also coincides with an apparent quickening of the pace of pullouts by U.S. companies in recent months.

With last week's announcements that Citicorp, Ford Motor Co. and ITT Corp. plan to end their South African involvement, nearly 150 U.S. companies have either left South Africa or announced plans to do so since 1984—including 39 so far this year, according to the Investor Responsibility Research Center, a Washington-based organization.

Many of the companies have said they left for economic or strategic reasons rather than because of the pressure that has been put on them by the anti-South African activists.

Nearly 200 major U.S. firms remain in South Africa, led by Mobil Corp., which has more than 3,000 employes there. Most of the companies say they believe they can force South Africa to change its apartheid policies by working within

See SOUTH AFRICA, H7, Col. 1

## ANC STATEMENT

# INKATHA SEEKS TO SPREAD ITS VIOLENCE BEYOND NATAL

Today, 26th July 1990, an Inkatha leader addressed a meeting at Unit Number 1 of Jabulani Hostel. During the course of his address, it is reported that he incited his audience to launch physical attacks on persons wearing or displaying the hammer and sickle insignia or other emblems associated with the South African Communist Party.

On the same day, reports reaching us indicate that, at Jeppe hostel, other spokesmen for Inkatha are organising Inkatha sympathisers for a second attack on Sebokeng township on August 4th. It is alleged that the police are deeply embroiled in these preparations and have assisted in arming the hostel dwellers for this second attack.

Further reports allege that the residents of hostels in Soweto are being mobilised to launch attacks on anyone opposed to Inkatha or who appears not to support it. There are also charges that people are being forcibly enrolled as members of Inkatha in both the Soweto hostels and those in Jeppe.

The ANC is particularly alarmed by these reports and wishes to bring them to public attention.

As the criminal actions of vigilantes in Sebokeng this weekend demonstrate, there is a sinister and well-orchestrated campaign afoot to spread the violence that has plagued Natal beyond that province. The persons behind this plot are receiving active assistance from elements in the police. The purpose of this unholy alliance is to terrorise the people in the most militant townships into submission, destroy and disrupt the people's organisations, and to undermine the prospects of the forthcoming meeting of August 6th.

It should be a matter of grave concern that while the South African government speaks of peace to the peoples of the world, inside South Africa elements of its security services are deeply implicated in fomenting violence and participating in carnage.

The charges of police involvement with Inkatha vigilantes are too numerous to be ignored. Thus far no action has been taken against the criminals who caused such mayhem in Sebokeng on Sunday July 22nd. After repeated warnings that violence was imminent, instead of disarming the Inkatha supporters, the vast majority of whom were bussed in from outside Sebokeng, the police escorted them to their rally and through the township. Rather than subduing the attackers, the action of the police targeted residents of Sebokeng who tried to defend themselves.

Despite the fact that the police had every opportunity to identify the perpetrators of this violence, not a single person has yet been arrested or charged for the crimes committed in Sebokeng this weekend.

Emboldened by such inaction, the Inkatha vigilantes yesterday attacked a trainload of commuters, resulting in the hospitalisation of at least twenty. Again, the police had been warned in advance that these attacks were imminent. The reports of today's activities indicate that further attacks are being planned even at this moment.

The inaction of the police in Sebokeng; their alleged involvement in the incidents in Jeppe; their demonstrable unwillingness to arrest and prosecute the warlords and inciters of violence, are of a pattern with those of Natal.

Under the prevailing circumstances the people must reserve their inalienable right to defend themselves when attacked. The responsibility for any violence that ensues, as a result, devolves squarely on the police.

The African National Congress demands that President de Klerk take immediate steps to put an end to the violence by:

★ Ordering the arrest and prosecution of the perpetrators of the Sebokeng massacre;

★ Ordering the immediate suspension of the police officers who stood by while the vigilantes attacked people in Sebokeng;

★ Taking action against those fomenting violence in the PWV area;

★ Instituting an independent inquiry to investigate the violence of the weekend and the attempts to spread the violence beyond Natal.

**African National Congress**
**Department of Information and Publicity**
**Johannesburg**
**July 26, 1990**

*SADF troops deployed in Sebokeng*

*Protest in Johannesburg against the war in Natal*

Nothing but the TRUTH

MOHAU PHEKO

# Africa will take back power

THERE is no doubt in my mind 2002 will become a year that will create a people's manifesto for resistance. Millions walk around jobless, landless, without adequate healthcare, and without hope. Africans are becoming vagrants who live between dreams and desperation. The street militancy of the international resistance movement to Northern-imposed globalisation is catching on in Africa.

Not much will be said in the press about the first African Social Forum convening in Bamako, Mali, over the next few days, yet this gathering promises to influence Africa's debates for years to come.

Workers, trade unions, representatives of left-wing political parties, NGOs, anti-globalisation activists of all African shades and persuasions, and intellectuals such as former freedom fighter and first president of Algeria, Ahmed Ben Bella, prominent political commentator and writer Samir Amin and leading women politicians like Senegal's Marie Angelique Savane will lay the groundwork for an African people's manifesto of resistance to the forces of globalisation as defined by the theoreticians of neo liberal ideology.

The loss of power by the African states is presenting new challenges for citizens everywhere in Africa. It is a revealing commentary on the subservient nature of Africa's relations with the rest of the world that the first public unveiling of MAP – now the New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development – took place at the Swiss resort of Davos where the world's rich, political and business leaders annually meet in an informal setting.

The pathetic status of our African State and its relationship with the electorate is decided at international level before being discussed at home. The collusion by our governments with the discourse on the equality between political democracy and the market activity of the economy is the result of a distinctive lack of intellectual investigation.

In fact, growing resistance to the idea proves there is conflict rather than convergence between democracy and the market. No economic system in our modern world can be reduced to the concept of a "market economy" because it is a capitalist economy based on private ownership of property and the means of production.

Private property will always benefit the minority and exclude the majority and the marginalised. Africa is not constructed by a sum of individuals. Distinct social classes form it. The obsession of our economic policies with satisfying the desires of a few wealthy individuals negates and fails to recognise the existence of these social classes.

As a result, a critical question is not asked: what are the interests, aspirations and motivations of these social classes? How will economic policy address or redress the imbalances that exist?

Unable to acknowledge the disastrous results of their policies, governments have been unable to react except by attempting to criminalise social movements that oppose neo-liberal fundamentalism. September 11 has become the turning point for reinforcing brutality against journalists, landless people, legal challenges of the HIV/AIDS struggles, and increasing victimisation of street vendors and a regressive position on labour policy.

Governments are taking steps to curtail liberties, while corporations, citing September 11, are retrenching thousands of workers.

The Africa Social Forum comes at a necessary time in our history. It aims to create a world where financial imperatives or the rule of the strong do not dominate, and establish in its place a world based on the shared values of humanity.

# Agony ended at gallows

By LARRY OLMSTEAD
Free Press Africa Bureau

KWAMASHU, South Africa — At age 15, Andrew Zondo found Jesus, and the African National Congress found Andrew Zondo.

"He became a Christian in a dramatic way," said his father, the Rev. Aiken Zondo, a Congregationalist minister. The precocious teenager attended Christian youth meetings, telling all who would listen about Jesus.

At the same time, however, Zondo, struck by what he perceived to be the injustice of life in South Africa for blacks, became a recruit of the banned organization fighting for the overthrow of the government.

At age 20, Mr. Zondo said, his son made his peace with God before going to the gallows in Pretoria on Sept. 9, 1986, for placing a limpet mine in a shopping center that exploded, killing five people.

Mr. Zondo, 51, and his wife Lephinah, 47, are searching for that same peace.

"You just ask God to make that a closed book," he said. "The day he was hanged in the morning, I was preaching in the evening. That's what I mean when I say we asked the Lord to close the books."

But it's not that easy for educated, proud parents living in volatile KwaMashu, a segregated black township north of Durban.

It's not easy for parents who remember their favorite son agonizing as he was confronted with choices even adults should not have to make. They shared his agony, taking turns sleeping with him during tear-filled nights.

It's not easy for parents who shun politics — "we belong to a heavenly government," Mr. Zondo said — to cope with a country in constant political turmoil, knowing that their son died in that turmoil.

It's not easy for parents who abhor violence to understand what led their son to take so many lives. "To me, as a Christian, the word 'violence' is out of the picture," Mr. Zondo said. "May I repeat. I have no way of justifying violence of any kind."

Mr. Zondo has a young-looking, handsome face and short-cropped hair. His movements, his words, show a sense of self-discipline, self-control, broken only by an occasional sardonic grin. He is a man who appreciates irony.

His wife is a large woman who isn't afraid to speak, but does so humbly in the tradition of a male-dominated society. She sits at a dining-room table in the comfortable but rickety house.

"We live less than hand-to-mouth," Mr. Zondo said. "We don't have any salary. We are not like those big, historic established churches. We're just a small, small church. We really live by faith."

The poverty had an impact on Andrew Zondo. According to statements in court and prison interviews given to Fatima Meer, a Durban sociologist and political activist who has written a book about the case, Zondo wondered at age seven why white clergy seemed to live so much better than his parents. He concluded that it was because his parents were black.

"I used to think, these people are living in heaven, we are living in hell," Zondo recalled in an interview with Meer.

"We had very little furniture in our house. . . . We had five wooden chairs and a sideboard. We had sponges (foam mattresses) on which we slept. I didn't sleep on a bed until 1981."

A year earlier, at Nhlakanipo High School, he had become politicized by class boycotts and had his first brush with police when they fired tear gas at the school.

Poorly skilled teachers and underfunded, underequipped schools for blacks are some of the inequities that faced Zondo and other black youths who grow up under apartheid.

Blacks may not vote in national elections. They live in segregated, overcrowded, often dilapidated housing. Their communities often lack adequate electricity and running water. Eighteen percent are unemployed, according to government figures that experts say are extremely understated. Those blacks that work will earn at least four times less, on average, than whites.

Zondo was moved to challenge the order he held responsible for those conditions.

In 1981, at 15, he attended a political rally in Durban, running through the streets in military formation with other KwaMashu youths. On the train home, he met a man in his 20s and they exchanged notes and ideas.

They became friends. Four months later, the man, whose name was never divulged, said he was an ANC member and asked Zondo to form a cell in KwaMashu.

Zondo agreed and began to recruit others to the cell, a team of three to six ANC guerillas. Together they distributed pro-ANC pamphlets and spray-painted slogans on walls.

At the same time, Zondo was being lured by Christianity. "He started to testify before young people," Mr. Zondo said. "Young and old, in fact, telling them about Jesus. And even going to Christian movements, like the Student Christian Movement. He was very, very active. There was a drastic change in his life."

However, Andrew Zondo eventually decided to focus on the ANC. On the pretext of going to study, he left South Africa for nearby Swaziland, where he was put through formal recruitment procedures in preparation for military training.

The youth returned home after a week, but police raided an ANC facility in Swaziland and found his biographical details. They confronted the teenager and gave him a choice — help lead police to undercover ANC cadres or go to jail.

By that time, Zondo was 17. He had completed his senior year of high school at 15; his father thought he had the potential to become a doctor. His parents pleaded with him to give up his political activities and to continue his studies. He would cry at night, and his parents took turns sleeping with him.

Finally, "I realized there was no future for me in South Africa," Zondo told Meer. "I could not inform on my comrades because to do so was to stab a knife in the back of my own people."

Lephinah Zondo remembers that Zondo disappeared at noon on a Saturday in March 1983. He called the next day. That was the last they heard from him until his arrest shortly after the bombing on Dec. 23, 1985.

She said any parent would object to their son leaving when "you were looking to have something better in his future."

Zondo thought he might continue his studies while in the ANC, but in May 1983 a car bomb exploded in Pretoria, killing 19 people and injuring more than 200. The South African air force promptly retaliated by bombing Maputo, Mozambique, killing at least 58 people, including 41 ANC members.

Zondo quickly volunteered for MK — Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's guerilla arm. He took two years of training in Angola, which he described to Meer as "the best experience in my life."

There were people of all races at the ANC camps, he said. "Our color did not matter. I began to feel like a human being. I was not a native or a kaffir," he said. In South Africa, "kaffir" is the equivalent of "nigger."

Zondo was sent back to KwaMashu, taking care not to visit relatives, which is how many ANC guerillas get captured.

Now 19, Zondo was placed in charge of three cells. They started by bombing a post office, an incident in which no one was injured. Zondo said he had been trained by the ANC to avoid harming civilians, even if it meant placing himself in greater jeopardy.

But on Dec. 20, 1985, commandos attacked ANC members at homes in Maseru, Lesotho, killing nine people. South Africa did not acknowledge responsibility for the raid, which angered Zondo.

"I heard tales of how, in cold blood, they killed people who did not even belong to the ANC," Zondo said of the incident. He was contacted by his controller, who told him to retaliate within three days. That meant he would have to act with little assistance, because three days was too little time to organize an attack by several people.

Zondo went to Amanzimtoti to see if he could find a government installation to attack. He considered the police station, but decided he could not attack it on his own.

NEWS

# ANC discipline must be strong, Gwala tells Machibise branch

by Lakela Kaunda

IF the African National Congress is fighting to rule this country, organisational discipline should be strong among members, ANC Midlands convenor Harry Gwala told a large audience at the launch of the ANC's Machibise branch.

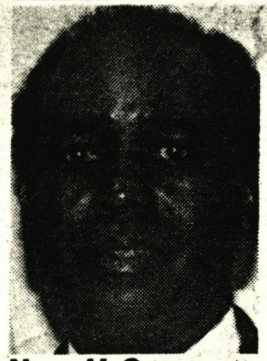
He said branches were the foundation of the ANC and should be consolidated to exert strong discipline on members.

"All South Africans who want freedom should join the ANC, but not through violence or compulsion. We should explain what the ANC stands for and why we want them to join us."

He urged members to raise funds but "not through coercing people. Do not go to business people and force them to donate stipulated figures, and do not 'tax' vehicle owners at 'toll roads'. We do not want the name of our organisation to be tarnished."

He said while the armed struggle remained an option, the ANC had resolved to give negotiations a chance. He announced that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela will address a rally at Wadley stadium on October 7 because "when he was here in March he spent too little time and could not meet with the people."

The meeting elected branch executive Sho Shabalala chairman, Jabulani Shangase secretary and Mabutho Ngubane treasurer. The Pata branch of the ANC was launched on Sunday.



## New U.S. envoy

BISMARCK Myrick is the new United States of America Consul General. He brushed his Durban office desk for the first time last Friday. Myrick has specialised in the African region during his State Department career, serving in Liberia and Somalia and travelling to 35 countries on the continent.

He is co-author of *Three Aspects of Crisis in Colonial Kenya.*

Myrick replaces the colourful Tex "Larger-than-life" Harris who left Durban in July. — ER.

## News in brief

THE Natal Organisation of Women (Now) is no more. Now resolved to fold on Sunday to join the ANC Women's League.

Now has been actively involved in a campaign for women's rights and against human rights abuses in Natal in the absence of the ANC. There is a move nationwide to incorporate regional women's organisations into the ANCWL.

THEATRE Alliance for Natal (Tan), bringing together close to 1 000 performing artists in the region, will be launched on Sunday at 10am at St Aidans Hall in Durban.

# Stop this Bill, asks Contralesa

by Lakela Kaunda

THE Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) has sent a memorandum to State President FW de Klerk requesting him not to assent to the KwaZulu government bill on Amakhosi and Iziphakanyiswa, passed in Ulundi recently.

The Bill, among other things, empowers the Chief Minister of KwaZulu to appoint or depose any inkosi of any community. It empowers him to suspend, dismiss or impose a fine on an inkosi who is "suspected" of having misconducted himself.

The Bill has been sent to the state president for endorsement.

Contralesa has asked De Klerk not to assent to the Bill because of the following reasons:

- It encroaches upon the independence of traditional chiefs. If enacted, their tenure of office would in terms of the Act be susceptible to abuse and manipulation at the instance of the government in power.
- In view of the fact that chiefs are accorded judicial functions by the Bill, it is important that they enjoy the security of the knowlege that they are separate from and independent of the executive arm of government. It is also important that they be seen by communities they serve to be independent.
- The enactment of the Bill would hinder and complicate the process of political and constitutional change in that it would impose upon the administration the difficult and complicated task of dismantling a system in which certain persons had acquired vested rights or interests.
- The Bill seeks to confer the power to maintain law and order upon the tribal chief which is inappropriate and potentially dangerous. This power should in any constitutional and legal dispensation be vested in the police and those organs of state concerned with the administration of justice.
- The Bill fails to take into account the historical roots of chieftainship and the socio-cultural factors which give rise to the condition in society whereby chiefs enjoy the respect of members of their tribe.

The Bill could lead to a situation where a person was appointed as chief who had no cultural or historical roots in the community.

Celebrated jazz pianist Abdullah Ibrahim (Dollar Brand) who returned to South Africa last week, will perform at the Durban city hall on Tuesday at 7pm. Ibrahim, who has been in exile for 14 years, has returned home for good. His return coincided with that of Hugh Masekela who is on a two-week visit in the country. Masekela left South Africa in 1959. Ibrahim was photographed at the Wits Great Hall. PIC: Rafs Mayet, Afrapix

# Black Sash seeks to resolve pension problems

by Heidi Gibson

THE Black Sash Advice Office has called on KwaZulu's welfare and pensions minister M.M. September to meet with them to discuss further recommendations spelt out in their memorandum handed to him earlier this year.

Durban Advice Office co-ordinator Lynn Hotz told *Echo*: "The Minister said at the protest march he would meet with a delegation from us but he has never come back to us."

The call follows a directive issued about a month ago by Ulundi's pension head office requesting the Black Sash Advice Office in Durban to refer all local inquiries to district pension officers.

Hotz said the advice offices had received a letter pointing out that Ulundi's head office staff could not cope with the volume of inquiries faxed to them.

"While we support and welcome the ordering of inquiries to be channelled straight to the district pension officials . . . there were various other recommendations explained in the memorandum that have not been addressed and we feel that the time is now right to do so," said Hotz.

Hotz said the form pensioners were now being issued with after inquiries had been made by district officers or magistrates was "the exact one" recommended in the memorandum.

However, she said, other problems like gross inefficiency, incorrect computer programming and poor communication between the head office and the district officers still had to be addressed.

Ann Strode from the Pietermaritzburg Advice Office said the decision to fax September regularly came after he said he had no idea of the magnitude of the problem. She said it was hoped that this would show him the problem was so great it needed intervention from Ulundi.

She said she hoped the Head Office was not "passing the buck" by placed the responsibility on district offices, and that a letter would be sent asking Ulundi to take more direct responsibility.

A KwaZulu pensions department spokesman confirmed the directive and said it made more sense for people directly in touch with local pensioners to deal with inquiries rather than head office.

THURSDAY SPECIALS (only today 13/9/90)

# A woman's kindness returned with violence

The volatile co-existence on Zimbabwe's occupied white-owned farms is under the constant threat of racially-based violence, writes **GINA DOGGETT**

MACHEKE, Zimbabwe – When Sarah Willard was casting her ballot on March 10 in Zimbabwe's tense, closely fought presidential election, a polling agent stepped up and asked for food.

Mrs Willard, a white farmer's wife, went to her car to fetch some bread rolls, which she gave to the man as villagers in the town of Macheke looked on.

This small act of kindness earned the Willards (not their real name) an attack on their homestead by ruling party supporters, who emptied the house of food and appliances and left it with all the water taps running.

"They commandeered the tractors and came here," Sarah Willard's brother-in-law George, who owns the adjoining farm, said.

"They had sticks, and started coming around the garden, shouting and screaming," and demanding "an audience" with Sarah, he said.

The polling agent was a member of the opposition Movement for Democratic Change.

Mugabe, throughout a bruising, violent campaign, depicted the MDC as a front for Zimbabwe's shrinking white minority and vowed to step up his controversial land reforms, under which he has targeted some 90% of prime white-owned farmland.

Rights groups say 40 people have been killed in political violence since the start of the year, mostly opposition supporters. The dead were all black except a white farmer who was killed on March 17.

By the time Willard faced 200 angry supporters of the ruling Zanu-PF more than a week after the bread roll incident, word had gone around the village that she had referred to blacks as "third-class citizens".

The group also believed that she had said: "If Tsvangirai wins, the settlers would have 30 minutes to get off the farm."

She and her husband Tony share their 2500-hectare farm with about 50 "settlers" – formerly landless blacks awarded plots under Mugabe's "fast-track" reforms.

Hundreds of other white-owned farms across Zimbabwe are similarly divvied up in a sometimes violent, often tense co-existence.

Willard stood before the group and said: "I regard you as equals". She asked which of them had heard the remarks attributed to her.

They replied that the polling agent had said she made them. In the end, a village elder assured the Willards he would calm the situation, and that they could live on in peace.

The Willards count themselves lucky that the cohabitation they have negotiated with their settlers is in fact relatively peaceful.

For example, they persuaded the settlers not to take over or burn down their tobacco-curing barns, arranging instead to cure the settlers' tobacco for them while keeping half the finished product.

The settlers, while not happy with the ratio, recognised that the Willards had the necessary equipment and expertise to turn their crop into a marketable commodity.

But the bread roll incident revealed the volatility of Zimbabwe's racial and political situation in the wake of the elections, with violence raging on, mostly affecting blacks seen as pro-opposition.

"It's tame here compared to other areas," George Willard's wife Margaret said. "What's going on in the (nearby) Ruzawi area is shocking."

She had just returned from the local hospital, which was treating 50 black labourers who had been beaten, as well as one rape victim. "Since last week they've had about five or six farms (where Zanu-PF supporters were) beating the labourers. It's chaos in that area," she said.

"We're definitely going to stick it out," George Willard said. "We just hope not too many others capitulate." – *AFP*.

The citizen

WEDNESDAY 27 MARCH 2002

# Show the world SA is different

THERE are simple answers to Cabinet members who complain about Africa being punished collectively for events in Zimbabwe.

Deputy President Jacob Zuma and others say it's not fair to lump Zim with other countries, and to threaten to withhold funding for the New Partnership for Africa's Development (Nepad).

First, let's prove it. Let's show the world Zimbabwe is not representative – and South Africa is another story altogether.

This must not be a one-off exercise. If we are going to convince prospective investors and donors that Zim is the exception, we must do so loudly, clearly and repeatedly.

No mixed messages, please.

Zuma, President Mbeki and their colleagues must not embrace the election fraudster Robert Mugabe, literally or figuratively, if they don't want to be seen in the same light. That means no hugging on public platforms, or legitimising Mugabe's re-election in any way.

Second, Nepad is by definition a collective concept. It seeks to promote and develop Africa, not in a piecemeal fashion but as a continent. Never mind that Zimbabwe is not a signatory to the aims of Nepad – a point which has not been broadcast too often. Zim is inextricably part of Africa.

The country is a litmus test for Nepad, despite protests to the contrary.

Zuma and company cannot have it both ways. They cannot remain close to Mugabe and still persuade the world they are different.

Similarily they should not seek a collective partnership and expect Zim to be treated separately.

That's the reality. Complaining won't help. Deal with it.

# Courting Zim road

CABINET Ministers are playing word games with the courts. And that has dire implications for all of us.

Just as you can't be slightly pregnant, there can be no half-measures about the rule of law.

Either the executive respects the judiciary and abides by due process, or it does not.

The attitude of Health Minister Manto Tshabalala-Msimang on the High Court ruling on the supply of Nevirapine is disturbing.

In effect she's telling the judge to get lost, for a second time.

Her semantics and those of Justice Minister Penuell Maduna point to a frightening future, where the executive accepts only rulings in its favour, and subverts or ignores decisions that go against it.

We need look no further than Zimbabwe to see where that road leads.

THE CAPE TIMES

# A timely letter

MR DAVID CURRY'S letter on this page yesterday was a timely reminder that the Government is estranged from the elected representatives of the Coloured people at a crucial stage of South African history. The alienation of the Labour Party and the Nationalist Government reflects the alienation of the Coloured community itself. The Labour Party declined to co-operate in the passing of the CRC budget because this was the strongest possible constitutional gesture which could be made to reflect the resentment and anger of the Coloured community. This important section of the South African population, which is particularly significant in the economy of the Western Cape, has suffered grievously from the onslaughts of ideological apartheid — the wounding and humiliating ravages of the Group Areas Act and race classification have taken a considerable toll in the past two decades. So much so that it is rash and presumptuous of anyone who represents authority to assume that the Coloured people are overflowing with goodwill for their White fellow citizens. As new dangers threaten South Africa's borders, the time is overdue for a dramatic gesture on the part of authority to regain the confidence of the Coloured people. They demand and are entitled to have restored to them *full citizenship as South Africans*. Let the politicians haggle over the details. In essence what is needed is the scrapping of legislation which enforces social, economic and political discrimination against South Africans who happen to be classified as "Coloured". Nothing much less than this would be of real value at this late stage.

# Are they really *all* advocates of 'non-violence'

**INKATHA'S claimed policy of non-violence has never come under more intense scrutiny than in the last few months. In fact it has now become almost impossible for the friends of the tribal movement to shrug off allegations of its supporters' involvement in acts of violence.**

So far a number of explanations have been offered for the violence in Natal over the past two years.

The government and its Bureau for Information has readily labelled the violence as "black on black". The hypotheses offered by the liberals have failed hopelessly to move away from the simple tribal and racial analysis.

Gatsha Buthelezi, Inkatha leader and kwaZulu tribal chief, has blamed the violence on the African National Congress (ANC) and the United Democratic Front (UDF).

All these explanations tend to relegate the most important basis of the conflict — namely that between the forces of apartheid and the vast masses of people ranged against this policy of racial exploitation.

This conflict manifests itself at all levels of South African society.

But to understand the role of Inkatha in this context, it is important to look at the historical development of the organisation.

It all started with the military defeat of the indigenous African tribes and the establishment of the racially exclusive Union of South Africa. This led to the formation in 1912 of the ANC and heralded a change in the way the indigenous population would resist colonial oppression. For the first time, Africans from every region, class and tribal group were united under a single organisation.

But after five decades of legal struggle, the ANC was banned and driven underground.

This era of intense repression in the early 60s was followed by the implementation of the bantustan system and an attempt to fragment the oppressed and revert to the pre-ANC era.

It was in this climate of repression and the rise of the homeland system that Buthelezi and the Inkatha movement, which was formed in 1922, were to come into prominence.

The movement is highly centralised and authoritarian — members are, for example, forbidden to publically criticise Inkatha. At both constitutional level and informally in the day to day workings of the organisation, power is entrenched in the hands of Buthelezi.

This derives directly from Inkatha's almost feudal character, where chiefs inherit power by virtue of their royal links.

Inkatha's ideological position at best can only be described as ambiguous — although there has been a more definite shift to the right since its revival in 1975.

On the one hand it draws heavily on the narrow interpretation of Zulu cultural traditions while at the same time projecting itself as a broad liberation movement.

In fact Buthelezi projected Inkatha as the internal wing of the liberation movement. Inkatha adopted the colours, uniforms and rhetoric used by the ANC during the Defiance Campaign and also tried to recruit as many former leaders of the exiled organisation as possible.

He also posed as an outspoken critic of the government and in particular its homeland consolidation policy and forced removals.

But Buthelezi and his movement shifted more and more to the right. His public position on a number of events is the best indication of this. The organisation's refusal to mobilise members around grassroot campaigns and the absence of grassroot representation at the kwaNatal Indaba all militated against the character of popular politics and resistance.

Inkatha's reformist politics and pro-capital/anti-worker stance is best demonstrated in the structure of the kwaNatal Indaba. Organisations like Cosatu and the UDF, which refused to participate in the Indaba, pointed out that the venture was essentially worked through a bantustan structure and was fundamentally undemocratic because it failed to allow for report-back opportunities and accountability to members.

The most overt shift to the right came just three years after Inkatha's revival, when Buthelezi urged the organisation's members to participate in the community council elections. This was seen as a significant turning point in Inkatha's political stance, especially since it coincided with the mass rejection of the community council structures by popular democratic organisations.

A year later Buthelezi told his followers: "I say to you bluntly: Do not be ashamed to enter the fray at the level of community councils, they are not vehicles of individual enrichment. They must be turned into chariots which take us into battle."

The movement also shifted its position on consumer boycotts and other non-violent methods which it had advocated as useful weapons in the campaign for peaceful change during the 70s. This was demonstrated in Inkatha's refusal to participate in the BTR-Sarmcol support committee and back consumer boycotts when invited to do so.

Inkatha members among the strikers and thousands of others were immediately exposed to the movement's sterile politics and its reluctance to take up issues through mass democratic struggle. Inkatha's ambivalence on the question of sanctions has also turned into vocal support for foreign investment.

The organisation did not hesitate to act against students who boycotted schools in kwaMashu.

Buthelezi went as far as congratulating kwaZulu children for the refusal to become involved in the school boycotts of 1976, sparked off by the protest against bantu education.

These events made it clear that Inkatha had opted to defend the institutions and policies of apartheid — and brought it into direct conflict with democratic forces in the country. Any opposition to Inkatha or apartheid would be met with the strongest response.

Inkatha Central Committee member Thomas Tshabalala was quoted as saying that he "longed for the day when there will be open war between the UDF and Inkatha — it will prove who is who in the political battle."

Tshabalala disclosed in an interview that a decision to train impis was taken at a meeting of all Inkatha branch chairmen and kwaZulu councillors under Code 26. (Code 26 is an electoral district and includes townships to the north and west of Durban.

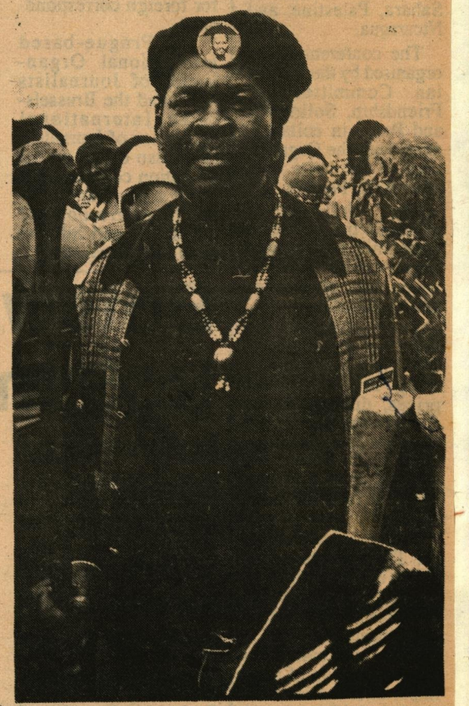
Attacks on the democratic movement increased in the 80s, especially with the formation of the UDF in 1983. This resulted in popular politics distancing itself from Inkatha, which had by now clearly been characterised as an ethnic, conservative and pro-capitalist base.

Popular politics increasingly came to focus around the Freedom Charter. This implied the politics of national unity rather than regional and tribal exclusivity.

Inkatha and apartheid's very premise was being threatened.

The launch of Cosatu meant opposition for Inkatha on it weakest front. Given its tribal and ethnic identity, the reactionary basis for Buthelezi's power, he was in no position to challenge Cosatu. Besides, Inkatha's narrow tribal politics allowed no room for the democratic decision-making Cosatu had so carefully nurtured through years of struggle.

Given earlier attempts by Buthelezi to project himself as a focus of non-violent opposition to apartheid, the attacks on the democratic movement immediately raised questions about Inkatha's avowed policy of non-violence — and who it was meant for.



## World status is on the line

**INKATHA could soon face a crisis on the international front because of questions** about whether its supporters adhere to its stated position of being non-violent.

The tribal movement has repeatedly projected itself as the non-violent alternative to the African National Congress (ANC).

However, hundreds of activists and supporters of the democratic movement have been attacked and butchered since August 1985, when a wave of violence swept through Natal townships.

More than 80 people have been killed in the last seven weeks alone, most of them members and supporters of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu).

According to Natal-based academics, 95 percent of those killed were either members or supporters of Cosatu and the UDF.

While the conflict has been passed off as another case of inter-tribal and "black-on-black violence", the attacks are increasingly being seen as an attempt by Inkatha supporters to defend the interests of apartheid and monopoly capital to which its long term existence is integrally linked.

### AGENDA

But Inkatha's agenda goes further than just ensuring its own survival by keeping the apartheid infrastructure intact.

For Inkatha, the ultimate objective must be national control in an alternate South Africa.

This cannot be more clearly demonstrated than in Inkatha's attempt to relegate the ANC to the equivalent of an organisation of a few exiled individuals, and replace it as a national liberation movement. Inkatha general secretary Oscar Dhlomo claimed there were no genuine political differences between the ANC and Inkatha. "However, there are clear differences of strategy between the two movements ... The ANC has chosen violence as a strategy, whereas Inkatha has chosen non-violence."

He added that Inkatha's "uncompromising stand on non-violence is a source of great political frustration for the ANC".

### ATTACKS

These beliefs are obviously based on Inkatha claims that it is in fact a non-violent organisation — a claim that will be seriously challenged in view of the latest round of attacks in the Pietermaritzburg area and the significant number of court interdicts obtained against Inkatha supporters following attacks on members of the church and democratic movement in the last decade.