

THE DAILY NEWS
10 JANUARY 1992

AP1992-1-1-10

What about the ANC 'hell' camps?

SIR — I refer to a recent report in your newspaper in which Chris Hani states that in the new South Africa, with the security force under MK, there would be no execution squads, torture and murders.

If this is so maybe Mr Hani can explain a few things for me.

If we are to take him seriously, can he explain the punishment camps that the ANC first had in Angola and Zambia and more latterly in Tanzania and Uganda, the one in Angola being moved just after the signing of the West African accords when these camps were moved to the east coast to Tanzania and Uganda? Of the punishment camps, the most notorious is Quatro, officially designated in the ANC as Camp 32, known to inmates as Buchenwald; or Pango, another hell camp also in northern Angola.

There have, it is true, been some recent sporadic references to these: but there has been no concerted, full-scale investigation into the atrocious conditions in these camps, no attempt to establish how many have been held over the years; the condition and present whereabouts of camp victims; how many have died over the years as a result of beatings, starvation, torture, murder or in front of ANC firing squads. Above all there has been virtually no exposure of the so-called Imbokodo — "the grinding stone", named after the grinding stones used to crush mealies, but in this case crushing people — the ANC's shadowy security in control of these camps and which are now also presently busy in the townships as well.

To date there is a list of 225 prisoners, many of them known to be dead, others unaccounted for.

People who have tried to expose these hell camps have been wiped off the face of the earth.

ANTI-HELL CAMPS
Yellowwood Park

Mandela ignorant of political system: Prof

Citizen 10/01/92

Citizen Reporter

THE president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, was yesterday accused of complete ignorance of how the political system in South Africa worked or how a democratic election must be fought.

On Wednesday Mr Mandela said democratic elections must be held and a constituent assembly established this year.

Speaking at the 50th anniversary of the African National Congress (ANC) in Bloemfontein, he declared 1992 as the year of democratic elections for a constituent assembly.

Political commentator Professor Willem Kleynhans said Mr Mandela had no idea what he was talking about.

The ANC had not yet even organised itself into a political party with the infrastructure necessary to register voters, educate them on voting procedures, or even to canvas voters.

Dream

"He is living in a dream world. The ANC knows nothing of democratic politics in action. It seems they are not even aware that the system in South Africa requires victory through the ballot box.

"The harsh reality that the ANC must now learn to face is the fact that unless they want to lower democratic standards to that of the Third World, power cannot simply be transferred. Power must be earned at the ballot box and for that the ANC is very far from ready."

Prof Kleynhans said it would take a lot of hard

work for the ANC to establish itself as a political party in order to get a meaningful vote at the ballot box.

Supporters needed to be educated about democratic processes, fears of intimidation must be eradicated and the party machinery needed to be built up.

"Without educating its supporters and establishing an infrastructure, the ANC may find that hundreds of thousands of voters simply do not take part in the process or thousands of ballot papers are spoiled."

In his speech in Bloemfontein Mr Mandela also accused the government of having sinister motives for proposing a longer period of interim government.

He accused the government of attempting to legitimise an undemocratic constitution and demanded a multi-party interim government whose composition should be negotiated at Codesa.

Reacting to this statement, the head of Constitutional Law at Unisa, Professor Marinus Wiersma, said it was clear the ANC based its proposal on what had happened in Namibia.

As in Namibia, the ANC wanted a constituent assembly in South Africa to draft a new constitution and then have final elections for a new government.

16/1/11

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

10-01-92
Take care

MR NELSON Mandela and the African Nationalist Congress seem to think that everything is going their way.

The government at one time talked of transitional arrangements under which the country would be governed.

This involved placing representatives of other parties in the Cabinet.

Now State President De Klerk has conceded the principle of an interim government. He wants it for ten years or more. The ANC has other ideas.

Addressing the ANC's 80th birthday rally in Bloemfontein, Mr Mandela set out the ANC's demands in the Year of Democratic Elections for a Constituent Assembly, meaning 1992.

The ANC wants, firstly, a multi-party interim government of national unity whose composition would be negotiated in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

The administration would have clear functions including sovereign control over at least all the armed forces and police, State media, electoral processes, budget and finance.

It would also set up forums to take decisions on, and supervise the management of, socio-economic issues during the transition.

You might think that what Mr Mandela is suggesting is that the government abdicate its authority to the interim government — and you would be quite right.

You might think that Mr Mandela wants the government to hand over the armed forces so that it will no longer have any physical control over the country — and you would not be wrong either.

Giving the interim government control over electoral processes, the budget and finance would further strip the present government of its powers.

It would mean that an interim government, which is not democratically elected and has no constituency whatsoever, would take over the running of the country.

In other words, the country would no longer be ruled by a government chosen by the electorate — albeit White electorate — but a government that is chosen via Codesa, in which the White Right, representing perhaps half of the White electorate, is not participating.

The government, in effect, would write itself out of office.

It might, as a sop, be said it is sharing power via the interim government, but sharing power under a new constitution is not the same as sharing power under an arrangement devised outside the present constitution.

Mr Mandela wants the interim government to be introduced in the first six months of the year, with elections for a Constituent Assembly by December.

As for Mr De Klerk's idea of a referendum on an interim government and election of a new parliament representing all races, Mr Mandela pooh-poohed the idea.

"To hold an election for a transitional Parliament and government is to deliberately complicate and delay what should otherwise be a simple and manageable transition," he says.

"The regime's proposal for a referendum before an interim government is in place pitifully begs the question"

Since Mr De Klerk is still to outline his ideas of an interim government, we do not know how far they match (or do not match) Mr Mandela's proposals.

What we do know is that Mr Mandela is determined to have elections for a constituent assembly by December.

He hopes then, as happened in Namibia, that the chief liberation movement — in Namibia's case, Swapo, in our case, the ANC — will win the election and form the government.

By 1993, according to his schedule, an ANC government will be in power.

It might sound over-ambitious, but looking back on the past couple of years, it appears as if the ANC has won most political battles.

It cannot and must not win this final battle, for if it does, it will go on to take over this country and civil war will be a decided possibility.

Our advice to Mr De Klerk is: For heaven's sake, take care.

IFP rejects Khumalo's claims in Weekly Mail

There were "glaring mistakes" and "untruths" in allegations about the Inkatha Freedom Party made by former senior Inkatha official Mbongani Khumalo, who allegedly had a criminal record, the IFP has said.

His allegations, in a Weekly Mail interview last week, included claims that the IFP was a front for the South African Defence Force and had collaborated in attacks on the ANC.

Mr Khumalo said he had resigned as Inkatha Youth Brigade leader and terminated his membership of the Inkatha central committee because he believed the organisation was a vehicle for instigating violence against fellow blacks.

Reacting to these and other allegations, the IFP denied that the organisation had ever been given R11 million by anyone.

It also denied that Mr Khu-

malo had been the former chief of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, claiming Musa Zondi had been leader of the brigade for many years, including the period in question.

"Regarding the 'consultancy services' (Adult Education Consultants and CREED) referred to by Mr Khumalo, these services were offered but the IFP refused to avail themselves of these for lack of money.

"Mr Khumalo was dissatisfied with the low salary the IFP was paying him and applied for a position in the KwaZulu government's department of the chief minister.

"It was then discovered that Mr Khumalo had a criminal record, which made it impossible for the KwaZulu government to consider his application," said the IFP.

Mandela welcomed in Afrikaner heartland

BUSINESS DAY 10-01-92

TRAFFIC police brought bemused but not visibly upset Bloemfontein to a standstill to watch Nelson Mandela's kilometre-long motorcade pass through the centre of the Afrikaner heartland this week.

The ANC president, escorted by motorcycle outriders, was on his way to deliver a speech at the Free State rugby stadium. The stadium forms part of President Swart Park.

If any more evidence was necessary that the new SA is finally upon us, it was provided by an announcer at the stadium who said the ANC would never forget the Free State rugby union's contribution to the ANC's 80th birthday celebrations.

Then the Bloemfontein Town Council held a reception for Mandela at the city hall after the celebrations.

Mandela acted like a head of state, and was received as one. The magnetic force that surrounds people who have the potential to be powerful is beginning to attract the most unusual people and groupings.

Mandela himself was in good spirits, dancing along with other ANC leaders on the stage while a band played. His mood reflected a note of high enthusiasm and confidence which currently pervades the organisation.

For ANC members the battle

against apartheid and for democracy, but more particularly for the supremacy of the organisation itself, is all but won.

ANC strategists place a high priority on a concept termed "the strategic initiative". They believed they had lost it around this time last year, when government was still being showered with international praise and sanctions were being lifted against the ANC's express wishes.

This partly contributed to the ANC's ill-fated ultimatum to government on violence and the dismissal of Ministers Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok. But since then the ANC has been rejuvenated by a growing membership, a successful conference, growing international influence, and a negotiations process it believes is progressing according to its own blueprint.

The ANC senses government is now on the defensive following Inkathagate and shrinking public support, and it is now government which has been forced to make concessions to the ANC demand for an interim government.

"As we bring down the curtain on 1991, we can say with confidence that the general crisis of the apartheid system has never been deeper. During the past year, the democratic

TIM COHEN

movement consolidated its hold on the strategic initiative," Mandela told the crowd.

He also interpreted government's concession on the need for an interim government as a sign of its illegitimacy, but at the same time warned that "as can be expected from such an illegitimate and illegal regime, where it is forced to retreat, it does so to new lines of defence".

The ANC anniversary statement is traditionally the occasion for the organisation to set out its plans and objectives for the year. Last year, for example, the ANC proposed an all-party conference, which was substantially borne out in Codesa. This year, Mandela's speech went little further than restating existing ANC positions, although he displayed a new sense of urgency about getting them implemented.

This is possibly because, other than setting out broad objectives, the ANC does not want to tie itself to positions before negotiations begin in earnest.

Nevertheless, Mandela declared 1992 the "year of democratic elections for a constituent assembly" and



□ MANDELA

restated the ANC belief that the interim government should have sovereign control over at least all the armed forces and police, state media, electoral process, the Budget and financial affairs. In addition, it should produce forums to supervise the management of socio-economic issues during the transition.

In line with the statesmanlike position the ANC is adopting, Mandela hailed the Middle East peace talks and developments towards a negotiated settlement in El Salvador. He even pledged the ANC's support for the people of East Timor.

Part of the celebrations involved planting a white ash tree outside the home of former ANC speaker Thomas Mapikela. Bloemfontein was a meeting place of the original members of the ANC who regularly held their congresses there because of its centrality.

These members, described by relatives as "moderate men" who believed in the power of delegations and lobbying, were overtaken by Mandela and his supporters during the Defiance Campaign of the '50s when the organisation's centre of power shifted to the Reef.

Is it possible that the wheel has turned full circle? Does the current leadership face the possibility of being swept aside by the proponents of the tactics that Mandela introduced to revitalise the organisation? For the first 80 years the ANC has had to deal with the problems of being out of power. Now, it will have to start dealing with the problems of being in power. In its 81st year, the threat is not from without, but from within.

THE DAILY NEWS
10 JANUARY 1992

Inkatha claims 12 members have died since start of year

Daily News Reporter

THE New Year has seen an onslaught of violence against the Inkatha Freedom Party and its members in various parts of Natal, the party claims, resulting in a number of people being killed and injured and property being destroyed.

In a press statement yesterday Mr Kim Hodgson, spokesman on violence for the Inkatha Institute, said that during the last two weeks, 12 IFP members had been killed and more than 30 wounded in attacks. At least 14 houses had been destroyed.

Mr Hodgson said there was growing belief among IFP leaders that the African National Congress was intensifying an alleged campaign to assassinate IFP leaders and members this year.

He enclosed a list of incidents which, he said, showed clearly why this belief was being reinforced. In all incidents, it was alleged that ANC supporters were responsible. Some of the incidents were:

■ The first victim this year was IFP member Mr Sonias Mthembu, who was stabbed and hacked to death at Empangeni on January 1.

■ On January 2, IFP youth leader Mr Mlozane Mhlongo's mutilated body was found on the bank of a river.

■ On the same day, an IFP community was attacked near Tongaat on the Natal North Coast. Five people were hospitalised after being stabbed while nine homes were razed to the ground.

■ Four IFP members were allegedly abducted by ANC members. No word has been received about the people abducted, now presumed to have been killed, according to the press statement. Community members had fled the area and were reportedly taking refuge with nearby IFP supporters.

■ January 4 saw violence flare in Hopewell near Ixopo, Empangeni and just outside Pietermaritzburg.

■ Also on January 4, it was reported that a group of ANC supporters, accompanied by well-known activists, had attacked shack-dwellers near Umlazi and set alight three houses after accusing the residents of not attending ANC meetings in the area. Two IFP members were injured in the attack.

■ On January 5, the son of an IFP leader in Mpande near Pietermaritzburg was shot dead, allegedly by supporters of the ANC.

THE DAILY NEWS
10 JAN. 1992

107 ANC exiles land at Louis Botha

Daily News Reporter

A GROUP of a 107 weary ANC exiles landed at Durban's Louis Botha airport from Dar-Es-Salaam in Tanzania yesterday morning.

They arrived aboard a chartered plane and immediately boarded buses bound for the Central Methodist Church in Aliwal Street, Durban, where they were welcomed by the ANC, church representatives and members of the National Co-ordinating Committee for the Repatriation of South African exiles (NCCR).

This was the second contingent of returning exiles to land in Durban under the auspices of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR).

The first plane carrying 115 ANC refugees landed in December last year.

According to Mr Willy Leslie, the

Natal representative of the NCCR the majority of the latest group were students who left the country about four, or five, years ago.

"Most of these exiles were studying at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania and their ages range from about 16 to 25 years."

There were at least seven young women in the group and one Durban family — the Mbatha family which had been staying together in exile — arrived back home.

Mr Mbatha said he and his wife and seven children had gone into exile because of the unfair treatment meted out to his children by a political group.

"My children were not allowed to go to school because our family were not card-carrying members of this organisation," he said.

Right wing a major threat, says executive at Pinetown Town Hall

THE DAILY NEWS 10 JAN. 1992

ANC meeting held up by bomb threat



Mr Mosiuoa Lekota

SANDY COOK

A BOMB threat held up an African National Congress meeting at the Pinetown Town Hall last night for half an hour and led to a thorough search of the municipal headquarters.

The meeting later carried on to the sound of chanting hecklers outside.

Mr Mosiuoa Lekota, an ANC national executive member, addressed about 200 ANC supporters at the meeting, which formed part of the organisation's 80th birthday celebrations.

When he was able to get on with his speech after the bomb threat hold-up, he said the most serious threat to the negotiation process was the far-right wing of the white political spectrum whose ability to disrupt the process should not be underestimated.

Mr Lekota's speech was delayed after an anonymous caller told a member of Pinetown Protection Services that a bomb would be placed in the hall. The premises were searched by members of the South African Police dog unit, but nothing suspicious was found.

During the meeting hecklers chanted Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging slogans from outside the hall.

In his address Mr Lekota said the danger for the Congress for a Democratic South Africa and for democracy lay in "the far-right of the white community and in certain ignorant quarters of the left."

"Unless handled carefully, these elements will make the peace process more tumultuous than it would otherwise be," he said. "The ANC has no illusions about plans being hatched by right wingers as being a serious danger, particularly to a government run by the ANC."

"The right wing is amassing large numbers of very capable men and women with some of the best military minds in the country, some of whom have had sophisticated military training. These are men and women who are incapable of coming to terms with the fact that the country has no future other than a democratic one."

Mr Lekota said the right wing would be a problem for South Africa for a very long time: "Out of the United States' civil war came the Ku Klux Klan, a phenomenon that is still with America today."

"We cannot ignore the fact that the flag of the Third Reich continues to feature even in amended form. This tells us that the thinking of Hitler still remains," he said.

However, Mr Lekota went on to say that even though numbers were growing on the extreme right, the democratic process could not be stopped "because it has the support of the majority of South Africans and the whole of the international community."

Mr Lekota emphasised the need to prepare the masses for the democratic process, warning against intimidation. Education was needed to enlighten the people on the secret ballot process so that voters would not be led into believing they would be fired or harmed if they did not vote for a certain party, he said.

He urged communities to encourage their children to go back to school so that they could participate in a future government on merit.

B/D Day 10-1-1991

ANC and govt hold first talks on local issues

IN WHAT were described as the first talks between government and the ANC on local government yesterday, the parties agreed the provision of services was a crisis requiring a national response.

But the parties disagreed on whether a separate negotiating forum should be established to deal with the problem.

The ANC delegation, led by local and regional government department head Thoramile Botha, asked the meeting to discuss the breakdown in local government and particularly the inadequate provision of services, the ANC said in a statement.

The ANC delegation stressed the need for a local negotiation framework through the creation of a national negotiation forum. This forum would co-ordinate local negotiations but would not conflict with, or undermine, the national negotiations process.

Stealth

In a separate statement, Local Government Minister Leon Wessels said government favoured a negotiated form of transitional government implemented as quickly as possible in a constitutional manner.

But government was against the institution of new structures and forums because this would entail the establishment of an interim government "by stealth".

Both parties agreed that local negotiations should be encouraged in the interim but these should not undermine the national constitu-

TIM COHEN

tion-making process.

The Interim Measures on Local Government Act of 1991, supposed to provide a framework for local level negotiations, was rejected as deeply flawed and obstructive of interim solutions, the ANC said.

Government acknowledged the Act contained inadequacies, but said it served as a vehicle to move away from existing racially based local government structures.

There was agreement that decisions should not be in conflict with the statement of intent adopted by Codesa in December, the ANC statement said.

THEO RAWANA reports the Civics Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast) has rejected the idea of the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber seeking any relationship with Codesa.

A chamber meeting agreed in principle this week to look at ways of establishing a "structural relationship" with Codesa.

Cast general secretary Dan Mofokeng told a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday that the chamber — which was a locally based forum — should stop engaging in an "ambitious exercise" of trying to establish a relationship with Codesa, which was a national structure.

"It is our view that political organisations are well-placed to participate in Codesa and the input of the civic movement can be availed on specific areas such as development as well as some areas of macro-economics," Mofokeng read from a statement.

COMMENT

B/Day 10-1-1992

Out on a limb

THE PAC and its military wing, Apla, are out on a limb following the decision by left-wing organisations, including the Civics Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast) and the PWV region of the SA Communist Party, to come out publicly against the killing of policemen. Earlier in the week the ANC had also spoken against the killings.

This is an encouraging development at the start of a year which is bound to bring profound political change. The joint Cast-SACP appeal to the PAC and Apla to stop attacks on policemen indicates welcome realism in the approach of a group widely representative of the local black community. The time for even half-hearted attempts to justify police killings in anti-apartheid

terms is over; Cast general secretary Dan Mofokeng says these attacks contradict the feelings of the people.

Similarly, the PAC and Azapo are out on a limb in their opposition to the Paul Simon concert tour. The ANC could, hypothetically, have found itself in an unusual situation this weekend alongside the police in the security squads at Ellis Park.

When the ANC and the SACP start becoming "establishment" groups, accepting that confrontation and violence belong in the past, it marks a new stage in the struggle towards democracy. Mass action and vigorous politicking are more likely to be relatively peaceful when radicals increasingly find themselves isolated in their own communities.

BUSINESS DAY, Friday, January 10 1992

3

Police death suspects arrested

ANDREW KRUMM

TWO more men, believed to be PAC members, have been arrested in connection with police murders, bringing to six the number of suspected PAC killers held, police disclosed yesterday.

SAP spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman said the two men — suspected of being members of the PAC's armed faction, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) — appeared in the Springs Magistrate's Court on Tuesday this week.

Paulus Thembi, 22, and Solomon Mabaso, 33, were charged with murder. The case was postponed until January 21.

Opperman said police suspected the accused were Apla-aligned, although they had not admitted any political affiliation.

They are accused of ambushing and seizing the weapons of Sgt J B Mlokothe and an unnamed constable in Thokoza on New Year's Day. They allegedly drove them to Katshehong, shot them and burnt their vehicle.

Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel said police were holding a three-man Apla

hit squad in connection with hand grenade attacks on the Batho police station and on municipal policemen at Mangaung, Bloemfontein, in October.

The PAC have confirmed the arrests and said a fourth PAC member was also being held. Police have yet to confirm this.

Meanwhile the PAC youth wing, Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu), has accused the ANC of siding with police.

Azanyu executive committee spokesman Bassie Ngcukana said in a statement yesterday Azanyu was surprised that the ANC now "favoured the police" after ANC president Nelson Mandela had repeatedly blamed security forces for internecine violence in the past.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the PAC should clarify the slogan 'one settler, one bullet' and emphasise whether black policemen were settlers.

● Comment: Page 6

By ALLISTER SPARKS

THERE are grounds for suspecting that Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi may quietly be laying the basis for a secessionist movement.

Insufficient attention has been paid to the reasons the Inkatha Freedom Party give for refusing to sign Codesa's Declaration of Intent last month. The issue was overshadowed by Chief Buthelezi's decision to boycott the convention because of its refusal to include a delegation representing the King of the Zulus in addition to the IFP and the kwaZulu government.

In fact, the IFP objected to a phrase in the declaration committing participants to "an undivided South Africa with one nation" sharing a common citizenship.

It also objected to a phrase stating that this new South Africa should be a country "in which sovereign authority is exercised over the whole of its territory".

The reasons given for these objections — that the phrases gave the impression Codesa was pre-committed to auxiliary state and would prevent the IFP from putting its case for federalism — are patently spurious.

Clause

The Democratic Party is strongly in favour of federalism. So far that matter is the National Party, in its new incarnation. Neither saw any contradiction between the declaration's phrasing and the federalist proposals both will in due course lay before the convention.

With good reason

Does Buthelezi's boycott of Codesa indicate interest in Balkanisation?

There is nothing incompatible between the concepts of federalism and an undivided nation. Federalism does not mean disunity, merely a decentralisation of power. When Americans take the oath of allegiance to their country, the quintessential federation, they swear loyalty "to one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

In any event, there is another clause in the Declaration of Intent which states that "the present and future participants shall be entitled to put forward freely to the convention any proposal consistent with democracy". So there can be no question of the phrasing preventing the IFP or anyone else from putting forward their federalist proposals.

What is more, the phrasing was initially accepted by the IFP delegates who did attend Codesa. It was drafted by a working group headed by Arthur Felgate, a leading IFP member, and Mr Felgate himself presented it to the steering committee for approval.

The decision to object to the phrasing and not

to sign the declaration was taken at an IFP leadership meeting after that, presumably at the behest of Chief Buthelezi who had not been part of the Codesa drafting process. The question is: why? If the reason given is not the real one, as it cannot be what is the motive for not signing?

Last hope

One can only assume there must be some compelling reason for not wanting to be committed to the principle of "an undivided South Africa". In other words to leave a door open for a secessionist option.

Not just a kwaZulu secession, I suggest, but a Natal/kwaZulu secession. A revival in new guise of the old secessionist spirit in that part of the country which was always a half-hearted member of the Union and where there have been periodic "Natal stands" and breakaway threats.

Add to that the sense of enmity between white and black Natalians which evolved during the Natal/kwaZulu Inkatha and you begin to see that the prospect of carrying this region, or

being its leader, represents the last best hope still open to Chief Buthelezi.

He is a shrewd politician and, despite his claims that the IFP is a national party, he must know it has negligible support outside Natal and its extended constituency of Zulu migrant workers. Even in its heartland its support is slipping: growing numbers of young Zulus and urban Zulus are turning to the ANC and other nationalist movements, as Natal's fratricidal war and stayaway figures in Durban and Pietermaritzburg indicate.

Repeated opinion polls suggest the IFP is unlikely to poll more than 15% of the vote in a national election — not enough to give Chief Buthelezi the significant role he obviously wants. So his politician's eye turns increasingly inward to the regional base which he can be reasonably sure of still dominating, provided Zulu ethno-nationalism is whipped up enough. Hence the dramatising of the Zulu Kings cause and the attempts to present the Inkatha-ANC conflict as

a tribal war between Zulu and Xhosa.

Other strands of circumstantial evidence point in the same direction. The IFP has been meeting quietly with several right-wing groups, all avowed Boerstaat secessionists, including a meeting last week between Chief Buthelezi and Dr Andre Treurnicht. This has led to speculation of a possible alliance between the Conservative Party, the IFP and Tlophuthatswana (which also refused to sign the Codesa Declaration of Intent).

Lawyer

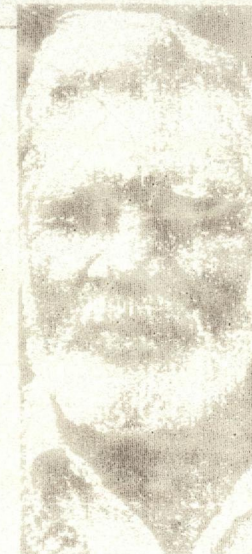
As Dr Treurnicht put it after the meeting: "We took note of the IFP's basic objection to Codesa. This was the notion of an undivided South Africa under one central government, entrenched in the Declaration of Intent."

Then there was the appearance at Codesa of a conservative American constitutional lawyer Professor Albert Blaustein, as an adviser to the IFP, who apparently had a hand in the decision to object to the declaration's phrasing.

Professor Blaustein also claims to have been an adviser to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, the catalytic figure in the break-up of the Soviet Union into a cluster of secessionist republics.

Hashe perhaps sold Chief Buthelezi on the idea of a "commonwealth" of independent South African states, similar to Yeltsin's commonwealth of former Soviet states?

Is it coincidence that Dr Treurnicht draws on the Russian analogy and talks of the CP's vi-



ARTHUR FELGATE: Phrased Declaration of Intent.



ANDRIES TREURNICHT: He may form an alliance.



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI: Refused to sign declaration.

sion of a South African commonwealth — "per definition an association of states"?

Or that Chief Buthelezi, in his preface to Inkatha's constitutional proposals, writes that "The IFP... has taken serious note of what has happened in the USSR, in East Germany and in

the Baltic states as country after country and region after region give evidence that no amount of powerful centrist political power could overcome the inherent difficulties in an ethnically heterogeneous population?"

How ironic if the man who, more than anyone

else, stymied the Nationalists' Barotsa policy by refusing to accept independence for South Africa's most populous tribal homeland, were to end up leading a new drive for Balkanisation just when the Nats have at last abandoned their schismatic scheme.

LETTERS BOX 11 CAPE TOWN 8000

SABC continues to dish up the same poor-quality programmes

From M MINDE (Sea Point):

I WAS delighted to hear the views of Peggy Morris which express so adequately what many of us feel about television programmes ("TV should entertain, not bore us," Letters, January 3).

I wrote to the SABC in February 1990 complaining about the poor quality of entertainment. I received a reply stating that the reason was the recession and the dearth of good material. The Direc-

tor-General who answered my letter assured me we would have better fare in 1992. So far, the same garbage has been dished up, such as "The Golden Girls" and others such indescribable rubbish.

One often wonders who the SABC imagines it is entertaining with endless violence — car chase, unlikely court cases and interminable talks that act like a soporific!

It's high time the programmes improved!

The Citizen 10-1-1992 (1)

Azayo tries to do concert deal with Paul Simon

THE Azanian Youth Organisation (Azayo) tried to strike a deal yesterday with the Paul Simon management for two Azayo-approved concerts.

However, when the management realised that Azayo was not, in fact, pressing for the cultural boycott to be observed, the talks failed.

Paul Simon claimed at a Press conference afterwards that Azayo had promised not to commit violence.

Although Azayo denied giving this undertaking, it said it was not going to be involved in violence at the Simon concerts.

A similar announcement was made by the Pan Africanist Congress, to which Azayo is affiliated.

The African National Congress yesterday denied an earlier media report that the ANC had of-

fered to provide security for the Paul Simon tour.

"There is adequate provision for security made by the organisers of the tour.

"In any case, the threat to the tour is not as great as the media makes it out to be when the capacity of those who are issuing the threats is taken into account.

"The question whether or not the ANC would consider providing security, if requested, was asked and responded to in the affirmative.

"That notwithstanding, it is the view of the ANC that security at the concert would best be pro-

TO PAGE 2

The Citizen 10-1-1992 (2)

FROM PAGE 1

vided by a security firm as is the case at the moment."

The PAC, while strongly opposed to Paul Simon's South African tour, would not be involved "in any acts of violence against the oppressed African people", according to secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander.

Simon said he had been unaware of opposition to the tour until two days before he left New York for South Africa. He arrived at Jan Smuts Airport on Tuesday.

Simon told about 150 journalists at the conference yesterday: "Azapo does not want to provoke violence."

The threat of violence at the concerts, the first of which is tomorrow, had been dealt with and there was very little threat, reporters were told.

Simon refused to be drawn into any political questions about the situation in South Africa — but did say the objections to his nationwide tour was what happened when "culture gets mixed in with politics".

"I know conditions are not perfect. There is still struggle to come. There is still hardship."

Looking haggard and dressed in black jacket and pants with a white sweatshirt, Simon said he had been made aware that not all groups were in

favour of lifting the cultural boycott.

"There is no unanimity on the lifting of the cultural boycott. Substantive groups like the United Nations and the ANC believe that the cultural boycott (can) be lifted and there are groups like Azapo who feel it should not be lifted."

He said he had been assured that Azapo would not encourage violence at the concerts.

He hoped that agreement would be reached and people could "have an evening where political differences would be dropped and everyone can have a peaceful evening and enjoy themselves".

He said he had no intention of coming to South Africa to polarise the people, but rather to repay the debt he owed South African musicians who he has been playing with for the past five years and to let their own people see them performing.

"I am looking forward to having these musicians recognised and appreciated in their own country."

Simon, visibly emotional, said he wanted to pay his respects to slain Black Mambazo bass singer Headman Shabalala, who was shot dead last month near Durban.

"I want to pay my respects to him and visit his grave and his family."

• Simon was described last night as "a true friend of the New South Africa" by US Ambassador William Swing.

Hosting a cocktail party for more than 300 people for the visiting singer, Mr Swing said Simon's visit — along with that of a US congressional delegation — was the best and most eloquent testimony that South Africa was changing.

Replying to the ambassador, Simon joked and said he hoped he hadn't brought any bombs with him — in obvious reference to threats against his five-concert tour. — Sapa.