

THE NATAL WITNESS

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ANC to press ahead with Ulundi march

THE African National Congress is pressing ahead with its march on Ulundi.

In spite of mounting pressure to call off the march for fears of massive bloodshed, Natal ANC leaders were adamant yesterday that they are still planning the controversial mass action. The organisation yesterday called off its march on Bophuthatswana, scheduled for this weekend.

Southern Natal ANC regional secretary S'bu Ndebele, however, said the final decision will be taken at a "higher level" and the mass action will involve creative strategies.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone responded with surprise yesterday to claims that the Bophuthatswana plans had been put on hold following his intervention.

A spokesman for the commission said there was little it could do about the Ulundi march at this stage as no date had been fixed or details announced.

ANC Southern Natal chairman Jeff Radebe said Mangosuthu Buthelezi's warning that an ANC march on Ulundi will be "the opening salvo... in the commencement of a civil war" is another indication that the KwaZulu government is not willing to countenance freedom of expression north of the Tugela River.

ANC midlands region vice chairman Reggie Hadebe said Buthelezi's threat that civil servants must accept the legality of the KwaZulu government or "get out" also confirmed that there is no free political activity in KwaZulu.

He said the ANC calls on all civil servants to defy Buthelezi's order and join organisations of their choice.

The ANC and its alliance partners said they plan to march to the State President's Cape Town residence on Friday to plant crosses commemorating the Bisho massacre. Plans to occupy President F.W. de Klerk's house and blockade Parliament when it opens are also under consideration.

Meanwhile, the Democratic Party said Cosatu's call for further stayaways heralds "another season of dark madness". — Sapa.

THE NATAL MERCURY

Land transfer 16-09-92 bargaining chip for KwaZulu in negotiations

THE government's recently exposed plan to transfer about 600 000 hectares of state land in Natal to KwaZulu administration seems to be more than a routine administrative matter. Land seems to have become a major bargaining chip in the game of negotiations and winning support for a federal option for South Africa. Quite simply, the planned transfer will further KwaZulu's power in the region.

KwaZulu has become increasingly visible in areas where land claims or land tenure rights are at issue. At recent land claim hearings in Natal (Impendle, Roosboom and Charlestown), KwaZulu made representations to the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation (ACLA) and appeals to the communities claiming land.

A meeting at Vryheid in September, held by the Northern Natal Farmworkers' and Residents' Committee was jointly addressed by Jurie Mentz, National Party MP for Vryheid and Stephen Sithebe, KwaZulu Minister of Interior. The meeting saw IFP and NP members form a joint co-ordinating body for the area. This seems to indicate growing co-operation between the two parties around land.

Recent government attempts to reach the goal of buying support from homeland parties, have contradicted its own undertakings on land reform. In March 1991, in its White Paper On Land Reform, the government undertook to abandon policies of apartheid land allocation. This included scrapping laws which regulated access to land on the basis of race and an end to incorporation of land into the self-governing territories.

Also in 1991 the Abolition Of Racially Based Land Measures Act was passed, providing for the establishment of ACLA, with the brief to advise the State President about allocation of undeveloped state land.

Then in March this year government scrapped the discredited Department of Development Aid (DDA) and the South African Development Trust (SADT), and put the land formerly held by these departments under the departments of agriculture, land and regional affairs and public works.

Despite these measures, which appeared to be moving away from the apartheid policies of the past, the government has continued to undermine movement to genuine settlement of the land issue. Establishing ACLA did not stop government attempts to try to sell off land being claimed by dispossessed communities. The government tried on two occasions to sell off various farms in the Estcourt district which were being claimed by the AmaHlubi tribe. On both occasions public protest over the intended sales managed to halt them.

Following the halting of the sales, the chairman of ACLA, Judge van Reenen, called on the government to freeze sales of all land that was the subject of dispute. In May this year, the Minister of Agriculture, Mr Kraai van Niekerk, also undertook that land taken over by the government in terms of apartheid policies would not be sold. And the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs, Dr Jacob de Villiers, pledged that black communities driven off their land by past policies would be given a chance to put their claims to ACLA.

Again, these undertakings have not stopped further attempts to get rid of land being claimed. Recently, a government department hurriedly sold off some 6 000 hectares of land in the northern Cape which is being claimed by the Majeng community.

Despite undertakings in the 1991 White Paper that homeland consolidation would end, in March this year some 3 million hectares of land was handed to the six homelands. This followed dissolution of the DDA and the SADT.

The current plan to transfer land to homeland administration comes under a veil of secrecy and an absence of consultation with communities who live on the land. Despite repeated requests for the areas earmarked for transfer to be made public, the government has remained silent. Despite communities' written objections to such transfer, government is yet to consult with them. There has only been ongoing consultation with homeland governments.

Past attempts to force homeland control onto communities have not achieved the desired results and are unlikely to do so in the current situation. In the South Africa's current highly volatile situation, there is a very real danger that land transfers to homelands will lead to more violence and for this reason alone should be stopped.

Why the ANC wants to march on Ulundi: PATRICK LEEMAN reports

THE NATAL MERCURY

16/09/92



KwaZulu uses powers 'to exterminate civil liberties'

THE secretary of the southern Natal region of the African National Congress, Mr S'bu Ndebele, has outlined in detail the reasons for the organisation's decision to promote mass action against the KwaZulu Government.

Last week both Mr Ndebele and Mr Jeff Hadebe told a gathering in Durban that the ANC would, in fact, lead a march to Ulundi, the capital of KwaZulu, to protest against the perceived lack of political expression in the region.

There has been some scepticism in political circles as to whether a physical march will take place, given the sheer strength of the IFP-supporting *amabutho* (regiments) which are likely to confront any such protest, especially north of the Tugela.

Mr Ndebele said in an inter-

view with The Natal Mercury that the KwaZulu issue had to be seen against a much wider backdrop as far as ANC strategy was concerned. In Natal the organisation had been gravely concerned with the question of the ongoing violence and there had been protests on March 3 and 4 this year in both Durban and Pietermaritzburg in support of an interim government and a constituent assembly.

Now the strategy was focusing on the question of the bantustans, in which some 50% of the total African population of South Africa lived. As far as KwaZulu was concerned, more than 70% of the Zulu people fell directly under the jurisdiction of the KwaZulu Government.

Under the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act of 1971, a great deal of power which had been centralised under the SA Gov-

ernment devolved to the so-called homelands. It was only basically areas such as foreign affairs which were reserved for the central Government.

Mr Ndebele pointed out that all the self-governing regions and independent homelands had their own police forces.

Homeland governments controlled where their residents lived, how they were housed, what health and welfare services such as pensions were available and had jurisdiction over infrastructure such as roads.

KwaZulu, in particular, had used its powers to exterminate civil liberties, he maintained.

There was no free political expression in the region, he asserted, although in areas such as KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, Transkei and Venda all political organisations had the right of

freedom of association and of protest. For example, according to the ANC spokesman, the ANC and PAC could meet and operate freely in the Transkei.

Mr Ndebele said a distinction should be drawn between the KwaZulu Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party. The ANC had no quarrel with the IFP: should it come to power it would allow the IFP to function and to operate freely.

He said that, in KwaNdebele, after elections for the legislative assembly had been held, a more "progressive" movement had been installed in spite of the sometimes restrictive nature of the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act.

However, the regional secretary said, the system in KwaZulu was "rigged" so that 60% of the seats in the Legislative Assembly were reserved for chiefs — voted in by the regional

authorities — and 40% for elected members, in other words, local MPs.

"Even if the ANC were to decide to contest the KZLA elections, and constituted the majority party, we would never be able to win, because the majority of seats are reserved for the chiefs, who back the IFP," Mr Ndebele said.

He said there was no way that people living under the control of the KZ Government — such as teachers, nurses and clerks — could have their grievances addressed.

He referred to Monday's statement by Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi that the tens of thousands of civil servants working under the control of the KwaZulu Government should either accept the legality of this government or "get out."

"At the last annual conference of the IFP in Ulundi, members

of the party were urged to pull out of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

"Is this not the highest degree of political intolerance?" Mr Ndebele asked.

He said the ANC was not a government but recently had allowed members of the Returned Exiles Committee under Mr Pat Hlongwane to hand in a petition and put their case at the movement's offices in Durban.

"IN 1983, Dr Buthelezi, in spite of protests from several quarters, held a rally in Lamontville to which the people of the township objected strenuously.

"Is the IFP and the KwaZulu Government telling us that it is so violently opposed to freedom of expression that any protest against itself as a government can only result in bloodshed?" Mr Ndebele asked.

Woods versus Gwala

DONALD WOODS:

IT is disturbing to read that Mr Harry Gwala of the South African Communist Party addressed a meeting of 300 chanting students of the University of Cape Town because that is my old university and there is nothing less suited to a university than chanting students.

In fact, chanting as such belongs to the Middle Ages when witches were credible or to Pretoria under the Nats, Nuremberg under the Nazis or China where students aren't allowed to demonstrate in Tiananmen Square.

Mr Gwala is reported to have told the chanting few that the United Nations, the European Community and the Commonwealth sided with the South African Government; that the United Nations were made up of "Wall Street capitalists" and that the "British Commonwealth" had attacked the Falkland Islands to make "super profits".

All of which suggests that Mr Harry Gwala is a screaming twit.

If this is the level of debate he has to offer in the new South Africa, heaven help the new South Africa. I had thought that public idiocy in the national debate was limited to the likes of Eugene Terre'Blanche or Dr Treurnicht, but now it seems they have an appropriate colleague in the silliness stakes in Mr Gwala.

Without devaluing Mr Gwala's past contribution in the campaign against racism and without doubting his proven courage — in other words, without suggesting that he is Gwala by name and gwala (*igwala* is a coward) by nature — I would nevertheless like to know how anyone could imagine that a Falklands operation costing £22 billion for the sake of 1 700 sheep farmers could result in a profit. But if that is how the South African Communist Party does its arithmetic, it qualifies as a worthy associate of Ceausescu, Ulbricht, Brezhnev and other dictators who wrecked their countries' economies and impoverished their populations.

In view of Mr Gwala's remarks, it is instructive to compare the aid rendered by various countries to the campaign against apartheid led by the African National Congress. The following non-communist countries — Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Holland and Finland — each contributed more than a hundred times more than the stingy Russian communists, whose aid was limited to weapons they didn't need and whose racism was notorious among African students in Moscow and other parts of what used to be known as the Soviet Union.

As to their satellite states of Poland, East Germany, Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary, their combined contributions came to less than those of the people of America and Britain, who presumably come under Mr Gwala's label as "Wall Street capitalists".

His remarks imply that there is some alternative; some communist

bloc which helps South Africa selflessly, nobly and idealistically. Well, where is it? Is it Cuba, where no newspapers are permissible? Is it China, where people may not post their thoughts up on a wall? Is it North Korea, where the nation has to bow to the statue of yet another totalitarian bloody fool?

The African National Congress is to be commended for hosting under its umbrella such a wide spectrum of South African organisations striving for freedom. But if Mr Gwala is typical of one component of them, the SACP, it is time the ANC reviewed its links with this organisation and spokespersons such as Mr Gwala.

If history shows us anything it shows us that individual liberty is inseparable from general liberty; that freedom of the majority cannot be sacrificed to the dictates of an unelected minority and that the communists of this world share with the Nats the peculiar addiction of rule of the few over the many in the twisted belief that the self-anointed minority knows best what is in the interests of the unconsulted majority.

These twisted beliefs are not why Nelson Mandela spent a lifetime in prison. Nor should they be used now to alienate the victims of oppression from truly democratic countries which genuinely wish to help introduce democracy to South Africa.

The European Community gives hundreds of millions of rands a year to development in South Africa. Mr Gwala should be challenged to disclose how much has been contributed by countries which at any time shared his shabby creed.

Far from contributing money to countries abroad, we now see that they didn't even distribute resources properly at home beyond the privileged and self-elected few, and that their poor ravaged countries are now ecological disaster areas which will take decades to repair.

Such obscenities as the numerous palaces of the dictator Ceausescu and the dachas or the nomenklatura in Russia, East Germany and other former slave states, and the enslavement of hundreds of millions for more than 50 years — which we don't recall Mr Gwala ever criticising — might be forgotten in the fullness of time. But not if Mr Gwala has the gall to speak as if these rotten regimes stood for something better than the West he maligns.

It is indeed an imperfect West — but a million times better than the East he associates with, whose discredited creed he appears to want to inflict on the already overburdened people of South Africa. Those many who acknowledge the ANC as the vanguard of national liberation must increasingly ask why its views have to be articulated by persons such as Mr Gwala.

• Donald Woods is a former editor of the *Daily Dispatch* who was banned and fled South Africa in 1977.

HARRY GWALA:

I SYMPATHISE with Mr Donald Woods' ravings against me. Obviously we represent two worlds — that of a decaying colonial imperialist era and that of the coming-of-age of the oppressed, exploited and down-trodden masses. His very opening words — "300 chanting university students" and "my old university" — reveal who Mr Woods is.

That there were 300 predominantly African students and not more than a half dozen white students is a clear indication of a big divide in this country. Africans were small in number — only 300 because for centuries the South African universities were a preserve for privileged whites. The few Africans who reach university level today do it under prohibitive white domination and white discrimination with its inferior "bantustan education".

Mr Woods is angry because the oppressed sang songs and chanted about their own liberation. Which slavemaster would not storm at the slaves who sang about breaking the chains of bondage? The slavemasters of Rome crushed the rise of Spartacus against bondage, because after all, slaves were not human beings but only "articulate tools".

The cynicism of Mr Woods in trying to sow seeds of division within the ranks of the African National Congress is too cheap a stunt for the oppressed to swallow. Since when has Mr Woods suddenly fallen in love with the ANC? This reminds one of the saying of old: "Is Saul also among the prophets?" What Mr Woods says shows how ignorant he is of the ANC. As a white man he says things from the privilege of power.

At this juncture we might remind Mr Woods that "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their social being, but on the contrary it is their social being that determines their consciousness." Africans do not join the ANC as a convenience as the likes of Mr Woods often do, but out of the given objective conditions. Africans are segregated and live in squalor in juxtaposition with affluent white cities where they provide abundant cheap labour which ever depresses their bargaining power.

Thus they find themselves willy-nilly in the national movement, trade unions and the Communist Party. Of course Mr Woods has the choice to join a political party which to all intents and purposes preserves "white civilisation".

What is this white civilisation? It is the plunder of the colonies which gave rapid rise to capitalism in Western Europe. The splendour of Babylon, the pyramids, the splendours of Athens and Rome, were built by slaves. Remove child labour, women's labour, and untold hours of work together with colonialisation, and there would not be the white civilisation Mr Woods boasts of. To him, of course, capitalism and exploitation of men by men is a millennium

just as feudalism with its lords and fiefdom was a gift to the barons and lords from above. Hence the divine rights of kings.

It is not necessary to enter into debate with Mr Woods on socialism as he has only reflected the depth of his ignorance about the tenets of Marxism-Leninism, and he in the course of his life has proved to be one of the greatest gladiators in defence of capitalism and its highest stage — imperialism. I should like to remind Mr Woods that where we are today is not because of the magnanimity of the likes of him but because of the gallant struggle and sacrifices made by the oppressed, together with the support of the international community that has always stood against apartheid.

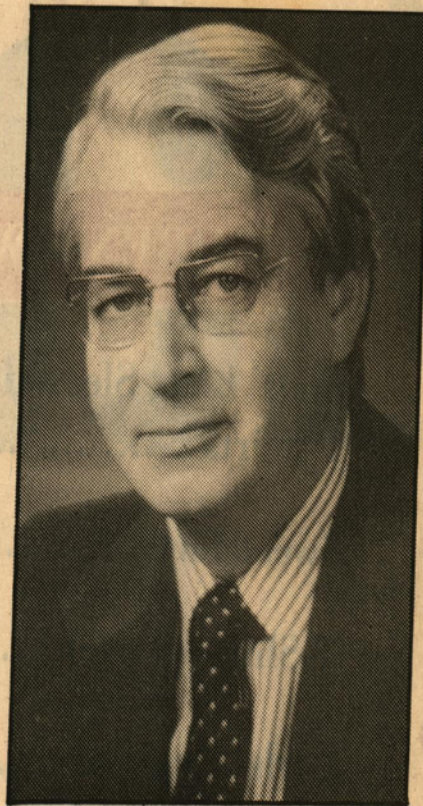
Perhaps we should do a bit of political economy here, not for the venomous mind of Mr Donald Woods but for the reader who might care to think. Apartheid came about in order to create primitive accumulation for Afrikaner capital. Hence the border industries and so-called "homelands". This was both neo-colonialism and Nazism. Hence the reign of terror, unrivalled rule of the police and death in detention. Throw in the killer squads.

It is the sum total of all these things which brought about the armed struggle by the oppressed of this country. In all this big capital, through the laws of capitalist development, made huge profits by competing for border industries, and taking advantage of depressed wages. In the course of this a comprador class emerged among Africans, which served as a conduit for the poor goods manufactured in the border industries, and manned the apartheid structures.

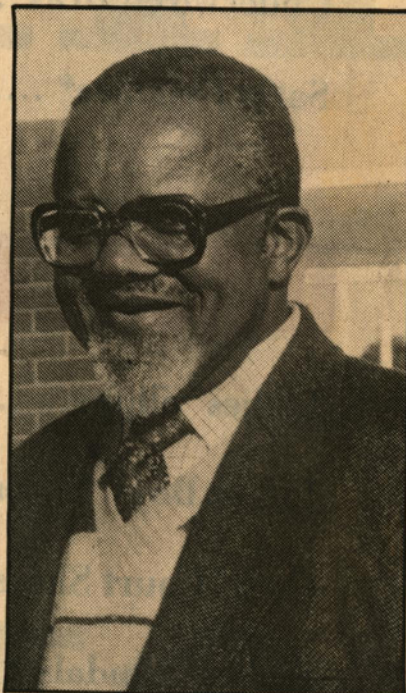
Mr Woods tells us that white civilisation was giving us aid for "civil liberties" in the form of EEC hand-outs in order to embark on a non-violent pacifist path. Therefore we have to be careful not to rock the boat. Unfortunately Mr Woods and the African masses are on different wavelengths. He is talking of civil rights. The masses are in a political struggle and politics is all about power. Mr Woods may rave and twitch about the Soviet Union. It is not his noble West that gave us material aid to bring the apartheid regime to its sense of talking. We talk not because we are weak but because we are strong. If Mr Woods wants to declare war on us we shall gladly give it to him.

Our path is strewn with the bodies of our martyrs. To us civil liberties are only a reflection of the political struggle at a given time. The unity between the SACP and the ANC was sealed in blood and tears and no likes of Mr Woods will tear it asunder.

• Harry Gwala is a member of the national executive committee of the ANC and a member of the central executive committee of the SA Communist Party.



**ANC and SACP
executive committee
member Harry
Gwala (below) is a
screaming twit,
says former Daily
Dispatch editor
Donald Woods
(above) in an article
in the Daily
Dispatch last week.
Here we reproduce
Woods' article, and
Gwala's response.**



Dismantling the homelands is a difficult and dangerous task, argues Patrick Laurence

'Puppet' label is misleading

SOUTH Africa's constellation of "black homelands," conceived as the pinnacle of apartheid social engineering, is proving to be the most difficult aspect of the apartheid system to dismantle.

A whole range of apartheid laws — from the prohibition on interracial sex and marriage to the denial of freedom of movement and unfettered property rights to blacks — have been abolished with relative ease.

But dissolution of the ethnically based "homelands" is a more complex and dangerous task.

The massacre at Bisho, and the risk of more bloodshed in the event of ANC-led protest marches against the governments of Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu, is clear evidence of that.

The main reason can be summed up in one word: empowerment. The homeland system has facilitated the emergence of black leaders, who — contrary to propaganda — are not mere puppets.

While they do not have the power of President de Klerk or ANC leader Nelson Mandela, they are not powerless. With varying

degrees of skill and in different ways they have asserted their presence politically and given notice that, far from disappearing, they intend to play a role in determining the future.

One simple fact contradicts the popular view that leaders of the 10 "homelands" are marionettes manipulated by Pretoria: five of the 10 leaders have aligned themselves with the ANC.

The exercise of power by these supposed puppets against the wishes of Pretoria is not new:

● One of the first acts of Transkei after it became the first "black homeland" to be granted partial self-government by Pretoria in 1963 was to scrap "Bantu Education", the notorious system designed to perpetuate black servitude.

● Similarly, after Transkei became nominally independent in 1976, it scrapped a whole series of apartheid laws and, in defiance of apartheid ideology, turned itself into a non-racial polity.

● It is a matter of record that Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu — whom ANC

propagandists depict as Mr de Klerk's proxy — thwarted the bid by apartheid ideologists in the late 1970s and early 1980s to pressurise all 10 of these quasi-states into accepting "independence".

Their aim, as the Status Acts which conferred nominal independence on four of these tribal homelands shows, was to deprive blacks of South African nationality on the pretext of conferring the nationality of their designated tribal homelands on them.

The most dramatic recognition that the men serving in these apartheid structures need not be Pretoria's puppets has come from the ANC itself: when Chief Buthelezi prepared to launch Inkatha in the mid-1970s, the ANC saw it as a vehicle which could advance, not retard, the cause of liberation and sought to influence its activities from abroad.

As Oliver Tambo, the ANC's immediate past president, has acknowledged, Inkatha was the product of an agreement between the ANC and Chief Buthelezi, who, as Mr Tambo has similarly admitted, only assumed the reins of leader-

ship in KwaZulu after consultations with the ANC.

The ANC-Inkatha partnership, as South Africa knows too well, ended acrimoniously, with the ANC accusing Chief Buthelezi of dressing Inkatha in ANC colours and building it "into a personal power base" and Chief Buthelezi riposting that the ANC's exiled leadership was trying to hijack Inkatha for its own ends.

Since then, and particularly since the release of Mr Mandela in February 1990, the ANC has applied, with conspicuous success, the same stratagem of winning "bantustan leaders" to its side.

Its allies include two leaders who came to power in military coups: General Bantu Holomisa of Transkei and Brigadier Gabriel Ramashuwana of Venda.

Today Transkei is seen by some observers as an ANC fief, with its defence force allegedly providing training facilities, logistical support and weapons for ANC guerrillas at the expense of South African taxpayers.

Venda, like Transkei, is a member of the ANC-led Patriotic

Front. The ANC's wooing of Brigadier Ramashuwana, a South African-trained policeman, is an even more spectacular triumph.

Brigadier Ramashuwana's April 1990 coup, carried out to restore "law and order" and welcomed by President de Klerk as a bulwark against chaos, is suspected as having been instigated by South Africa's military establishment. The military's rationale, it is hypothesised, was to organise a coup by their own man rather than allow ANC activists to overthrow the enfeebled and incompetent administration of Venda's last president, Frank Ravele.

It is well known that Brigadier Ramashuwana was jeered by ANC supporters shortly after he took power. The suspicions linger that Brigadier Ramashuwana, having feigned towards the ANC to silence his opponents, is still Pretoria's man and that he may yet move in another direction.

President de Klerk, having lost the battle for Transkei, in part because of suspicions that Pretoria had sided with South African companies which were allegedly rip-

ping off Transkei, has not been idle. He has drawn five "homeland leaders" to his side, in large measure by positing a future South Africa with strongly based regional governments. His five black allies believe or hope they will be able to wield power within strongly entrenched regional governments, instead of being overwhelmed by an ANC-controlled central government.

The competition between the ANC and the De Klerk administration for the loyalties of "homeland leaders" has strengthened their position. Neither the ANC nor Mr de Klerk dare ignore their wishes for fear of driving them into the opposing camp.

There is one more potent reason while their wishes cannot be ignored. All have men under arms. Four of these 10 quasi-states have their own armies. All 10 have their own police forces.

The leaders may be despised in some quarters as puppets. The guns of their security forces, however, are real, as Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's soldiers showed at Bisho on September 7. □

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Seize the moment

THE rebuilding of a "climate conducive to negotiations" — South Africans speak for a state of mind in which politicians are prepared to talk rather than fight — was given a considerable boost yesterday by ANC president Nelson Mandela. In an important interview with this newspaper, he sent out a message of conciliation and urgency. Compromises on all sides were necessary, he said, in order to pull South Africa back from the brink of disaster.

Mr Mandela's words are welcome indeed, and they deserve to be received and reciprocated in kind by Mr de Klerk. This should help to alter the mood of the country, and to lift ordinary people out of a months-long trough of despondency. We have seen before how fragile is public confidence, and how cavalier the politicians have been in allowing it to be so badly damaged.

But, of course, expressions of hopeful sentiment are not enough. We look to Mr Mandela to ensure that his reading of the situation generally — and his recognition of the parlous state of the economy in particular — filters through to all ranks of his organisation and its allies.

While insisting on the democratic right to launch mass action, the ANC leader said that everything possible should be done to avoid so damaging the economy that it became irreparable. He went so far as to say that a report from Finance Minister Derek Keys had "frightened" him.

Similar fears have not penetrated Cosatu, whose leaders called yesterday for an income tax boycott, stayaways and consumer boycotts. Unlike demonstrations and petitions, these acts are certain to score direct hits on the already-wounded economy. Cosatu is specifically choosing tactics which make life very difficult for business, and which deepen the economic crisis.

Mr Mandela has made a courageous and statesmanlike intervention. Now for the difficult part: in the interests of the economy, he must crack the whip over the heads of his followers and allies.

Natal carnage^X

A NEW and ominous pattern is emerging in Natal's killing fields. Men masquerading as soldiers or policemen are murdering innocent people with pitiless efficiency. The latest victims, eight Inkatha Freedom Party members, were shot and burnt to death when the bakkie in which they were travelling was ambushed by unknown gunmen near Umgababa, on the south coast. The attackers wore uniforms, according to survivors.

The Umgababa massacre came barely a week after 12 people were murdered at Ensagweni, near Port Shepstone. They were all IFP members, 10 of whom were waiting for transport to a meeting. Again the killers reportedly wore uniforms.

Earlier, on August 23, uniformed men, claiming to be members of the SAP firearms unit, raided the house of a headman and IFP leader near Richmond. They demanded two rifles issued by the KwaZulu government; then lined the man, his wife and their six children against a wall and shot them. A black soldier was later arrested in connection with the slaughter.

These killings are as appalling and as dangerous as the massacre of ANC supporters at Boipatong and Bisho. They must be investigated with the same urgency.

Govt gears up for special session

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government is preparing a range of legislation for next month's short session of Parliament to prepare the statute books for transitional government.

Bills to set up a transitional executive, phase out the apartheid-based "own affairs" government departments and abolish further by-elections are those in the pipeline.

However, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday cautioned against premature speculation and said no announcements would be made until the Government had consulted other interested parties.

If Bills for the transition were tabled this year, they would be enabling measures which would be implemented only once agreement has been reached.

He stressed, though, that no final decisions had been reached and said speculation in the press this week was premature.

The speculation follows leaks from the National Party's caucus at the weekend at which Cabinet Ministers briefed MPs on their plans.

NP sources said the legislative programme could be firmed up at



Roelf Meyer . . . cautioned against premature speculation.

today's weekly meeting of the Cabinet.

The legislative package for the short session could include measures to set up a transitional executive comprising all the main negotiating parties to run alongside the Cabinet during the first phase of transition and to supervise the run-up to elections for a constituent assembly and interim legislature.

The legislation to abolish own affairs would enable the Government to phase out the system, starting with the integration of the separate white, coloured and Indian departments of education, agriculture, health, budget, and local government and housing.

It is understood that the Government intends maintaining the ministers' councils in each of the three administrations, at least for now.

Another proposed measure would abolish by-elections.

Positive Govt response to Mandela's overtures

Negotiation door opens

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

New hope for a speedy return to negotiations has been raised by ANC leader Nelson Mandela's conciliatory remarks in an interview with The Star — and a positive response from the Government last night.

Mr Mandela's overture to the Government for a quick resumption of negotiations — welcomed by the Government and others as "positive and conciliatory" — has improved prospects for a meeting soon between Mr Mandela and President de Klerk to discuss the issue of violence.

This in turn is the key to a return to formal constitutional negotiations, suspended in June.

The Government yesterday welcomed "the positive and conciliatory tone" of many statements made by Mr Mandela in his interview with The Star on Monday.

"It trusts that this attitude will be reflected in the actions and statements of other ANC leaders as well," Government spokesman Dave Steward told The Star.

'Reasonable'

On his return from a trip to Zambia last night, Mr Mandela said the summit was "crucial" for progress in the peace process.

The Government should take the initiative by releasing political prisoners, banning the public display of dangerous weapons and fencing off hostels.

"I sincerely hope Mr de Klerk will carry out these reasonable demands and help me to convince everyone around me to meet."

Mr Mandela said in the interview that "to save the country from disaster" the ANC was eager to restart negotiations and the Government need make no new concessions for this to happen.

It would be enough for it to make good its previous undertakings to the ANC and United Nations special envoy Cyrus Vance on hostels, political prisoners and dangerous weapons.

He was deeply concerned about the state of the economy, following a recent report from Finance Minister Derek Keys which he had found "frightening".

His remarks were welcomed by politicians and business organisations yesterday, although the IFP expressed reservations.

Reciprocate

Mr Keys said he was "glad to see economic realities are starting to figure in the decisions of major players".

Democratic Party finance spokesman Ken Andrew said Mr Mandela's "reasonableness and statesmanlike attitudes should be reciprocated by everyone concerned about the country's well-being".

National Party secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe hoped for action to back up Mr Mandela's words.

"The fact only three issues must be addressed by the President before they can meet, and the more realistic terms in which Mr Mandela defines these issues, is progress indeed," he said.

SA Chamber of Business chief economist Ben van Rensburg welcomed Mr Mandela's "recognition of economic realities".

The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry welcomed Mr Mandela's gesture and hoped other parties would respond similarly.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said steps to get back to negotiations were to be welcomed. But he did not think Mr Mandela's remarks represented a "sudden conversion to the politics of moderation and compromise". He attributed them to the negative local and foreign criticism of the ANC's "revolutionary agenda".

THE STAR, WEDNESDAY, 16 SEPTEMBER 1992

Ulundi march 'still on'

By Kalzer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The ANC's plans to march on the KwaZulu capital of Ulundi were still on despite Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's warning this week that such a march would trigger a civil war, ANC southern Natal regional chairman Jeff Radebe said yesterday.

He said that unlike the march which was planned to take place in Bophuthatswana on Saturday, the march on Ulundi had not been called off.

However, ANC southern Natal regional secretary S'bu Ndebele said the final decision would be taken at "a higher level", adding that the mass action would involve "creative strategies".

Their statements came after the news that the ANC had called off its march on Mmabatho following Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's intervention. Observers had believed that the Ulundi march would also be called off.

KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Buthelezi warned the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance on Monday that a march on Ulundi would lead to "a bloodbath". Such a march, he said, would be the opening salvo in the start of a South African civil war.

● 'Puppet' label
misleading - Page 16

tion as a means of giving people more control over their lives and ensuring that public services are efficient and appropriately tailored to local conditions are widely accepted. However, the constraints on what powers can be devolved have not been clearly spelt out in the debate on federalism.

These include, firstly, the need for the authorities to be able to ensure sound macroeconomic management. A prerequisite for implementing effective stabilisation policies is that sub-central governments' autonomy over taxation, borrowing and spending must not clash with effective overall management.

Secondly, if markets are to operate efficiently, distortions must be minimised. Differences between regulations, standards and the structure of taxation across regions introduce distortions, inhibiting resources from flowing to best use. The more marked the differences, the more severe will be the distortions. Giving regions power to distort economic conditions in their favour is likely to have chaotic results which, in the long term, will benefit nobody.

Thirdly, related to this, is the need to co-ordinate redistribution nationally so that the burden of this intervention is spread evenly across the country. This restricts the room for manoeuvre that can be given to the regions not only in terms of progressive taxation but, more significantly, in the structure of spending.

It is the pattern of public expenditure, especially on social services, which largely determines the redistributive content of fiscal policy. In SA, the severe spatial mismatch between the location of resources and needs, largely resulting from apartheid planning, is a further reason why redistribution needs to be co-ordinated nationally.

Fourthly, given the inevitability of large-scale urbanisation in coming decades, urbanisation policies are required which enable consistent intervention both at the origin and destination of demographic flows. If re-

SA should aspire to German model of 'unitary federalism'

PHILIP VAN RYNEVELD

gions are given the power to compete in making themselves as unattractive as possible to poor incoming migrants in the hope that migrants will go elsewhere, then implementing coherent urbanisation policies will be impossible.

These constraints limit significantly the autonomy that can be given to regions, rendering much of the thinking on federalism among government and its Codesa allies unworkable. Their proposals are particularly inappropriate given the staggering increase in the mobility of goods, people, services and information over the past two decades.

It is this increased mobility which has led to the creation, for example, of the single European market, and the need, troubling to many Europeans, to shift substantial policy-making powers from the level of the nation state to a co-ordinated, European-wide level. The Maastricht treaty is an important step in rationalising that inevitable process.

Against this background, it becomes clear that, given modern economic conditions, it is inappropriate to think of regions in SA as mini-national governments. While only the volkstaters will admit it openly, it would appear that this apartheid paradigm still determines much of the thinking on federalism in government and among its allies.

Instead, the important policy-making focus of regions should be expressed collectively at the national level, probably through a second chamber, so that national policies are sensitive to regional variation.

Regions also have an important role in enhancing local control over how nationally determined policies are implemented, ensuring that they are well adapted to local needs. This requires regions to work closely with local authorities.

The German constitution has developed largely in this direction. The only area where the 16 German Länder have significant autonomy is over cultural issues. However, their influence over national policies through the Bundesrat — the second chamber — has increased over the years, and they have substantial responsibility for implementation of national policies. Germany is often characterised as a "unitary federal" system, a label well worth aspiring to in SA!

It follows that, if regions are required to enrich national policies and strengthen local control within the framework of these policies, then the seven regions recently unveiled at

government's conference on federalism are too big. The same is true of the 10 regions proposed by the ANC's constitutional committee. (The proposal was not accepted at the ANC's May policy conference, pending further debate.)

Smaller regions are required to give voice to the different logic in life in different areas. The non-metropolitan areas need to be separated from the metropolitan areas so that the non-metropolitan voice is not swamped by the more vocal and increasingly large metropolitan populations in some regions.

By the same token, the capacity of the metropolitan areas to deal with massive population growth over coming decades will be impaired by a regional layer between them and the centre. Smaller regions can work more flexibly and intimately with the local level, ensuring that as much power as is feasible can be moved to this level.

Most revenue will have to continue being collected at national level with a large proportion being transferred to the regions and localities, much of it earmarked to ensure implementation is within the terms of national policies, but some of it unconditional.

An independent national finance commission should assist in ensuring

this is done fairly, transparently and in a manner that enables clear planning and is not subject to arbitrary political interference. This is a much better way of getting resources into areas of greatest need than trying to link poor areas with rich ones within large regions and hoping this will ensure the required redistribution.

It is sometimes argued that having more, smaller regions — somewhere between 15 and 25 — would make government more expensive. However, if regional governments are not thought of as mini-national governments, this need not be the case.

Furthermore, having smaller regions would obviate the need for another level of government which, in the context of seven or 10 regions, would be necessary. Replicating national bureaucracies seven times over, as appears to be the intention in the new NP model, would be an enormous drain on state coffers.

Smaller regions would add variety to the country's politics and, in the short term, would reduce the potential for conflict in areas such as Natal by avoiding a winner-takes-all situation.

Substantial decentralisation is necessary to enhance democracy, as well as ensure that when problems arise responsibility does not always get passed to the centre, as this undermines the potential to maintain fiscal discipline. But this must happen within the framework of coherent national institutions.

The balance is a delicate one. For this reason it is a pity that the NP's political strategy is so dependent on an alliance with existing homeland leaders and other institutions spawned by apartheid, as this diminishes the capacity for reason to be brought to the design of perhaps the single most important element of our new constitution.

□ Van Ryneveld is employed by the Economic Policy Research Project, University of Western Cape, which undertakes research for organisations in the "democratic movement". This article represents a personal view and should not be construed as ANC policy.

Peace march an act of faith: De Beer

Citizen Reporter

CHURCH leaders and members of Parliament, in support of the immediate resumption of negotiations and the end to violence, yesterday called on the country's main political players to put South Africa's interests ahead of selfish party politics.

Addressing a group of about 300 people who marched through Johannesburg yesterday in a non-party political march for peace and negotiations, one of the speakers, Democratic Party leader, Dr Zach de Beer, said the march was an act of faith by South Africans of diverse backgrounds to show that they believed that the country could succeed.

He said a problem with the main players was that they had already started to fight elections even though a constitution for these elections had not been laid down.

"First establish a new constitution and then fight elections. I appeal to you (main players) to say

and do what you know to be right and have faith that the people will follow."

The march was led by, among others, DP MP Mr Tony Leon, Dr De Beer, the International Pentecostal Church of SA president, the Rev Frederick Modise, Bishop Peter Storey of the Methodist Church and Pastor Ray McCauley of Rhema Ministries.

Other groups represented were the Temple Israel Congregation, the United Conservative Congregation and Women for Peace.

Marchers held banners with slogans "Peace Now" and "Negotiations Now" and John Lennon's song "Give Peace a Chance" played over the loud speakers as the group marched through Johannesburg.

Addressing the group outside the Civic Theatre Mr Storey said that a strong message to all parties in the country should be that any party that needs violence to further

its cause could not be trusted with the future of South Africa.

He said simple steps had to be taken to ensure that violence ends and negotiations proceed. These steps included that the main political party leaders should be seen together, that peace on the ground be kept by all and that a peace force consisting of all groups be instated and that the people be disarmed.

He said everyone had a part to play in bringing peace to the country.

Mr McCauley appealed to the main political players to "rise above selfish party politics and get along with serious talks".

He also appealed to these leaders not to ignore the church in finding a solution as the church's role was a vital and facilitating one.

As the group dispersed a small crowd of about 30 people from the Wits Workers' School held a protest gathering nearby, concerning the increase in their tuition fees.

Unrest abating, but death toll rising

Citizen Reporter

ALTHOUGH the number of unrest-related incidents has declined since 1990, the number of deaths in these incidents has increased "out of all proportion".

This fact emerges from the unrest statistics for the past few years contained in a confidential government report.

According to the report, there were 8 072 incidents of political violence in 1989. This figure rose to an all time high of 17 088 in 1990, but declined to 8 815 during 1991. For the first six months of 1992 4 489 incidents were reported.

The number of people killed in these years proportional to the number of incidents, has however been steadily growing. In 1989 659 people lost their lives in political violence,

while in 1990 the figure rose to 2 674.

In 1991 2 240 people lost their lives in political violence, even though the number of unrest incidents in that year dropped almost by half compared to 1990. In the first six months of this year 1 181 people had already died in political violence.

Firearms

Attributing the increasingly high mortality rate to the fact that "more use is being made of firearms", the report states that a great number of guns are now in circulation.

The number of policemen killed in political violence has also been rising. In 1989 71 policemen were killed, as opposed to 107 in 1990. During 1991, 137 lost their lives while in the first six months of 1992 alone, 96 members

of the force have been killed. The figure is now 170.

The report states that the government attributes the sharp increase in violence to "the unbanning of the ANC, SACP and other organisations".

"Instead of becoming political parties, they remain liberation movements at heart, with the ANC only paying lip service to its undertaking to suspend the armed struggle," says the report.

The report adds that although 2 240 people had died in unrest related violence in 1991, 14 693 persons were murdered in non-unrest-related incidents over the same period.

The use of the necklace method of murdering people has also increased since 1991, the report states. In 1991 24 people were killed in this manner, compared with the 23 people already killed in this manner during the first six months of 1992. Necklace murders reached an all time high in 1986 when 306 people were killed in this manner.

Proportionally more people have been killed by being burnt to death other than by the necklace method in 1992 than in any other previous year, states the report. In 1990 101 people were burnt to death, while in 1991 102 people were killed in this manner.

In the first six months of 1992 alone 76 people have been killed in this manner.

Govt report warns civil war possible

By Arthur Kemp

IF ALL private armies, including the ANC's, are not disbanded civil war is possible in South Africa, says a confidential government report on political violence recently submitted to the Cabinet for consideration.

The report, a copy of which is in The Citizen's possession, deals with violence from all quarters, including the Right and Left wings.

It says peace can be attained only if all private armies are disbanded. "If, due to political reasons, parties and organisations, including the ANC, do not want to accept this then we must in all honesty acknowledge that the possibility of a civil war is not excluded," reads the report.

The question of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) has, according to the report, caused the government great concern and has been an issue since August 1990, when the Pretoria Minute was signed.

The ANC has failed to implement agreements on MK, arguing that it is a "people's army", not a private one. The ANC also maintains that MK "played a significant role in forcing the government to the negotiation table and should therefore enjoy a special status".

The report says both these assertions are incorrect. "MK was formed by a small group of ANC/SACP members falling under the political command of the ANC" and

therefore qualifies as a private army, the report says.

Secondly, the ANC's armed struggle was a military failure. Mr Chris Hani, MK's chief of staff, had admitted this in the February 1991 issue of the SACP journal, Umsebenzi.

"The ANC's unwillingness to implement the existing agreements on MK has an aggravating effect on the creation and expansion of other private armies which see themselves in opposition

to the ANC," says the report. "These structures include the AWB's Wenkommandos, Ystergarde and Rooivalke as well as the Boerekommando of the Eastern Transvaal."

The report also makes mention of the decision by the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to set up "self protection units" for Inkatha Freedom Party members in Natal.

The report goes on to detail how, instead of scaling down its activities and training, MK has ex-

panded its activities since February 1990.

"This practice casts doubts on the ANC's true intentions.

"Information currently available to the police points to the fact that during 1991 a total of 971 confirmed cases" occurred of ANC members leaving South Africa for training.

"Since the beginning of 1992 alone more than 300 ANC members have left the country for military training."

NP's Parliament plans on congress agenda

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — Some details of government plans for the October sitting of Parliament, including preparations for a government of national unity, are expected to become known during the National Party's Transvaal Congress, which starts tomorrow.

President De Klerk, who begins his fourth year in office on Saturday, will address the congress on Friday morning. The current violence, the negotiation process and the October sitting are likely to be among the topics he will discuss.

Following last weekend's NP caucus meeting, there has been widespread speculation that legislation will be introduced next month with the following purposes:

- To enable the State President to set up a government of national unity, by appointing people outside of Parliament to Cabinet or quasi-Cabinet posts.

- To enable the administration of "own affairs" departments of the

three Houses to be rationalised under single, national departments.

- To enable Black "own affairs", now delegated to the six self-governing territories, to be similarly administered within the rationalised state departments.

- To abolish all future Parliamentary by-elections. The party presently holding a seat would nominate a replacement in the event of a vacancy.

All these would set the stage for interim government, while a new constitution is drawn up.

Responding to inquiries yesterday, Mr Roelf Meyer, Minister of Constitutional Development, said media speculation had created the incorrect impression that final decisions had already been taken.

"The government has not yet decided on the package of legislation which it will present in this year's short sitting of Parliament," said Mr Meyer.

"Further consultation will take place with other institutions involved, be-

fore announcements are made.

"If legislation of this nature is introduced, it will be of an enabling nature, with a view to its implementation after further consultation."

Mr Meyer will speak on constitution issues in an address to the NP Transvaal Congress at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, tomorrow afternoon.

Natal death toll shows increase: HRC

DURBAN. — At least 195 people were killed in political violence in Natal during August — the highest monthly death toll in the province since early 1990, according to the Human Rights Commission.

In its monthly bulletin on unrest, the HRC said there had been an alarming increase in unrest-related deaths in Natal with the Port Shepstone and northern Natal areas the worst hit.

Forty-four people were killed in the Port Shepstone area in August

with Murchison recording 41 of these murders. The death toll for the entire South Coast was 68.

There had also been a dramatic increase in deaths in the North Coast region with 55 killings recorded there.

The Durban Functional Region was also hard hit, recording 45 deaths last month.

"The only area to witness a decrease in deaths was the Midlands with 40 deaths recorded last month and 27 this month (August)," said the bulletin.

Focusing on the South Coast, the HRC said the extremely serious situation there had led to a growing refugee crisis and the breakdown of schooling. Murchison and Folweni were worst affected.

Violence-wracked Esikhawini on Natal's North Coast recorded 35 killings last month. The attackers targeted homes of ANC-aligned members in a seemingly systematic campaign to eliminate the organisation and its allies' leadership in the region, the HRC claimed.

The report said investi-

gations by independent monitors pointed to a hit-squad operating in the area.

Focusing on the Kwa-Zulu Police, the HRC said residents from Folweni, Adams Mission, Esikhawini and UmZinyathi had implicated the KZP in attacks on them and submissions had been made by the SA National Civic Organisation to the Goldstone Commission to investigate the role of the KZP in political violence.

• Police have offered a R20 000 reward for infor-

mation leading to the arrest of those responsible for Monday's massacre at Umgababa on the Natal South Coast in which eight people were killed.

A group of 16 people were on their way to work when gunmen, wearing army uniforms, opened fire on the bakkie in which they were travelling. Eight people escaped the attackers.

However, seven people in the back of the bakkie were shot and the bakkie set alight. Their charred bodies were found by police. — Sapa.

UN men arrive as train deaths mount

MORE international observers arrived in South Africa yesterday as attackers butchered more train commuters in Johannesburg and a cold-blooded attack in Natal set back local peace efforts.

The SAP also announced 168 police officers had been killed in the political turbulence this year.

After killers dressed in military gear shot dead eight Inkatha Freedom Party supporters people at Umgababa, in Natal on Monday, the IFP said it was suspending its involvement in peace efforts in Richmond. Police offered R20 000 for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the assailants.

The SA Council of Churches and Congress of SA Trade Unions con-

demned the murders. Cosatu blamed the attack on "shadowy death squads" and the SACC said the attack was "senseless".

The IFP also demanded that a special unit should be established to investigate the role of the African National Congress' military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, in the wake of the murder of 32 IFP supporters in four recent attacks in KwaZulu.

In a fresh outbreak of train attacks, police said three people were killed and 11 others injured in attacks on Johannesburg-bound trains early on Monday.

The three, including a woman, were killed on a train at Soweto's New Canada Station. Police said the woman was stripped of her clothes and tossed from the train.

International observers continued to stream into

the country to help halt the internecine violence in which more than 6 000 people have died in the past two years.

Three senior Commonwealth observers arrived yesterday to liaise with United Nations counterparts and officials of the National Peace Committee.

The UN on Monday night announced the ap-

pointment of a special envoy to South Africa, Mr Virendra Dayal, who would visit the country for a week and meet the government and a host of other political groupings.

The first 18 of 50 expected UN observers arrived in Johannesburg on Sunday under the leadership of Tanzania's Ismat Steiner. — Sapa.

Hawaiians want self-rule

By Sandra Oshiro
HONOLULU, Hawaii. — Native Hawaiians are increasing their demands for self-government as

the islands prepare to mark the 100th anniversary of the monarchy's overthrow.

It was on January 17, 1893 that US naval troops, acting at the instigation of White businessmen, forced the abdication of Queen Liliuokalani. Hawaii became a US territory in 1900 and the 50th state of the union in 1959.

As the centennial of the coup approaches, native Hawaiians are becoming increasingly insistent in demanding a restoration of the island's sovereignty and the righting of perceived wrongs dating back 100 years.

Dr Richard Kekuni Blaisdell, a physician and spokesman for the pro-sovereignty group Ka Pakaukau feels nothing less than full independence from the United States will serve the purpose.

'Illegal'

The United States, he said, seized control of Hawaii and continues to control the islands in violation of international law. "It is an illegal occupation by a colonial power," he said.

The demand for sovereignty comes at a time when native Hawaiian culture is in full revival. Hula dancers abound. Hawaiian music has a considerable following

and Hawaiian culture and language are studied more and more in classrooms.

But conditions among the 185 000 native Hawaiians are not good.

Since the turn of the century, Hawaii has gone from an agricultural economy dependent on sugar and the pineapple to one reliant on tourism. Most native Hawaiians were left behind as this new economy emerged.

A recent report of the US Congress Office of Technology Assessment showed native Hawaiians die at a rate 34 percent higher than that of all other races in the United States.

They also have far higher rates of heart disease, cancer and diabetes than the rest of the nation. And they have less access to medical care than others living in Hawaii.

Largest groups

No one ethnic group represents a majority in the islands. Whites make up the largest group with 33 percent of the population, followed by the Japanese (22.3 percent), Filipinos (15.2 percent), Hawaiians (12.5 percent), Chinese (6.2 percent) and other races.

Those of part-Hawaiian ancestry are growing in numbers, largely

as a result of marriages with members of other ethnic groups.

But the pool of pure-blooded Hawaiians is dwindling and some such as Larry Miike of Papa Ola Lokahi, a health programme for native Hawaiians, warn their decreasing numbers has serious implications for the survival of the native culture.

Legislation was introduced in the Congress earlier this year to establish a blueprint for Hawaiian sovereignty that might operate in a way similar to native American Indians and Eskimos, that is, as nations within a nation.

But there was no consensus on the proposal and it was withdrawn until a consortium of Hawaiian groups reviews the options for self-government under a separate Hawaiian nation.

Along with the call for sovereignty are demands for US compensation for the loss of lands and other resources in the 1883 overthrow, and recognition of legal rights to sue the federal government for a "breach of trust" in its handling of Hawaiian affairs.

Although President Grover Cleveland denounced the 1883 military overthrow as illegal, the United States

eventually agreed to annex the islands, prompted by pro-annexation forces who spread rumours that British forces were poised to take over the islands if the United States failed to act.

Changes

Native Hawaiians like Governor John Waihee were successful in pushing for changes to the state constitution in 1978.

The amended constitution gave special fishing and gathering rights to native Hawaiians and established the Office of Hawaiian Affairs to manage the assets of the native Hawaiian people held in trust by the state.

This year, Mr Waihee's administration also approved \$12 million (R32.4 million) in compensation for native Hawaiians for the state's illegal or unauthorised use of lands set aside for native Hawaiian homesteading.

Another \$13.8 million (R37.2 million) was earmarked for developing home and agricultural lots for Hawaiians.

But the state maintains it is the federal government that bears the heaviest responsibility and must compensate native Hawaiians for the overthrow and other wrongs committed before Hawaii became a state in 1959.

So far the Bush administration has denied such responsibility. — Sapa-Reuter.

Mandela will meet FW if . . .

AFRICAN National Congress president Nelson Mandela returned from Zambia last night and confirmed he was prepared to meet the State President on condition that Mr De Klerk gave undertakings on three key issues.

They are the fencing off of hostels, banning public

display of dangerous weapons and the release of political prisoners.

"If he makes an undertaking and stipulates the time-frame within which he will implement those undertakings, we will be prepared to consider them," Mr Mandela told reporters at Johannesburg's Lanseria Airport.

Mr Mandela said it was not up to him to define this time-frame.

There was a "crucial" need for a meeting with Mr De Klerk because "an agreement between the government and the ANC is vital for the peaceful move forward".

Mr Mandela said if Mr De Klerk made the three undertakings, it would help him to "convince everybody around me to meet the government so that we can try to address the problems facing the country". — Sapa.

Probe of ANC men

FROM PAGE 1

persons who returned to South Africa under the temporary indemnity granted by the government.

The evidence is to be presented to the government before the question

of permanent indemnity or amnesty comes up for review on May 30, 1993, as well as to the relevant Attorneys-General.

"Further cases could be opened against other ANC members as the investigation proceeds," a

senior police spokesman said.

He said that where evidence was available, all cases of atrocities in ANC camps were being investigated, as well as all incidents of terrorism in South Africa where there was evidence that particular members of the ANC were instrumental in exercising control of terrorist units sent into South Africa to carry out designated acts at the direct instructions of senior ANC members.

"We are also examining the issue of collective responsibility of the ANC hierarchy for all civilian deaths arising out of acts of terrorism from 1985 onwards, because of the directive at the Kabwe conference of 1985 that soft targets should be attacked," he said.

A fresh look was being taken at all 265 deaths which were known from the ANC's own records to have occurred in its camps, as well as the 178 civilian deaths (132 of which were Blacks) which occurred between 1980 and the end of 1989.

Investigations were also taking place to establish responsibility for the 62 civilian deaths in acts of terrorism since the beginning of 1990.

According to the spokesman, evidence in the investigation of past cases has been obtained from court case records where individuals were mentioned, ANC publications and documents, and direct from potential witnesses, a number of whom had indicated they would be prepared to testify if called upon to do so.

SAP PROBE OF TOP ANC MEN

Seventeen
dockets
opened

Citizen Reporter

A FULL-SCALE investigation into past crimes in which senior members of the ANC may be implicated as the controllers of terrorists in South Africa, is being conducted by a special police team established for the purpose.

Seventeen dockets have been opened on a number of serious charges, including murder, sabotage and terrorism.

One of the recently promoted Lt-Generals of the police is in overall charge of the investigation.

These investigations

date back to terrorist incidents which were committed in South Africa before the unbanning of the ANC in February 1990, and include the 1983 Pretoria car-bomb in which 19 people died, and a number of other major terrorism incidents.

Investigations are also taking place into possible criminal liability arising out of atrocities in ANC camps.

Four dockets have also been opened against senior ANC members relating to crimes including armed robbery, terrorism, and attempted murder which occurred after the October 1991 indemnity cut off date agreed on by the government and the ANC.

The investigations into past crimes all involve

TO PAGE 2

ANC says Ulundi march is on

DURBAN. — The African National Congress is pressing ahead with its planning for a march on Ulundi.

In spite of mounting pressure to call off the march for fears of massive bloodshed, Natal ANC leaders were adamant yesterday that they were still planning the controversial mass action.

The organisation yesterday called off its march on Bophuthatswana, scheduled for this weekend, and KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned that a march on Ulundi would spark civil war.

ANC Southern Natal chairman Jeff Radebe said: "We are going ahead with our plan to march on Ulundi. We haven't called it off."

TO PAGE 2

Ulundi march is on

FROM PAGE 1

Southern Natal ANC regional secretary S'bu Ndebele, however, said the final decision would be taken at a "higher level" and the mass action would involve creative strategies.

It was not clear whether this meant the organisation was planning other activities should the national leadership decide that a march would be inappropriate.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone yesterday responded with surprise to claims that the plans had been put on hold following his intervention, saying he had not yet even discussed the Ulundi march with the ANC.

Mr Goldstone did confirm that he had discussed the ANC's proposed march on Bophuthatswana this weekend with ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and had subsequently been told it would not take place. He had not, however, raised the Ulundi issue.

A spokesman for the

Goldstone Commission said there was little it could do about the Ulundi march at this stage as no date had been fixed or details announced.

The march would have a national focus, but could not say at this stage who would lead it.

Mr Radebe also reacted to Mr Buthelezi's warning that an ANC march on Ulundi would be "the opening salvo ... in the commencement of a South African civil war".

This, said Mr Radebe, was another indication that the KwaZulu Government was not willing to countenance freedom of expression, association or assembly north of the Tugela River.

ANC head office spokesman Gill Marcus said the Bophuthatswana march, scheduled for Saturday, had been called off because proper plans had not been finalised.

The proposed march on Ulundi was still at a planning stage.

Mr Radebe said the planning was being

undertaken by the ANC's three Natal regional branches. No date or route had been fixed yet but "we are definitely going to press ahead".

He added that the Some other organisations and parties have urged the ANC to reconsider its plans to march on Ulundi. This pressure may give rise to discussion on the whole issue of mass action against homelands when the ANC National Working Committee meets in Johannesburg on Wednesday. —Sapa.

THE CITIZEN, 16 SEPTEMBER 1992

Mandela must act to back conciliatory words: Stoffel

THE National Party welcomed Mr Nelson Mandela's conciliatory tone but demanded action which would back up his words, NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said last night.

He was commenting on the African National Congress president's interview with a Johannesburg newspaper, which was published yesterday.

"The fact that he has indicated that as far as he is concerned there are only three remaining outstanding issues to be addressed by the State President before the leaders can meet, and the more realistic terms in which Mr Mandela defines these issues, is progress indeed," Dr Van der Merwe said in a state-

ment.

In the exclusive interview, Mr Mandela said to "save the country from disaster" the ANC was eager to restart negotiations — and wanted to make it as easy as possible for the government to do so.

The government need not make any new concessions to the ANC to get talks under way again, Mr Mandela said. It had only to make good its previous undertakings to the ANC and the United Nations envoy Mr Cyrus Vance on the issues of hostels, political prisoners and dangerous weapons.

Mr Mandela made it clear that if State President De Klerk delivered on earlier promises, the ANC was ready to talk again.

He was prepared to accept undertakings in good faith from Mr De Klerk on the three outstanding issues in order to get South Africa "out of the quagmire".

Dr Van der Merwe said in reaction: "The fact that Mr Mandela now says that he is prepared to accept undertakings from the State President in good faith — in contrast to the attitude of the

SACP/ANC alliance during (their) mass action week a month ago — is a step in the right direction.

"However, Mr Mandela's pro-negotiation approach is in stark contrast to the shrill and threatening pro-mass action stance adopted by the SA Communist Party in its Press release of only two days ago, when it accused the State President of murder by proxy and the government of conspiracy at Bisho.

"This Jekyll and Hyde

face of the SACP/ANC alliance gives rise to some questions," Dr Van der Merwe said.

"Who is the public to believe? The reckless Communist radicals in the ANC like Kasrils, Hani, Gwala and Cronin or the proponents of negotiation on whose behalf Mr Mandela apparently obviously talked in The Star?

"From day to day one wonders who has the upper hand," Dr Van der Merwe added. — Sapa.

Police offered R2-m for my silence: Killer

GARANKUWA. — Bophuthatswana police offered R2 million to a witness and said they would help him escape if he did not reveal details of the operations of "hit-squads" in the homeland, a commission of inquiry heard yesterday.

Bearing a badge sporting African National Congress colours, David Mzimela (26), of Winterveld in Bophuthatswana, was giving evidence before Mr Justice H N Hendler, chairman of a Commission of Inquiry into Mzimela's allegations that police were involved in hit-squads.

Mzimela, who was sentenced to death for murder but whose sentence was later commuted to 15 years' imprisonment, yesterday told the commission he had been a member of a hit-squad called Zebra Force.

He said he had been involved in the bombing of

three homes, including that of Dr Sam Motsuenyane, former president of the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce.

The Rev I D Makhudu of Garankuwa died when Dr Motsuenyane's house was bombed during March 1986.

Mzimela produced copies of letters which he said he had sent to State President De Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela concerning the operations of Zebra Force.

Mzimela then gave evidence about the bribe he was allegedly offered.

He said that on May 15, during the commission's hearings, legal counsel for Bophuthatswana told him to "go and wait outside".

"Later a policeman, who operated with me, by the name of Penyenye, came to me."

Mzimela told the commission Penyenye gave him a master key which he claimed would open all the doors in prison.

Penyenye allegedly told Mzimela that if he escaped he would be met at Mabopane Railway Station and given R2 million to aid his getaway. — Sapa.

New methods needed to beat crime: SAP

By Fred de Lange
THE South African Police said yesterday serious crime had increased to such an extent that new methods, including more community involvement, would have to be used to overcome the problem.

The chief of the police's department of Crime Prevention and Investigation, Lieutenant-General Basie Smit, said in Pretoria yesterday on any given day the police had to investigate 318 000 serious crimes.

The escalation in crime

had reached such a stage that the police and the state could no longer afford to be all things to all people.

Priorities now had to be identified and the police would have to be more selective in the type of crimes they investigated.

"We must spend time and energy on cases which matter. This would leave less time for offenses under the Liquor Act, prostitution and gambling.

"Instead we must spend more time on crimes such as drug dealing because the destroying effect of drugs on the

community cannot be over emphasised," he said.

Gen Smit said the solution was in mobilising the resources of the wider community.

Crime could only be really solved and minimised with the positive involvement of the community.

For this reason, he said, the police could never get a programme of police community relations off the ground if the negative media reports against the police continued.

The public had the right to know the facts

and they had the right to know that the South African Police had achieved great successes.

Gen Smith said a total of 62 percent of all serious crimes in South Africa took place in the Johannesburg/Soweto areas, in Natal and the Western Cape.

To combat this, more policemen have been sent to these areas.

Initial figures show that if 12 000 cases of arson in Natal are not counted, serious crime in Natal is being reduced.

Similar figures for the other two regions also show a reduction in the spread of serious crime.

In spite of this, there was still an increase of 3,21 percent in serious crime in the first six months of this year, with armed robbery and fraud also showing big increases.

Attacks on elderly people increased by almost 30 percent this year with an all time high of almost 50 percent more attacks of this kind in August this year compared with August last year.

But, on the positive side, a decline of 20 percent in the number of burglaries are being experienced in spite of the fact that 132 000 burglaries are reported every month.

... but 'getting a grip on the situation'

THE SA Police yesterday claimed they were "getting a grip" on the crime situation in South Africa.

The Witwatersrand Crime Combatting and Investigating Chief, Maj-Gen Chris Serfontein, said serious crime had increased by 12,9 percent in 1990 compared with the previous year, while the increase between 1991 and 1992 was "only" 3,21 percent (717 000 cases) as compared with to 1991 (695 000 cases).

The solving rate for serious crimes had increased since the inception of the SAP's National Crime Plan, with 38 000 more people having been arrested and charged in court in the first six months of this year compared with the same period last year, said Gen Serfontein.

More than 387 000 people had been arrested and charged in court last year, while about 500 000 suffered the same fate this year so far, he added.

Gen Serfontein said that during the past six months, the crime in-

crease had been the lowest in the Western Cape (1,09 percent) compared with the previous year, while the highest serious crime increase was recorded in the western Transvaal (10,49 percent).

The Witwatersrand had shown an increase of 3,24 percent during the same period.

Natal had registered a decrease of 1,82 percent in more serious crimes.

According to Gen Serfontein, the figure had dropped since February this year, when the SAP

introduced their National Crime Plan.

In May this year, the SAP recorded a negative crime figure of 4,61 percent.

A total of 132 000 burglaries in white homes occurred monthly during the first six months of this year, said Gen Serfontein.

There had been "sharp increases" in fraud cases during the past four years with almost 20 000 being investigated involving almost R3,7 billion.

— Sapa.

THE CITIZEN, 16 SEPTEMBER 1992

Police death toll is 168

A TOTAL of 168 policemen have been murdered this year, of whom 78 had been on duty and 90 off-duty.

These figures were disclosed at a police conference on "Crime Combatting and Investigation, The Present and Future", by Gen Daantjie Huggett, attached to the Violent Crimes Investigation unit of the SAP.

The attacks on policemen were "shocking and their lives had become cheap", he said.

Gen Huggett vowed attackers "won't succeed in demoralising the SAP with these increased violent attacks on the force".

The attacks had to be condemned in the "strongest possible terms". — Sapa.

Cosatu on radio

A NEW weekly labour programme to be broadcast on 11 stations of SABC Radio will start today.

The Congress of SA Trade Unions will sponsor the programme "not only as a service to our members, but as a service to all workers", Cosatu said in a statement in Johannesburg yesterday.

— Sapa.

Train killings flare up as safety talks stay on hold

IN A bloody incident three people were killed and nine injured on a train as it passed through four stations on the Soweto line yesterday morning.

The killings came as negotiations over commuter safety between the SA Rail Commuter Corporation, police and ANC-aligned groups remained on hold after Friday's decision to consult constituencies.

Police spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman said the killings were probably all committed by one gang of youths. One victim was stabbed to death before being stripped naked and flung from the train, he said. Another corpse was removed from the train at Langlaagte Station.

In spite of this the train's run continued uninterrupted and two more bodies were thrown off.

Asked why the train had not been stopped or searched between the stations, Opperman said police could not be everywhere at once. There were 200 railway stations in the region, nine of which were in Soweto.

Cosatu issued a statement yesterday saying train killings were linked

RAY HARTLEY

to covert activity which had also sparked renewed violence in Natal.

Durban-based DP unrest monitor Roy Ainslie said yesterday men in SADF uniforms, who were killing residents of several Natal townships, could be part of a third force.

Elements who were determined to destabilise the situation were masquerading as SADF troops.

Regulations were needed to cut down on the availability of SADF and police uniforms to the public, Ainslie said. An SADF source said greater control over the distribution of uniforms was being investigated.

In the latest Natal incident, gunmen in SADF and police uniforms killed eight Inkatha supporters in Umgababa on Monday, raising the toll in this type of violence to 32 in recent weeks.

Sapa reports Natal police have offered a R20 000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of those responsible for the Umgababa attack.

The SA Council of Churches and Cosatu condemned the murders, with

Cosatu blaming the attack on "shadowy death squads". But Inkatha called for the establishment of a special unit to investigate whether Umkhonto we Sizwe played a role in attacks by people in SADF uniforms.

Ainslie said there were very few cases where attacks in Natal had been proven to be linked to either the ANC or Inkatha.

"Inkatha's ability to evaluate immediately after an attack what part the victims and the attackers come from is highly suspect," he said.

A Human Rights Commission statement said yesterday 195 people had died in Natal in August.

Meanwhile, three senior Commonwealth observers arrived yesterday to liaise with UN counterparts and national peace committee.

In Schweizer-Reneke yesterday a UN observer stepped in to dampen a potentially dangerous situation after police fired teargas and unleashed dogs on ANC marchers. Following negotiations the town council permitted the protest to proceed nearby.

At least 28 people were injured during a stampede that followed the police action.

March on FW's home

THE ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance plans to march on President F W de Klerk's Cape Town residence on Friday to plant crosses commemorating the Bisho massacre. It has also pledged to "jam" Cape Town streets on October 12, forcing De Klerk to attend the opening of Parliament by helicopter.

FW urged to give undertakings

Mandela calls for help on peace summit

ANC president Nelson Mandela last night appealed for President F W de Klerk's help in creating conditions to get their peace summit off the ground.

Arriving back in Johannesburg after a short visit to Zambia, Mandela said an undertaking from De Klerk on the release of political prisoners, the fencing of hostels and the banning of the public display of weapons would be sufficient to get the two leaders talking face to face.

Mandela indicated last night that he was facing pressure from within the ANC to maintain a hard line in regard to talks with government.

Mandela said he hoped De Klerk would give the undertakings which would help him to "convince everybody around me to meet the government so that we can try to address the problems facing the country."

"If he makes an undertaking and stipulates the time frame within which he will implement those undertakings, we will be prepared to consider them," he said.

Although the ANC has postponed its proposed march on Bophuthatswana this weekend, Cosatu has announced an escalation of mass action and the SACP has saluted the role mass action has played in obtaining government agreement on a constituent assembly.

It is believed that Finance Minister Derek Keys's concern about the poor state of the country's economy has played a role in prompting the ANC leader to redouble efforts to break the negotiations deadlock.

Keys recently gave ANC economic planning department head Trevor Manuel and others a detailed analysis of the extent to which major economic sectors had declined. Manuel conveyed this information

**PATRICK BULGER
and PETER DELMAR**

to Mandela, who said it frightened him.

The Keys presentation was made at the recent launch of the Mont Fleur economic scenarios compiled by a widely representative team including ANC economists, businessmen and academics. The scenario paints a picture of GDP falling by 2% annually by 2000 if a generally acceptable government is not installed.

The NP caucus was also shocked by the presentation at a "bosberaad" in the Eastern Transvaal at the weekend.

Keys has said it is necessary to cut public sector consumption of GDP from its current 21% to 16% in the next four to five years, and boost private fixed investment to about 22% to produce annual growth of 3% or 4%.

Keys said yesterday he was pleased economic realities were "starting to figure in the decisions of the major players in SA".

Sacob chief economist Ben van Rensburg said the chamber welcomed "the obvious recognition by the ANC and Mr Mandela of the reality that the economy is a very determining factor in whether a political transition will be successful or not".

"We hope that this will result in the calling off of further mass action which would result in further damage to the economy and loss of life," Van Rensburg said.

Sapa reports that NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe welcomed Mandela's recent conciliatory tone. The fact that Mandela had only mentioned three outstanding issues was "progress indeed", said Van der Merwe.

However, Mandela's approach was in

□ To Page 2

2

Mandela

□ From Page 1

stark contrast to the shrill, threatening mass action stance adopted by the SACP.

Inkatha dismissed Mandela's comments as a desperate attempt to save face.

National chairman Frank Mdlalose said: "The ANC has quite simply bitten off more than it can chew, and is now reaping the rewards of intensively negative international and domestic criticism of its revolutionary agenda."

BILLY PADDOCK reports that ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa last night spelled out further details of the organisation's conditions for a summit between De Klerk and Mandela.

The ANC had identified at least 120 prisoners who clearly fell within the terms of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria agreements on indemnity.

They had to be released immediately, and an agreed time frame established for the rest to be freed, he said.

The ANC had also identified 18 hostels in the PWV it believed were being used to launch attacks on its supporters. Special security arrangements had to be made at these sites.

"We are happy to negotiate and compare our list of hostels, which we have given to the Goldstone commission, with that of government. Once we agree on a final list, we want to see government acting immediately, by starting to fence off the hostels and upgrade security at the entrances to prevent weapons being taken in or out. We also want the hostels checked to ensure no weapons are being stockpiled," he said.

"We also want definite commitments on the blanket banning of the carrying of weapons in public before we can move on to the final phase — the summit on violence," said Valli Moosa.

The ANC was eager to see substantive constitutional negotiations on track again as soon as possible, but there was no question of rushing into situations that would not be successful.

Valli Moosa said: "We cannot allow the summit to fail, which is why we are insisting on these obstacles being resolved first. We are very worried that at the end of the summit neither ANC president Nelson Mandela nor President de Klerk should say that there was not much progress."

Code of conduct to be drafted for ANC leaders

PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC Women's League has begun drafting a code of conduct for ANC leaders in the wake of the Winnie Mandela saga.

The ANC's national working committee yesterday accepted Mandela's resignation from three key posts but the former Mother of the Nation still faces possible disciplinary action, including expulsion.

The committee is due to consider a report on a demonstration in favour of Mandela earlier this year. The report recommends that the demonstrators be brought before a procedural inquiry.

And a second investigation into allegations of corruption in the ANC's social welfare department was still being set up, the league said.

Referring to a letter from Mandela to her former deputy and alleged lover Dali Mpofu that was leaked to the media recently, the ANC said it "finds it necessary to reiterate that the allegations contained in the letter of a campaign within the organisation aimed at Nelson Mandela are completely without foundation".

In a recent edition of the league's publication, The Rock, the league's general secretary Baleka Kgositile said the suspension of Mandela and others underlined the need for a code of conduct for leaders.

"Our ability to deal honestly and firmly with signs of similar situations in our ranks will go a long way in determining transformation of our society."

BUSINESS DAY, 16 SEPTEMBER 1992

DP slates 'season of dark madness'

DIRK HARTFORD

DP SPOKESMAN Robin Carlisle has condemned Cosatu's call for more mass action as "another season of dark madness".

He said Cosatu's mission was to bring about change by force rather than negotiation.

And Anglo executive director Bobby Godsell said yesterday the organisation would be happy to meet Cosatu to find constructive solutions to "prevent conflicts" as nothing positive could be achieved by attacks on individuals or organisations.

Godsell was responding to Cosatu's decision at the weekend to target the company with industrial action because of dismissals during the recent metalworkers' strike.

Cosatu, meanwhile, has called on employers to respect the desire of workers to commemorate the Bisho massacre on Friday, when the victims are to be buried.

Workers will stay away in the eastern Cape and Border regions.

● Comment: Page 6

COMMENT

Double game

COSATU leaders find it impossible to operate without resorting to the old double game — playing to the gallery with fearsome, unrestrained rhetoric while they engage in earnest, sophisticated, behind-the-scenes talks which could teach its alliance partner, the ANC, a great deal about compromise and flexibility.

It is difficult to determine whether grassroots militancy out there makes this tactic necessary or whether — more likely — it has just become a destructive habit. Either way, the union federation seems oblivious to the fact that the rhetoric, whether or not backed up by action, can have serious consequences for those negotiations and for economic confidence in general. The shopping list of proposed actions published on Monday is a case in point.

Take, for example, the threatened "tax revolt". The whole idea of a campaign based on the principle of "no taxation without representation" is an alluring one, and in line with the best traditions of western democracy. But it is a campaign Cosatu has tried repeatedly but unsuccessfully to launch since 1986. The practical constraints are enormous, so it has been no more than a symbolic reminder of South Africa's racial injustices each time.

This time, though, the proposal is cynical and inappropriate. For one thing, provided the politicians get their act together, we are only a matter of months away from the

establishment of a broadly representative interim government. More importantly, only last week Cosatu leaders met Finance Minister Derek Keys and various of his colleagues for, apparently, constructive discussions on the economic forum. The only discord, it is understood, was that Keys indicated that his Cabinet colleagues were unhappy about the threat of an anti-PAYE campaign.

The Cabinet, President de Klerk included, was made sceptical about the idea of an economic forum by Keys's conservative predecessor Barend du Plessis. Now, by re-launching a hostile tax campaign, Cosatu is not making it easy for Keys to sell to the Cabinet his constructive views on the issue. If the process runs into opposition from the Cabinet, Cosatu will have only itself to blame.

The federation's threat of "occupations/blockades of all cities and towns" to mark the opening of Parliament is yet more bluster. The wisdom of the parliamentary sitting is questionable. But Cosatu's threat, while clearly unachievable as we learned from the August mass action campaign, is nevertheless designed to frighten and intimidate.

Cosatu's rhetoric may, as one cynic put it, liberate the organisation's leaders to take cosy teas with Ministers in private rooms. But it is not just a game. One day the costs of that rhetoric, already being paid by many of us, will catch up with Cosatu too.

Report by the Association for Rural Development

THE NATAL MERCURY

Land transfer

16-09-92

bargaining chip

for KwaZulu in negotiations

THE government's recently exposed plan to transfer about 600 000 hectares of state land in Natal to KwaZulu administration seems to be more than a routine administrative matter. Land seems to have become a major bargaining chip in the game of negotiations and winning support for a federal option for South Africa. Quite simply, the planned transfer will further KwaZulu's power in the region.

KwaZulu has become increasingly visible in areas where land claims or land tenure rights are at issue. At recent land claim hearings in Natal (Impendle, Roosboom and Charlestown), KwaZulu made representations to the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation (ACLA) and appeals to the communities claiming land.

A meeting at Vryheid in September, held by the Northern Natal Farmworkers' and Residents' Committee was jointly addressed by Jurie Mentz, National Party MP for Vryheid and Stephen Sithebe, KwaZulu Minister of Interior. The meeting saw IFP and NP members form a joint co-ordinating body for the area. This seems to indicate growing co-operation between the two parties around land.

Recent government attempts to reach the goal of buying support from homeland parties, have contradicted its own undertakings on land reform. In March 1991, in its White Paper On Land Reform, the government undertook to abandon policies of apartheid land allocation. This included scrapping laws which regulated access to land on the basis of race and an end to incorporation of land into the self-governing territories.

Also in 1991 the Abolition

of the past, the government has continued to undermine movement to genuine settlement of the land issue. Establishing ACLA did not stop government attempts to try to sell off land being claimed by dispossessed communities. The government tried on two occasions to sell off various farms in the Estcourt district which were being claimed by the AmaHlubi tribe. On both occasions public protest over the intended sales managed to halt them.

Following the halting of the sales, the chairman of ACLA, Judge van Reenen, called on the government to freeze sales of all land that was the subject of dispute. In May this year, the Minister of Agriculture, Mr Kraal van Niekerk, also undertook that land taken over by the government in terms of apartheid policies would not be sold. And the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs, Dr Jacob de Villiers, pledged that black communities driven off their land by past policies would be given a chance to put their claims to ACLA.

Again, these undertakings have not stopped further attempts to get rid of land being claimed. Recently, a government department hurriedly sold off some 6 000 hectares of land in the northern Cape which is being claimed by the Majeng community.

Despite undertakings in the 1991 White Paper that homeland consolidation would end, in March this year some 3 million hectares of land was handed to the six homelands. This followed dissolution of the DDA and the SADT.

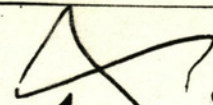
The current plan to transfer land to homeland administration comes under a veil of secrecy and an absence of consultation with communities who live on the land. Despite repeated requests for

Why the ANC wants to march on Ulundi: PATRICK LEEMAN reports

KwaZulu uses powers 'to exterminate civil liberties'

THE NATAL MERCURY

16/09/92



THE secretary of the southern Natal region of the African National Congress, Mr S'bu Ndebele, has outlined in detail the reasons for the organisation's decision to promote mass action against the KwaZulu Government.

Last week both Mr Ndebele and Mr Jeff Hadebe told a gathering in Durban that the ANC would, in fact, lead a march to Ulundi, the capital of KwaZulu, to protest against the perceived lack of political expression in the region.

There has been some scepticism in political circles as to whether a physical march will take place, given the sheer strength of the IFP-supporting *amabutho* (regiments) which are likely to confront any such protest, especially north of the Tugela.

Mr Ndebele said in an inter-

view with The Natal Mercury that the KwaZulu issue had to be seen against a much wider backdrop as far as ANC strategy was concerned. In Natal the organisation had been gravely concerned with the question of the ongoing violence and there had been protests on March 3 and 4 this year in both Durban and Pietermaritzburg in support of an interim government and a constituent assembly.

Now the strategy was focusing on the question of the bantustans, in which some 50% of the total African population of South Africa lived. As far as KwaZulu was concerned, more than 70% of the Zulu people fell directly under the jurisdiction of the KwaZulu Government.

Under the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act of 1971, a great deal of power which had been centralised under the SA Gov-

ernment devolved to the so-called homelands. It was only basically areas such as foreign affairs which were reserved for the central Government.

Mr Ndebele pointed out that all the self-governing regions and independent homelands had their own police forces.

Homeland governments controlled where their residents lived, how they were housed, what health and welfare services such as pensions were available and had jurisdiction over infrastructure such as roads.

KwaZulu, in particular, had used its powers to exterminate civil liberties, he maintained.

There was no free political expression in the region, he asserted, although in areas such as KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, Transkei and Venda all political organisations had the right of

freedom of association and of protest. For example, according to the ANC spokesman, the ANC and PAC could meet and operate freely in the Transkei.

Mr Ndebele said a distinction should be drawn between the KwaZulu Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party. The ANC had no quarrel with the IFP: should it come to power it would allow the IFP to function and to operate freely.

He said that, in KwaNdebele, after elections for the legislative assembly had been held, a more "progressive" movement had been installed in spite of the sometimes restrictive nature of the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act.

However, the regional secretary said, the system in KwaZulu was "rigged" so that 60% of the seats in the Legislative Assembly were reserved for chiefs — voted in by the regional

authorities — and 40% for elected members, in other words, local MPs.

"Even if the ANC were to decide to contest the KZLA elections, and constituted the majority party, we would never be able to win, because the majority of seats are reserved for the chiefs, who back the IFP," Mr Ndebele said.

He said there was no way that people living under the control of the KZ Government — such as teachers, nurses and clerks — could have their grievances addressed.

He referred to Monday's statement by Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi that the tens of thousands of civil servants working under the control of the KwaZulu Government should either accept the legality of this government or "get out."

"At the last annual conference of the IFP in Ulundi, members

of the party were out of the Constitutional Democratic S (Codesa).

"Is this not the of political into Ndebele asked.

He said the A government but r lowed members of Exiles Committee Hlongwane to har and put their cas ment's offices in D

"IN 1983, Dr spite of protests quarters, held Lamontville to wh of the townsh strenuously.

"Is the IFP and Government telling so violently oppos of expression tha against itself as a can only result in Mr Ndebele asked

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The Star

16/4/92

Azapo appeals to leaders to 'come clean'

● From Page 1

had access to Mr Cebekhulu. The worker, whose identity has not been revealed for security reasons, was prepared to back up Mr Cebekhulu's claims about Mrs Mandela's involvement in the death of Dr Asvat.

Turning to Albertina Sisulu, who worked in Dr Asvat's surgery, Azapo said: "However, with or without the State calling her to give evidence, Azapo thinks this is the time for her to reciprocate years of comradeship shown to her by Dr Asvat, by going public on what she knows about the death.

"Thus far, the silence has been deafening."

Mrs Sisulu was not available for comment last night.

Azapo claimed the Mandela split was directly related to the controversy surrounding Dr Asvat's death.

"It is, doubtless, an attempt to save face, as the horrors of his wife's excesses as the so-called 'mother of the nation' come back to haunt both, as well as the movement they belong to, the ANC," said Azapo.

The document stated that:

● The MCC was told by Turnahole residents and the Method-

ist Church that five youths had been abducted from the manse by "Winnie's boys".

● Mrs Mandela told the MCC the youths voluntarily came to her house because they were "tired of being sodomised by the priest".

● The youths were identified as Gabriel Mekwe, Thabiso Mono, Katiza Cebekhulu, Stompie Seipei and Kenny (Kgase).

● When we approached Winnie we did not divulge that we knew the number of youths involved because Stompie "was feared dead by our informants".

● The MCC interviewed Mr Mekwe, Mr Mono and Mr Cebekhulu. "During the interview, we noticed that both of them (Mekwe and Mono) had scars on their bodies. They denied having been assaulted. They maintained that the injuries were sustained when they fell from trees at the mission house. It is an improbable coincidence that of the 16 or so kids who lived at the mission house, the (minister) could sodomise only those who had the propensity to climb trees."

● An interview with Cebekhulu revealed that Mekwe and Mono

were "heavily assaulted"; Cebekhulu was instructed to take part in the assault and that he "was working with the CR Swart Security Branch".

● Mrs Mandela's co-accused, Xoliswa Falati was "heavily implicated".

● Mekwe and Mono told a meeting of all Soweto organisations after their "release" from Mrs Mandela's home that they were assaulted by the Mandela Football Club. "They allege that Winnie herself also took part in assaulting them".

● Mekwe and Mono said they were told what to tell the MCC.

● The meeting resolved that Mrs Mandela had to produce Stompie; that she should no longer be given a platform by progressive organisations and the Mandela Football Club be dismantled.

● "When Winnie was informed about the decisions, her immediate response was to demand a list of all the people who were at the meeting.

● Mrs Mandela accused the MCC of "conniving" with the community and of communicating with her husband and Mr Tambo behind her back.

① The Star 16/4/92

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Appeal to leaders to come clean on Asvat

Azapo yesterday urged top community and religious leaders to divulge any possible evidence regarding the circumstances of Dr Abu-Baker Asvat's death.

The call came in a statement in which the organisation also claimed to have a witness who could corroborate claims made by Winnie Mandela's co-accused, Kallie Chababula, that she was personally involved in the Soweto doctor's murder.

Azapo specifically implied that the Mandela Crisis Committee (MCC), which investigated the activities of Mrs Mandela's bodyguards, the so-called Mandela Foot-

ball Club, had covered up the fact that Mrs Mandela had taken part in an assault on two youths, Gabriel Mekwa and Thabiso Mono, abducted from the Soweto Methodist manse in 1989.

The organisation yesterday released what it claimed was a secret MCC document sent to former ANC president Oliver Tambo seeking clarity on Mrs Mandela's "political life".

The document dealt exclusively with the kidnapping and assault of five youths and did not refer to Dr Asvat, who was Azapo's Secretary for Health.



Tell us... Azapo urges Frank Chikane, Beyers Naude, Bernard Neube, Peter Storey and Albertina Sisulu to divulge what they know of Dr Asvat's death.

Azapo, however, said it knew that Dr Asvat had given evidence to the MCC.

"We therefore appeal to the consciences of members

of the MCC to come out clean on what Comrade Asvat had told them, for that may be the reason why he was subsequently assassinated," Azapo said.

They also appealed to the "Christian consciences" of the Rev Frank Chikane, Dr Beyers Naude, Bishop Peter

Storey and Sister Bernard Neube who, directly or indirectly, were associated with the MCC.

Bishop Storey said yesterday he was not a member of the MCC, but had liaised closely with the committee during the period when Stompie Seipei and others were abducted.

He said he had not known until Tuesday that the MCC had met Dr Asvat. He had also shared all his knowledge of that period with Dr Asvat's family, but the information was not directly related to Dr Asvat.

The SACC said last night that Mr Chikane was on leave and could not be contacted. Sister Bernard would only be available next week. Dr Naude was not available for comment.

Azapo called on Mrs Mandela and the ANC to provide answers to the mystery surrounding Dr Asvat's death.

"It was the entire Charterist movement, the ANC, UDF, COSATU, etc, which backed in Mrs Mandela's actions, and aided and abetted her projection as a seemingly immaculate, incorruptible 'mother of the nation'," Azapo said.

Azapo said it had been approached by a health worker at Hillbrow Hospital who

Why the ANC wants to march on Ulundi: PATRICK LEEMAN reports

KwaZulu uses powers 'to exterminate civil liberties'

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Mr Ndebele said in an inter-

view with The Natal Mercury that the KwaZulu issue had to be seen against a much wider backdrop as far as ANC strategy was concerned. In Natal the organisation had been gravely concerned with the question of the ongoing violence and there had been protests on March 3 and 4 this year in both Durban and Pietermaritzburg in support of an interim government and a constituent assembly.

Now the strategy was focusing on the question of the bantustans, in which some 50% of the total African population of South Africa lived. As far as KwaZulu was concerned, more than 70% of the Zulu people fell directly under the jurisdiction of the KwaZulu Government.

Under the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act of 1971, a great deal of power which had been centralised under the SA Gov-

ernment devolved to the so-called homelands. It was only basically areas such as foreign affairs which were reserved for the central Government.

Mr Ndebele pointed out that all the self-governing regions and independent homelands had their own police forces.

Homeland governments controlled where their residents lived, how they were housed, what health and welfare services such as pensions were available and had jurisdiction over infrastructure such as roads.

KwaZulu, in particular, had used its powers to exterminate civil liberties, he maintained.

There was no free political expression in the region, he asserted, although in areas such as KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, Transkei and Venda all political organisations had the right of

freedom of association and of protest. For example, according to the ANC spokesman, the ANC and PAC could meet and operate freely in the Transkei.

Mr Ndebele said a distinction should be drawn between the KwaZulu Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party. The ANC had no quarrel with the IFP: should it come to power it would allow the IFP to function and to operate freely.

He said that, in KwaNdebele, after elections for the legislative assembly had been held, a more "progressive" movement had been installed in spite of the sometimes restrictive nature of the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act.

However, the regional secretary said, the system in KwaZulu was "rigged" so that 60% of the seats in the Legislative Assembly were reserved for chiefs — voted in by the regional

authorities — and 40% for elected members, in other words, local MPs.

"Even if the ANC were to decide to contest the KZLA elections, and constituted the majority party, we would never be able to win, because the majority of seats are reserved for the chiefs, who back the IFP," Mr Ndebele said.

He said there was no way that people living under the control of the KZ Government — such as teachers, nurses and clerks — could have their grievances addressed.

He referred to Monday's statement by Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi that the tens of thousands of civil servants working under the control of the KwaZulu Government should either accept the legality of this government or "get out."

"At the last annual conference of the IFP in Ulundi, members

of the party were urged to pull out of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

"Is this not the highest degree of political intolerance?" Mr Ndebele asked.

He said the ANC was not a government but recently had allowed members of the Returned Exiles Committee under Mr Pat Hlongwane to hand in a petition and put their case at the movement's offices in Durban.

"IN 1983, Dr Buthelezi, in spite of protests from several quarters, held a rally in Lamontville to which the people of the township objected strenuously.

"Is the IFP and the KwaZulu Government telling us that it is so violently opposed to freedom of expression that any protest against itself as a government can only result in 'bloodshed'?" Mr Ndebele asked.

THE NATAL MERCURY

Land transfer

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bargaining chip for KwaZulu in negotiations

THE government's recently exposed plan to transfer about 600 000 hectares of state land in Natal to KwaZulu administration seems to be more than a routine administrative matter. Land seems to have become a major bargaining chip in the game of negotiations and winning support for a federal option for South Africa. Quite simply, the planned transfer will further KwaZulu's power in the region.

KwaZulu has become increasingly visible in areas where land claims or land tenure rights are at issue. At recent land claim hearings in Natal (Impendle, Roosboom and Charlestown), KwaZulu made representations to the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation (ACLA) and appeals to the communities claiming land.

A meeting at Vryheid in September, held by the Northern Natal Farmworkers' and Residents' Committee was jointly addressed by Jurie Mentz, National Party MP for Vryheid and Stephen Sithebe, KwaZulu Minister of Interior. The meeting saw IFP and NP members form a joint co-ordinating body for the area. This seems to indicate growing co-operation between the two parties around land.

Recent government attempts to reach the goal of buying support from homeland parties, have contradicted its own undertakings on land reform. In March 1991, in its White Paper On Land Reform, the government undertook to abandon policies of apartheid land allocation. This included scrapping laws which regulated access to land on the basis of race and an end to incorporation of land into the self-governing territories.

Also in 1991 the Abolition Of Racially Based Land Measures Act was passed, providing for the establishment of ACLA, with the brief to advise the State President about allocation of undeveloped state land.

Then in March this year government scrapped the discredited Department of Development Aid (DDA) and the South African Development Trust (SADT), and put the land formerly held by these departments under the departments of agriculture, land and regional affairs and public works.

Despite these measures, which appeared to be moving away from the apartheid policies of the past, the government has continued to undermine movement to genuine settlement of the land issue. Establishing ACLA did not stop government attempts to try to sell off land being claimed by dispossessed communities. The government tried on two occasions to sell off various farms in the Estcourt district which were being claimed by the AmaHlubi tribe. On both occasions public protest over the intended sales managed to halt them.

Following the halting of the sales, the chairman of ACLA, Judge van Reenen, called on the government to freeze sales of all land that was the subject of dispute. In May this year, the Minister of Agriculture, Mr Kraai van Niekerk, also undertook that land taken over by the government in terms of apartheid policies would not be sold. And the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs, Dr Jacob de Villiers, pledged that black communities driven off their land by past policies would be given a chance to put their claims to ACLA.

Again, these undertakings have not stopped further attempts to get rid of land being claimed. Recently, a government department hurriedly sold off some 6 000 hectares of land in the northern Cape which is being claimed by the Majeng community.

Despite undertakings in the 1991 White Paper that homeland consolidation would end, in March this year some 3 million hectares of land was handed to the six homelands. This followed dissolution of the DDA and the SADT.

The current plan to transfer land to homeland administration comes under a veil of secrecy and an absence of consultation with communities who live on the land. Despite repeated requests for the areas earmarked for transfer to be made public, the government has remained silent. Despite communities' written objections to such transfer, government is yet to consult with them. There has only been ongoing consultation with homeland governments.

Past attempts to force homeland control onto communities have not achieved the desired results and are unlikely to do so in the current situation. In the South Africa's current highly volatile situation, there is a very real danger that land transfers to homelands will lead to more violence and for this reason alone should be stopped.