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Tuesday, Jan

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inese 21 1950

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-Opinion

Violence is a way

British journalist Andrew Roberts gives his views  
on the violence in the Natal Midlands.

AT4 pmon August 16 last year acar pulled into  
a garage in Ixopo carrying three ANC hitmen.  
Jerome Ndlovu, Chief of the Vakani tribe, was  
busy repairing his Kombi minibus when they  
opened up with AK-47s. Ten seconds later they  
drove off, leaving him and his 18-year-old  
daughter dead. 1 was shown the Kombi by one  
of the chiefs ex-bodyguards and counted 25

sallet holes â\200\230hrough the upholstery alone. :

Leonard Bjili, who was keen lo display the

scars where a bullet had passed through his Â© Â°

vast belly in the attack, explained how it bore  
all the hallmarks of an ANC hil-squad opera-â\200\231  
tion. It was fast, efficient, used the trademark  
Soviet-made automatic weapon and was car-  
\_ried out against a leader of the Inkatha Free-

e dom Party.

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Since 1985, the ANC have assassinated! \nearly 200 senior Inkatha officials â\200\224 branchâ\200\231 chairmen, mayors, area secretaries, ward organisers, councillors â\200\224 in a systematic campaign to decapitate the movement. The mainly Zulu IFP has responded with equal, if less well-directed, ferocity and in the last 15 months more than 3 000 people have died. If anything, the embryonic civil war has hotted up since Nelson Mandela and Chief Buthelezi signed a peace accord last September. Estimates of 10 000 deaths since the feud began a decade ago makes the ANC/Inkatha war five times bloodier than Northern Ireland.

The Pietermaritzburg townships,

whichJ  
ue to apartheid were located eight kilometres  
have seen the worst of the  
fightingâ\200\224Thereâ\200\224areâ\200\224endlessâ\200\224similarities\_be-

d.mlllsE\_E.No- |  
man's-land, arms caches, protection rackets,

hunger strikes. zones of control, graffiti, god-fathers, abduction, no-go areas, informers â\200\224 all the familiar paraphernalia of insurrection are used in both places.

But there is a special viciousness to this| ' black-on-black violence at which even the IRA might balk. One 22-year-old woman whom the

NC necklaced recently took 35 minutes to die. When three bus-loads of Inkatha supporters were returning from a â\200\234prayer meetingâ\200\235 â\200\224 a euphemism for rally â\200\224 last February they were engaged in the kwaShange Valley. Pinned down on both sides, 16 died in the massacre. When eventually the bodies were recovered they were unidentifiable after women from the attacking village had smashed the corpsesâ\200\231. faces in with rocks. By 6 am the next day â\200\224in a tribute to the Zulus' mobilisational ability â\200\224 an impi of 5000 had massed at the house of the man the ANC dub Inkatha's â\200\234Warlord Number One", David Ntombela. It took all the blandishments of Chief Buthelezi and Nwambeia to disperse them â\200\224 more, one suspects, because the army had been alerted than for any humanitarian reasons. Today, the valley and its neighbouring villages are uninhabitable, with hundreds of huts and kraals burnt-out shells.

The whites who live in Pietermaritzburg seem fairly ambivalent about the violence â\200\224 which hardly ever claim: white lives â\200\224 and consider it a purely internal black problem. A number will practically admit themselves pleased that the blacksâ\200\231 energy is being concentrated in this way, rather than against them â\200\224 and assume it little matters who eventually triumphs. They could not be more wrong.

The future of South Africa will not be decided in constituent assemblies or at talks

of life

about talks but here in the killing streets of the Transvaal and Natal satellites. With the National Party acceding to one-man-one-vote and the conservatives may, + - cd, the only place ANC power can be broken :. here, by Inkatha. The Zulus, who make up the vast majority of Inkatha members, are the Tories of southern Africa. exhibiting qualities which might have been designed to appeal to a British Conservative. They are proud (calling themselves â\200\234Children of Heavenâ\204ç), endable, God-fearing monarchists. They respect their elders and areâ\200\231natural capitalists. They arealsounimaginablyâ\200\224war-like when provoked â\200\224 any Estex han would ThrillT U5 The sight of an impi on the rampage, which would remind him of the aggression shown by British football hooligans abroad, who cheerfully take on forces far greater than they. It is no coincidence that white farmers in Natal â\200\224 who often learnt Zulu as their first language and describe their province as â\200\234Englandâ\200\231s Last Frontierâ\200\235 â\200\224 are joining Inkatha in ever-increasing numbers. The ANC. for all is superb propaganda and

" cachet amongst Western liberals. has learnt

nothing\_and\_forgotten nothing from its\_long years of struggle against Pretoria. Although many of ilÂ\$ T enibars do believe in democracy, the South African Communist Party â\200\224 which has recently reaffirmed-its faith in Marxism-

\ Leninism â\200\224 is still in the vanguard of policy-

making. High taxation, nationalisation and large-scale economic intervention unite the various factions which might otherwise have split when apartheid ended. The senior ANC warlord in the Natal midlands, Harry Gwala â\200\224 nicknamed â\200\234Lion of the Midlandsâ\204ç by his friends, and â\200\234the Penguinâ\200\235 by his enemies â\200\224 is an unrepentant Stalinist. The Natal ANC'senta telegram of congratulations to the plotters of

the August coup against Gorbachev. ANC areas

in the Edendale Valley have been renamed â\200\234Moscowâ\200\235, â\200\234Cubaâ\200\235 and â\200\234Swapoâ\200\235 by the comrades.

It is debatable how far Mandela, who is 73, controls the younger radicals. On the same day he and Buthelezi signed the peace accord, the comrades burnt down four Inkatha membersâ\200\231 houses and shortly afterwards the body of an

IFP leader was found necklaced on a municipal duren A KwaZulu Cahinet Minister, M.J. Ngabere, told me: Mandela is more in prison now than he was on Robben Island. He's invaluable as a statesman-like figurehead who can raise lots of money overseas, but he is constantly overruled by his lieutenants. It is thought that his statements in support of the national liberation struggles of Castro. Gaddafi. Arafat and the IRA were not so much the result of being caught in a time-warp after 27 years in prison as an attempt to appease the ANC's ultra-left wing.

Warlord Number One, David Ntombela nicknamed "Napoleon Zulu" by the newspapers. and the Unstoppable Tractor by his supporters directs Inkatha's military operations in Natal. He has lost two sons since the

by Andrew Roberts

\JioLENCE 1S A Way of LiFE

unrest began â\200\224 one in an ANC ambush â\200\224 and has survived no fewer than 27 assassination attempts. including a recent petrol bombing of his house. ;

Once past the heavily defended stockade I asked the warlord, who is 62 and very wary of journalists, about ANC accusations of police bias. â\200\234The whites are generally fair.â\200\235 he claimed. â\200\234but the Cape coloureds in the army sell weapons and ammunition to the ANC and

three policemen were involved in the massacreâ\200\234 of 13 of our teenagers at a pyjama party last â\204¢

year.â\200\235 s

Ntombela is adamant that Inkatha is winning. but then he also solemnly informed me that he had never harmed anyone in his life and Christ was on Inkatha's side. Ie had a disconcerting habit of clicking his fingers near my ear during conversation, making a sound like the automatic weapon fire he was discussing: â\200\234With assegais we kill people who have AK-

47s." Click. â\200\234ANC never shoot straight.â\200\235 Click.

With Jesus in my house and my heart | could â\200\234â\200\230bottle on the table between us. .- with a bottle if you had an [ChRiSL. .

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individual shots tends to make the gun tide up. \_ Once all 30 rounds in an AK-47 magazine are ; exhausted, the comrade [

killed at a cost to Inkatha of four.

) Attacks are made more vicious by the application of potions mixed by witch doctors, which they believe makes their warriors invincible. Every tribe has its own form of this potion â\200\224 â\200\234muti" â\200\224 that is smeared into warriors' open wounds before battle. The ingredients rangeâ\200\231 from animal fats, bark and roots, al-Jheuzn a reany superior â\200\234mutiâ\200\235 might include

the odd finger, ear or penis. Ritualistic magic,

fight with nothing. A bottle.â\200\235 He eyes a beer. - â\200\234I could kill you ;[ Å° AK-47.and I:had ,

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is rarely given aâ\200\231 | c)gance to reload. In a recent skirmish near . Richmond, 13 well-armed ANC gunmen wereâ\200\231

rOz iy  
ven ability lo overcome automatic wenponâ\200\230l)â\200\230lrÃ@t v  
with sharpened sticks and knobkerries down to \*  
more .mundane factors. The comrades, often  
\_fire too high. believing the harder they pull the â\204¢  
.. trigger the faster the bullets will emerge, and  
" their fondness for automatic fire rather than?,

like ancestor worship. may not fit into Western  
ideas about â\200\234the new South Africaâ\200\235 but even  
the well-educated tribal prince, ex-laboratory  
technician and ex-chairman I was staying with

believed in its power. Both sides also pep - .  
themselves up with dagga which grows every- -

where and, unusually, makes the smoker more  
aggressive. )  
The warring continues even after death.  
By desecrating Inkatha graves, the mainly  
Xhosa ANC have managed to introduce a new  
terror into the conflict. To Zulus, the body is  
still ritually important afler death. They are  
" buried facing the sun with a spear, blanket and  
money for the journey. If a Zulu dies away from  
home, his relations must visit the grave a year  
later to retrieve his spirit. Several families  
have arrived at far-off graves recently to find  
the tombs vandalised and. in some cases,  
corpses mutilated â\200\224 possibly to provide the  
necessary ingredients for some first-class â\200\234mu-  
li". Today, concrete has to be poured over Inka-  
tha graves to counter this particularly malevo-  
lent and distressing form of psychological  
warfare.

\_There is no end to this war insight. Indeed.  
most analysts believe it will worsen as the one-  
man-one-vote elections approach. The best out-  
come would be an Inkatha victory. which might |  
allow Natal to win a real measure of autonomy )  
from any future ANC central government. The  
worst would be an attempt by the ANC lo dis:  
arm the Zulus or treat them as Mugabe treated  
the Matabele tribe after Zimbabwean indepen-  
dence. That could resull in a civil war so brutal  
that blacks of all tribes would look back to

| apartheid with nostalgia, just as many Azerbai-  
janis must today long for the old certainties of  
\ thecold warâ\200\231

o With acknowledgementsto the Spectator.

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Scene set  
for terror

Disclosures that the right wing apparently now has more militarily trained men than the armed wing of the ANC can only further alarm those who already view the future with foreboding. For far from being dissuaded from acts of aggression by such an even balance of forces along the arguments of the nuclear MAD (Mutual Assured Destruction) lobby, the scene could easily be set for more acts of terror as the police predict. The right wing can no longer be dismissed as an ineffectual fringe element. Parallels with the Ossewabrandwag (OB) during the last world war are also not apposite. Fifty years ago conservative Afrikaners were more confident about their station than is the case today. Then, bolstered by a seemingly

an invincible ally in the shape of Nazi Ger-

many, the Ossewabrandwag saw the enemy as crumbling British imperial-

-ism. Their acts of aggression against the

State, because they were so certain of eventual victory, lacked the lethal viciousness we have come to associate with right wing actions today. Even so, General Jan Smuts, then prime minister, found it necessary to incarcerate large numbers of OB's in Koffiefontein concentration camp. Modern rightwingers, confronted with an inevitable black-led future, are not nearly as confident of victory. Hence their actions are characterised by panic, over-reaction to events, and a willingness to use the tools of modern terrorism on an indiscriminate basis. The arrest of several rightwingers in connection with recent bombings shows the police are aware of the gravity of the situation, and are taking the threat from this quarter as seriously as from the left wing. Terrorists, of whatever ilk, cannot be tolerated in democratic societies and the police must be congratulated on their successes.

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BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday, January 21 1992

CODESA working groups due to begin negotiations on SA's political future were yesterday activated with the appointment of steering committees to direct their work.

The steering committees will provide chair-

the working groups will present their reports to the second plenary session of Codesa. Yesterday, about 200 delegates representing 19 political groups, homeland governments and the SA government met at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park to start drawing up agendas for working group meetings and to appoint, by consensus, steering committees for the working groups.

The only chairman announced was that for the working group examining transitional arrangements, DP MP Ken Andrew. In the working group dealing with constitutional principles

. and a constitution-making body/process, the ANC's Mohammed Valli Moosa - and Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delpont were chosen joint convenors. Steering committee representatives in this group were chosen on the basis of their competence in the constitutional field and not on party affiliation.

- The other three working groups will discuss the future of the TBVC states, a time-frame

and implementation of Codesa decisions and the creation of a free political climate and role of the international community. g

The working group steering committees are dominated by the ANC, the NP/SA government, Inkatha and the Labour Party. Parties

represented on some, but not all the steering

committees include the Transkei government, men for sessions between now and March when . Centre, Sapa reports.

(ã Codesa groups activated

| PATRICKBULGER |

the SA Communist Party and the DP. . Codesa daily management committee chairman Zach de Beer said that while yesterday's proceedings had gone slowly, they were part of\* - a process of trust building. He said the aim was, still to convene Codesa again in March, but it depended largely on the progress within the

five working groups. iy ]  
It had been proposed to spend two days a-  
week in working group meetings, but the work-:  
load made this impossible. Instead, delegates '  
would meet each Monday at the World Trade;

Delegates at Mondayâ\200\231s meeting generally "  
felt that Codesa II would most likely be held in â\200\230!  
the first part of April, when they expected the "  
working groups to have made substantial pro-  
gress in their work. oo R Pl

Yesterdayâ\200\231s full-day meetings of the work\_in'gâ\200\234'  
groups were attended by high-ranking govern-"â\200\231  
ment officials and members of political groups.

These included National Intelligence Service  
director Neil Barnard who is an adviser toâ\200\231  
government in the working group on creating a.  
free political climate, ANC secretary general  
Cyril Ramaphosa in the constitution group,  
Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and his'  
director general Neil van Heerden in the 'I'B1 C,

~ states group. :

Finance director-general GÃ@rhard Croaeâ\200\231r  
was named government adviser on the TBYC  
group. : Wit ey

Negotiations will begin next month, '

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RAMS Y Mi Mrs Mandelq told reporterg that  
A-M. AY M '..NE South African blacks regarded py King  
For â\202-ign Service as â\200\234a champijop of peace - 5 role mode]

NEw YORK: I's Winnje Mande), for our Country,

weadngaXhosa head~dress and claq inâ\200\231 But she said she still deeply dis-  
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rights Jeagey - SaSSinated pja Clvi Parcel of thaÂ¢ regimeâ\200\235 "

Earlier, she Â¢, an overflow crowq Yet, she addeq, "we cannot Achieve  
at g Memorial] service for p, King that our ultimate goal Without the Same  
the murgepeq Civil rignts leader a0, So we have carried him along. He  
Champjon o non-viglece, Would haye is in trouble With the right Wing. He  
Understooq how the ANC' hag â\200\234reluc- Needs yg a5 much as we heed hjm,  
tantly adopteq an armeq StruggleÂ» maybe more. â\200\230  
against aparthejq, : Mrs Mande), Was a guest of honoyr

â\200\234Now that the ANC js recognised,â\200\235 at the Atlanta commemoration service  
She addeq, â\200\234we have come ful] ciraje to and marep to mark Â¢pe 63rd bj

Message ang tactics of fon-vie- of py Kugg.\_who  
: Ssa,



THE CITIZEN

| COMMENT

N

The bombs

THERE isnâ\200\231t much use in Minister of Law a:nd  
Order Hernus Kriel appealing to Right-wing  
leaders to discourage the planting of bombs.  
Instead of saying they understand why Right-  
" wingers are doing this, they should come out  
~ firmly against it, Mr Kriel says. ;  
â\200\234A grave responsibility rests on people like Mr  
Jaap Marais, Mr Eugene Terreâ\200\231Blanche and  
Dr Andries Treurnicht to stop this.â\200\235  
In truth, they should.  
Afwrall,bombsiï\202mblastschoolsandpostof-  
fices are wrecking or damaging facilities that  
educate children or serve the public.  
The fact that most of the pupils at all but one  
of the schools attacked are White does not  
increase our revulsion of these acts.  
Ourfeelinï\201wouldbetbesameifmesehools  
were attended mainly

In the end, it is all futile and needlessly de-

Wehopekight-wingemwillcometothelrsen-  
ses and stop their attacks.

Butthcywonâ\200\231t,nomanethowmany'areheld,  
for the simple reason that they mistakenly  
believe the ANC induced the government by  
means of terrorism to unban it and release its  
leaders. ;

imi , they believe the government is con-

all the ANCâ\200\231s demands because it  
could not go on fighting ANC terrorism, and  
ifiï\202:eyapetheANC,theywillachievesimï\202ar  
results. 4

The contrary is true. The ANCâ\200\231s terrorism  
failed â\200\224 both in creating an atmosphere of  
terror among civilians and disrupting normal  
life.

It failed also as a means of ising the  
government into following the ANCâ\200\231s dic-  
tates.

The truth is that the government acted for a  
number of reasons, like ending sanctions,

~ getting South Africa back into the internat-  
ional community, halting the township unrest  
andplacingSouthAfrimontheroadtotrue  
democracy.

Its reforms havenâ\200\231t succeeded in normalising

everything, economic sanctions still hurt the country and the township violence continues.

But essentially the government acted because it accepted that apartheid was a morally bad system and the country had to be rid of it.

It also accepted that power sharing had to be a reality, that Blacks had to be given the vote, that a new constitution had to be drawn up and that Blacks, Whites and Browns had to negotiate the future.

Bombs, in other words, did not force the change of heart, nor will bombs change the direction the government is taking.

Nevertheless, we accept that the government has angered and frustrated the Right to the point where the extremists have been able to plant bombs without being publicly censured by Right-wing leaders.

It is part of the hardening of feelings to which we referred in our leading article last Saturday.

In the circumstances, the government must do everything it can to bring the Right into negotiations â\200\224 even if they are bilateral negotiations between itself and the Right.

It must demonstrate that it is not deciding the future in tandem with the ANC.

And it must also show that it is a strong government.

The ANC has arms caches; it must be made to give them up.

The ANC has a private army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. It must be made to disband it if the government is to have any justification for demanding that other private armies, like the AWBâ\200\231s Wenkommandos, are disbanded.

We do not say the Right will listen to the government; on the other hand, if no attempt is - made to deal with the Rightâ\200\231s demand for self-determination, serious trouble lies ahead.

Finally, the government needs to show that it intends to govern. â\200\230 If it does not, it will confirm the extreme

Rightâ\200\231s belief that the only way it can safeguard the future is by means of guerrilla warfare.  
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terical about the death of

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It is ridiculous to make

an angel out of a man who

Justified the â\200\234necklaceâ\200\235

and who is believed to

have participated in the

â\200\230torture and killing of disil-

lusl'oned ANC members

while in exile, quite apart

from the cowardly attacks

on soft targets, ie, Wim-

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â\200\234Htis aanost criminal to

ignore the fact

Chris Hani. e

If his death is consider-

ed a â\200\234tragedyâ\200\235, then so

was the death of Adolf

Hitler, Joseph Stalin and -

Jack the Ripper.

We may condemn the

deed of assassination, but

We cannot make a saint

out of a terrorist.

ANTI TERRORIST

Roodepoort

NORTH IDAHO NEWS NETWORK Tuesday, Jan 21, 1992 B1

Nation/World

Inside: Stocks and Classifieds

Nation celebrates ng

Winnie Mandela  
hails non-violent  
ethic for Africa

By the Associated Press

Martin Luther King Jr. was remembered with speeches and marches from coast to coast Monday. In King's hometown, Winnie Mandela said South Africa's fight for freedom has come full circle to his non-violent philosophy.

King, assassinated in 1968, would have been 63 last Wednesday. Monday was the seventh federal holiday in his honor.

Mandela, wife of African National Congress President Nelson Mandela, told an overflow crowd at King's old church that the slain civil rights leader would have understood how the ANC reluctantly adopted an armed struggle against apartheid.

Now that the ANC is recognized ... we have come full circle to the message and tactics of non-violence, she told a crowd that included politicians, singer-actor Kris Kristofferson and boxer Evander Holyfield.

Mandela was among the speakers at a three-hour ecumenical

service at Ebenezer Baptist Church, adjacent to King's crypt. After the service, she and Coretta Scott King, King's widow, led a memorial parade in downtown Atlanta.

Elsewhere, civil rights leaders hailed King's dream, ordinary citizens joined marches and demonstrators protested rejections of the holiday in Arizona and by a Louisiana school district.

In Washington, D.C., the Rev. Jesse Jackson announced a drive for statehood for the city.

-AP photo

Coretta Scott King, left, joins in a power cheer led by Winnie Mandela during the 23rd annual ecumenical service at the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta marking Martin Luther King Jr. Day.

g  
' treated at Denver General Hospital for minor injuries and scores of others were treated at the scene for exposure to tear gas, officials said. The confrontation marred one of Denver's largest ever celebrations of Martin Luther King

Day. Earlier in the day, more than 10,000 people paraded through east Denver.

About 100 white supremacists gathered for rally at the state capitol after a federal judge reversed a decision by the Colorado State Patrol to deny the group a permit, saying denial would violate their right to free speech.

After the rally, a crowd of about 1,000 people throwing bottles, bricks and snowballs attacked the school bus on which police tried to spirit Klan members out of the capitol area.

Police on motorcycles and horses used tear gas and nightsticks to disperse the crowd.





Scene set  
for terror

Disclosures that the right wing  
apparently now has more militarily  
trained men than the armed wing of the  
ANC can only further alarm those who  
already view the future with foreboding.

For far from being dissuaded from acts -

of aggression by such an even balance of  
forces along the arguments of the  
nuclear MAD (Mutual Assured Destruc-

tion) lobby, the scene could easily be set .

for more acts of terror as the police pre-  
dict. The right wing can no longer be dis-  
missed as an ineffectual fringe element. -  
Parallels with - the Ossewabrandwag  
(OB) during the last world war are also  
not apposite. Fifty years ago conserva-  
tive Afrikaners were 'more .confident  
about their station than is the case  
today. Then, bolstered by a seemingly

â\200\234invincible ally in the shape of Nazi Ger-\_\_

\_many, the Ossewabrandwag saw the

s+ enemy as crumbling British imperial-  
\* ism. Their acts of aggression against the . - -

State, because they were so certain of  
eventual victory, lacked the lethal vi-  
ciousness we have come â\200\230to associate  
~ with right wing actions today. Even so,

General Jan Smuts, then prime minis-  
ter, found it necessary to incarcerate  
large numbers of OBâ\200\231s in Koffiefontein  
concentration camp. Modern rightwing-  
ers, confronted with an inevitable  
black-led future, are not nearly as confi-  
dent of victory. Hence their actions are  
\* characterised by panic, over-reaction to  
\_ events, and a willingness to use the tools  
of modern terrorism on an indiscrimi-  
nate basis. The arrest of several right-  
wingers in connection with recent  
bombings shows the police are aware of  
- the gravity of the situation, and are tak-

- ing the threat from this quarter as seri-  
ously as from the left wing. Terrorists, of  
whatever ilk, cannot be tolerated in  
democratic societies and the police  
must -be congratulated on their suc-  
cesses.

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Natal Midlands

Tuesday, January 21,

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1992

British journalist Andrew Roberts gives his views on the violence in the Natal Midlands. \* AT 4 pmon August 16 last year a car pulled into a garage in Ixopo carrying three ANC hitmen. Jerome Ndlovu, Chief of the Vakani tribe, was-

opened up with AK-47s. Ten seconds later they drove off, leaving him and his 18-year-old

Leonard Bjili, who was keen to display the

vast belly in the attack, explained how it bore

Soviet-made automatic weapon and was carried out against a leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party. o

Since 1985, the ANC have assassinated | nearly 200 senior Inkatha officials â\200\224 branch chairmen, mayors, area secretaries, ward organisers, councillors â\200\224 in a systematic campaign to decapitate the movement. The mainly Zulu: IFP has responded with equal, if less well-â\200\231 directed, ferocity and in the last 15 months more than 3 000 people have died. If anything, the embryonic civil war has hotbedded up since Nelson Mandela and Chief Buthelezi signed a peace accord last September. Estimates of 10 000 deaths since the feud began a decade | ago makes the ANC/Inkatha war five times | bloodier than Northern Ireland. ' The Pietermaritzburg townships, which ue to apartheid were located eight kilometres

outside the city, have seen the worst of the  
-fightingâ\200\224Thereâ\200\224areâ\200\224endlessâ\200\224similarities be- }s

i i i ter. No-  
manâ\200\231s-land, arms caches, protection rackets,  
hunger strikes, zones of control, graffiti, god-  
fathers, abduction, no-go areas, informers â\200\224  
all the familiar paraphernalia of insurrection  
are used in both places. â\200\230 :

But there is a special viciousness to this

might baulk. One 22-year-old woman whom the  
ANC necklaced recently took 35 minutes to die.  
When three bus-loads of Inkatha supporters  
were returning from a â\200\234prayer meetingâ\200\235 â\200\224 a -

engaged in the kwaShange Valley. Pinned  
down on both sides, 16 died in the massacre.  
When eventually the bodies were recovered  
they were unidentifiable after women from the  
0 attacking village had smashed the corpsesâ\200\231  
~ faces in with rocks. By 6 am the next day â\200\224ina  
< tribute to the Zulusâ\200\231 mobilisational ability â\200\224  
an impi of 5 000 had massed at the house of the  
man the ANC dub Inkathaâ\200\231s â\200\234Warlord Number  
Oneâ\200\235, David Ntombela. It took all the blandish-  
ments of Chief Buthelezi and Ntombela to dis-  
perse them â\200\224 more, one suspects, because the  
army had been alerted than for any humanita-

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bouring villages are uninhabitable, with hun-  
dreds of huts and kraals burnt-out shells.

The whites who live in Pietermaritzburg  
seem fairly ambivalent about the violence â\200\224  
which hardly ever claims white lives â\200\224 and  
Â« consider it a purely internal black problem. A

number will practically admit themselves

pleased that the blacksâ\200\231 energy is being con-  
centrated in this way, rather than against them

â\200\224 and assume it little matters who eventually

â\200\230triumphs. They could not be more wrong.  
The future of South Africa will not be de-  
cided in constituent assemblies or at talks

busy repairing his Kombi minibus when they -

daughter dead. I was shown the Kombi by one \*  
of the chief's ex-bodyguards and counted 25 -  
bullet holes through the upholstery alone.: .

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scars where a bullet had passed through his 7 '

il

black-on-black violence at which even the IRA\  
euphemism for rally â\200\224 last February they were  
rian reasons. Today, the valley and its neigh- ~

all the hallmarks of an ANC hit-squad opera-â\200\234 ! .  
tion. It was fast, efficient, used the trademark ~

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Opinion

~ Violence is a way

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A 3 i 7  
Armed men beside a grave . .. â\200\234the

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about talks but here in the killing streets of the  
Transvaal and Natal satellites. With the Nat-  
ional Party acceding to one-man-one-vote and  
the conservatives marginalised, the only place

: ANC power can be broken is here, by Inkatha.

-~ The Zulus, who make up the vast majority

of Inkatha members, are the Tories of southern . :

Africa, exhibiting qualities which might have been designed to appeal to a British Conservative. They are proud (calling themselves â\200\234Chil-able, God-fearing

dren of Heavenâ\200\235), ggpenc,

monarchists. They respect their elders and areâ\200\231-alural capifalists. They are also unimagimably -â\200\234war-like when provoked â\200\224 any. Essex Man +would thrill to the sight of an impi on the ram-page, which would remind him of the aggression shown by British football hooligans abroad, who cheerfully take on forces far greater than they. It is no coincidence that white farmers in Natal â\200\224 who often learnt Zulu as their first language and describe their province as â\200\234Englandâ\200\231s Last Frontierâ\200\235 â\200\224 are joining Inkatha in ever-increasing numbers.

The ANC, for all is superb propaganda and cachet amongst Western liberals, has learnt nothing- and forgotten nothing from its lon

ears of struggle against Pretoria. Although many of its members do believe in democracy, the South African Communist Party â\200\224 which has recently reaffirmed its faith in Marxism-Leninism â\200\224 is still in the vanguard of policy-making. High taxation, nationalisation and large-scale economic intervention unite the various factions which might otherwise have split when apartheid ended. The senior ANC warlord in the Natal midlands, Harry Gwala â\200\224 nicknamed â\200\234Lion of the Midlandsâ\200\235 by his friends, and â\200\234the Penguinâ\200\235 by his enemies â\200\224 is an unrepentant Stalinist. The Natal ANC sent a telegram of congratulations to the plotters of

LN

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re is a special viciousness  
- - even the IRA might baulk".

the August coup against Gorbachev. ANC areas '

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to this black-on-black violence at which

\_in the Edendale Valley have been renamed  
â\200\234Moscowâ\200\235, â\200\234Cubaâ\200\235 and â\200\234Swapoâ\200\235 by the comrades. ;

It is debatable how far Mandela, who is 73,

..~ controls the younger radicals. On the same day

he and Buthelezi signed the peace accord, the comrades burnt down four Inkatha membersâ\200\231 houses and shortly afterwards the body of an IFP leader was found necklaced on a municipal dump. A KwaZulu Cabinet Minister, N.J. Ngabene, told me: â\200\234Mandela is more in prison

now than he was on Robben Island. Heâ\200\231s-in-"-

valuable as a statesman-like figurehead who can raise lots of money overseas, but he is constantly overruled by his lieutenants.â\200\235 It is thought that his statements in support of the â\200\234national liberation strugglesâ\200\235 of Castro, Gaddafi, Arafat and the IRA were not so much the result of being caught in a time-warp after 27 years in prison as an attempt to appease the ANCâ\200\231s ultra-left wing. â\200\231 Warlord Number One, David Ntombela â\200\224 nicknamed â\200\234Napoleon Zuluâ\200\235 by the newspapers, and â\200\234the Unstoppable Tractorâ\200\235 by his supporters â\200\224 directs Inkathaâ\200\231s military operations in Natal. He has lost two sons since the unrest began â\200\224 one in an ANC ambush â\200\224 and has survived no fewer than 27 assassination attempts, including a recent petrol bombing of his house. 4

Once past the heavily defended stockade I asked the warlord, who is 62 and very wary of \_journalists, about ANC accusations of police bias. â\200\234The whites are generally fair,â\200\235 he claimed, â\200\234but the Cape coloureds in the army sell weapons and ammunition to the ANC and

three policemen were involved in the massacre of 13 of our teenagers at a pyjama party last year.

by Andrew Roberts

life

â\200\230 : : /

Ntombela is adamant that Inkatha is winning. but then he also solemnly informed me that he had never harmed anyone in his life

" and Christ was on Inkatha's side. He had a dis-

\_.with sharpened sticks and knobkerries down to -more.mundane\_factors, The comrades; often \_fire too high, believing the harder they pull the

' concerting habit of clicking his fingers near my

ear during conversation, making a sound like the automatic weapon fire he was discussing:

â\200\234With assegais we kill people who have AK-47s.â\200\235 Click. â\200\234ANC never shoot straight.â\200\235 Click. â\200\234With Jesus in my house and my heart [ could

â\200\234/ fight'with nothing."A bottle.â\200\235 He eyes a.beer.. â\200\234â\200\234"bottle on the table between us. â\200\234I could kill you with a bottle : â\200\2341 hat

'jf.you hadâ\200\230;aâ\200\230n'Aâ\200\230Kf{1â\200\230, andâ\200\231

ok

L ) a ANKALE

ven ability to overcome automatic weapon fire

LS &

' . trigger the faster the bullets will emerge;.and " their fondness>for automatic fire rather than

â\200\230individual shots tends to make the gun time up.â\200\235

~â\200\234Once all 30 rounds in an AK-47 magazine are\_ i exhausted, the comrade is rarely given a -chance to reload. In a recent skirmish near.

Richmond, 13 well-armed ANC gunmen were killed at a cost to Inkatha of four.

Attacks are made more vicious by the application of potions mixed by witch doctors, which they believe makes their warriors invincible. Every tribe has its own form of this potion â\200\224 â\200\234mutiâ\200\235 â\200\224 that is smeared into warriorsâ\200\231 open wounds before battle. The ingredients

range-from animal fats, bark and roots, although a really superior â\200\234mutiâ\200\235 might include .the odd finger, ear or penis. Ritualistic magic,

" like ancestor worship, may not fit into Western

ideas about â\200\234the new South Africaâ\200\235 but even the well-educated tribal prince, ex-laboratory technician and ex-chairman I was staying with

believed in its power. Both sides- also pep - themselves up with dagga which grows every- .. . where and, unusually, makes the smoker more

aggressive. -  
The warring continues even after death.

By desecrating Inkatha graves, the mainly

Xhosa ANC have managed to introduce a new

\* terror into the conflict. To Zulus, the body is

still ritually important after death. They are

â\200\234buried facing the sun with a spear, blanket and money for the journey. If a Zulu dies away from . \*:

home, his relations must visit the grave a year later to retrieve his spirit. Several families have arrived at far-off graves recently to find the tombs vandalised and. in some cases, corpses mutilated â\200\224 possibly to provide the

necessary ingredients for some first-class â\200\234mu- - . tiâ\200\235. Today, concrete has to be poured over Inkatha graves to counter this particularly malevo- .\*

I\

man-one-vote elections approach. The best out- |  
come would be an Inkatha victory. which might |}

lent and distressing form of psychological warfare. -

. There is no end to this war in sight. Indeed, most analysts believe it will worsen as the one-

allow Natal to win a real measure of autonomy

. from any future ANC central government. The . worst would be an attempt by the ANC to dis- ' arm the Zulus or treat them as Mugabe treated

the Matabele tribe after Zimbabwean independence. That could result in a civil war so brutal that blacks of all tribes would look back to apartheid with nostalgia, just as many Azerbaijanis must today long for the old certainties of the cold war.

o With acknowledgements to the Spectator.



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Ethnic group the '  
only majority?

The absolute impertinence of Nelson Mandela reaches new heights each time he makes an unscripted comment. By what right can he say that 'he will recognise . ethnic groups' like the few South Africa when he himself is nothing but the nominal leader of what is itself a largely ethnic group, the Xhosa-

The implication of his recent remark is once again that he and the ANC consider themselves to be the only 'majority' in this country. All other groups, albeit far more numerous and important than the Xhosa, are condescendingly to be 'recognised' by the ANC!

It is, of course, disturbing that Mandela and the ANC should view themselves in this way, when for two years now the Government has consistently treated the ANC as 'special' and until recently largely ignored all other groups.

C Jmcombe  
Rivonia

B e Y Ul

De Klerk to brief Cabinet before House sit

,.â\200\230â\200\234.â\200\23449-.,â\200\230.-1 il

Politien] Staff

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 Prasi-  
dent de Klerk will chalr  
the first Cabinet meeting  
of the year in Tuynhuys  
tomorrow, :

Aspects of his speech

last month that the Goy-  
ernmaont was ready and  
eager to have such a  
government.  
Tomorrow's meeting  
ls expected to put the  
iinlshrng touchcs to & de-

. talled plan for an inter- -

im constitution which

8 Xk

red u"ti¬\201rlng of the Gen-  
cor Group, was appoint-

-, ed to the Cabinet by Mr

de Klerk on December 4  
. after the death of Dr

\* Wim de Villlers,

His portfolio, scen as  
vital to industilal and ec-

Speaker Louls le Grange

Afterwards the Houses  
wlll nomlnate their  
members of an electoral  
college to choose a new  
Speaker.

This college will meqt  
on Thursday. Ell Louw,

â\200\230. anomlo stratogles almed  
tor the. 01("â\200\231â\200\2341"!%0; Itâ\200\230h-o ;- Wil be prosentet by Mr '\*at making  
the private  
.newsâ\200\230gï¬\201? l;m 0 i r â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230:&,-â\200\230d\_d:,merlg tvqun'

; .lg? apens..; sector Internationally  
<(â\200\2311â\200\234e" Wil hoon o agen: "BatHameny on Feldays's compÃ@titive, will make  
o ., The now Minister of . him a key Minlster.  
. Among those are the,â\200\231â\200\231 Trade, Industry and Eco- . .Several mectings of  
Governmentâ\200\231s plans o = nomije GCo-ordination, ' â\200\234the Houses of Parlia-  
install an Interlm or . perek Keys, was yester- . ment will precede the of-

former Minister of Mei-  
power, is lkely to be  
elected unopposed, ;

On Thursday afternoopn  
there will be another  
joint .session of Parlia-  
ment to welcome the

â\200\230transitional government  
andâ\204ça now parliament  
that js representative of  
the cntire papulation,

Mr de Klork: told the

â\200\230tirst meeting of Codesa

day sworn ln by the  
Judge President of 'the

Cape, Mr Justieo George

Munnik,  
.Mr. Keys, widely cre-

dited with the successtul

fllelal opening of the ses-  
qlon; 5o e

- Tomorrow, MPs will  
meet |n the Groat [lall to  
adopt a motlon of condo-  
lence after ttie death of

new Speaker. x

In contrast to previous  
years, there will be a  
certain amount of mill-  
itary pomp and ceremony  
at this year's oponing,

ANC fighter, has put his  
finger on one of the most contro J

ANCIE Odendaal, the man  
at the centre of an alleged  
plot to murder a rancid 4 }

versiel and potentially explosiv  
Issues in recent ANC history: the  
death in 1999 of guerrilla com-  
mander Thambi Zulu,

Mr Zulu, who headed the ANC's  
Natal Military Command in (he  
1980s, died mysteriously five days  
after being released from deten-  
tion by the ANC's feared security  
department or Mbokodo ("the  
Stone that crushes" 200/235),

His death 200/224 and his detention in

Zimbabwe, where he was allegedly-

beaten up and half-starved by his  
Interrogators 200/224 80 disturbed ANC  
leaders outside Mbokodo that an  
Interim Inquiry was ordered, The  
findings of the Inquiry, on which  
ANC lawyer Alula Saobu serve,

was never made public. :  
Vihang 35 Known 18 that a medical

analysis 200/231 of specimens from Mr  
Zulu 200/231s blood and stomach showed  
they contained, to quote the re-  
port, "200/234 dinzong, an organo phos-  
phorus compound." The same  
sop had been sprinkled on clothes  
belonging to Frank Chikane, gen-  
eral secretary of the South Afri-

ol-

can Council of Churches, a few  
months earlier. Mr Chikane, who  
fell gravely and mysteriously 11  
while abroad, was absorbing  
traces of the poison through his  
clothes until the pesticide was dis-  
covered on them,

ANC-aligned (ones said at the  
time that Mr Chikane had been  
targeted for assassination, in pro-  
ANC circles, agents of the security  
forces were suspected,

In (any of the facts surrounding  
Mr Zulu's death were unearched  
by The Guardian and published in  
the London-based newspaper in  
September. They have been given  
& new relevancy by Mr Odendaal's  
allegations that two ANC men,  
identified by their nom de guerres

a8 "Rickyâ\200\235 and â\200\234Mao,â\200\235 paid him  
to kill an ANC defector who once |  
served under Mr Zulu,

Tha defertor i& Glory Lephosa  
Sedibo or, as he was known in the  
ANC army Umkhonte we Sizwe,  
â\200\234Comrade Septhember,â\200\235 He served  
a8 the ANC's intelligence chief for  
the Transvaal under the overall  
command of Mr Zulu,

Mr Sedibe was abducted by  
South African police agents from  
A Swaziland prison on August 1988,  
His security police captors in-

N %OJL s e el

Patrick Laurence reports on a scandal which continues to haunt the ANC

Strange death of Thami Zulu

duced him to defect and Mr Se-  
dibe joined the SAP,

In their book 'â\200\234Comrades  
Against Apartheidâ\200\235 Stephen Ellip  
and, Tsepo Sechaba state: â\200\234Sedibe;  
gave the security police informa-  
tion enabling them virtually to

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f

wipe out Umkhonte we Sizwe in '

Swaziland"â\200\235 3

through, moved higher up the  
hierarchy.

\* Mr Zulu, who had been the com-

mander of Mr Sedibe and Com- Â©

rade Cyril, was detained. Not even

his reputation as the Umkhonto  
) commander who had turned Natal  
Â© Into a major theatre of guerrilla

and made Durban the â\200\234bomb  
Their successes included the capture of So %saved

capture of ANC operative Grace  
Gele in December 1986, the kid-  
napping of a few days later of  
Ismael Ebrahimi, chairman of the  
ANCâ\200\235 political and military coun-  
cil for Swaziland, and the 0 mbo-  
and gunning down of two top ANC  
military commanders, Cassius  
Makhe and Paul Dikole,

The security police successes  
Jed ANC Intelligence chiefs to sus-  
pect their Swaziland network was  
riddled with spies. One of the su-

specled â\200\230mon was @ senfor cadre  
known as Comrads Cyril, He was  
arrested by Mbekedo in 1008, in-  
terrogated end rfu-e.'sscd to confass  
te being a security polico agent,

According to Ellls and Sechaba,  
Comrads Cyril died n dotention  
â\200\234Âçither from polson, as some aay,  
or as a reawlt of bolng soverely  
beaten" Mbokodo, convinco- it  
wRB on the point of 8 major break-

him, HÃ© Wi detained for more  
then a yenr, part of wlich was  
spent In solitary conflpement, he-  
fors being released as a despor-  
atsly sick man. There was some  
splace for his frmly At his foner-  
al, howsver.

Joo Modise and Chrls Haad,

commander andd ehie! of siaff of -

Umkhonlo we Sizwe respectivoly,  
publicly diesociated thomselves  
from Mbokodo's suspictons that he  
had been a spy,

Questiens remain sbout Mr  
Zulu's dontl, Who killed him and  
why? Was ho merely the vietym of  
Mbokoedo bullles, Earnno!d about  
enomy sphes? Waas ho e victim of  
a ecurlyt forco agent wlo pene-  
traled Mbokodo and used s zea-  
lotry agninst {he ANC? Had My  
Zul himself begun (o suspect  
MUokodo might have being pene-  
trated by a police spy?

These questions hayo been re-  
emphasised by Mr Odendan)'s  
statemeni| to the Sondag Star that  
there was a conncellon between  
his mssignment to ki)l Mr Sedihe

and Mr Zrlu's death, Mr Odendng)

did not elaborate on the nature of  
the connection.

The ANC has confirmed {hat Mr  
Sedlbe did approaeh it lest Av-  
gusl, when ho macde overtore  
about rejoining is renks. Wint is  
not clear is whether Mr Sedlbe,  
who declared that he hnd Jefd the  
palice, was operating on his own.

The possibilify cannot be ex-  
chided thet he was acting on the  
ergers of his police handlers, The  
ANC s now o lawlu) organisatlen  
but there are still policemsn who  
viow [ In adversaria) terms.

What Js certain js that Mr Se-

dJbeâ\200\231s return Lo the ANC would bp  
a controversinl and disturding  
proeces. If, as Mbokodo onee  
seemed (0 think, security forees  
sples have successfully Infiltrated  
the ANCâ\200\231s upper echelons, the re.  
turn of Mr Sedtbe would be dan-  
gerous for them, Having boon  
Drivy to i-\201)once oporations, Mr Se-  
dibo might have lenrnt the iden-  
tity of some of their agents.

r Odendanl's allegations have  
to be trÃ©ntod prodently, On s

1}  
own sUmission, made in an Inter-

view wilh S\Lhdlli' Star, his moti-  
vation is finonchal: Jie trades infor. !

mation for money, 'y

AL une leve) the Odendaal sags

â\200\224 flrsy disclosed in Vrye Woek-: |

blad â\200\224 seems to belong lo a John .  
Loa Corre novel. At another Jevell #f 1  
cannot he dismissed completely. |

The ANC operatlves, Ricky! |

real nome Revell Nkondo) and:

Joo, do oxiet, Police are sald lo, |

possess @ tape-recording of their !  
allegod attempt to recruct Mr:  
Odendaal as a hired pssassin, :

The ANC has not denled that It

-paid Mr Odendael a large sum of |

mono\_{'. Bul, it insisted, ils motive !  
in egl nf hm was for information '  
about alleged gun-running opora- |  
thor by right-wingers, - i

The ANC hes unogulvocally !  
denied {hat It bs involved In al  
conspiracy lo murder Mr Sedibe. |  
Al the same timo, It foll con- !  
8ralned te add: â\200\234In splie of gur  
scepticism, a thoroug Inyestiga- |  
tlon hae beea tewnched to uncover |  
all the facts.â\200\235 7

It has promised o reloaso Uie |  
results of tho Investigtion lo the !  
publle (and not Lreat i as an bntor- |  
nel tnguixy. ke the ono Into Mr |  
Zulrs death), 13

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T ot

Permanent security  
staff for Codesa

By Esther Wangh  
Political Reporter

Codesa is to get a permanent  
ity staff.

The daily management  
committee yesterday re-  
solved to establish a perma-  
nent mechanism to ensure se-  
curity at Codesa meetings.

Until yesterday's meeting,  
security was arranged on an  
ad hoc basis for each meet-  
ing. :

The new chairman of the  
daily management commit-  
tee, Privan Gordhan of the  
Natal Indian Congress will re-

placing Democratic Party .

leader Dr Zach de Beer on 2  
rotating basis will told The  
Star the proposed mechanism

would take shape over the

next few days.

The 18 partici-  
pated had been invited to send rep-  
resentatives for the new secu-  
ity staff, said Mr Gordhan.  
The decision was taken in  
order to get Codesa security  
on a more organised footing,  
he said. s

The five working groups, .

ting groups -

also met yesterday for the  
first time at the World Trade  
Centre near Jan Smuts Air-  
port.

At the meetings, held be-  
hind closed doors, each group  
appointed a steering commit-  
tee, agreed on dates for fur-  
ther meetings and finalised  
their tasks. : :

Members of the steering  
committees will rotate as

chairmen of the groups.

Three working groups reached consensus on steering committees comprising eight members each, while two working groups â\200\224 one dealing with the creation of 2 climate for free political activity and the role of the international community, and the other concerned with the future of the TBVC states â\200\224 have nine steering committees

Dr de Beer said the working group chairmen would rotate at â\200\234sensibleâ\200\235 intervals and not necessarily at each meeting.

â\200\234It has been a very good

day. It went slowly, but people donâ\200\231t know each other and

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which will thrash-out transitional arrangements for a. we are literally building a nation post-apartheid South Africa, fiopâ\200\235hesaid. - â\200\224 -

N e s T

Media legislation expert Peter Reynolds comments on two restrictive laws  
SA needs to eliminate unnecessary press gags

THE Police Amendment Act,  
& published in Parliament last  
week, provides for the repeal of  
Section 278 of the Police Act of  
1966, one of the most inhibiting re-  
strictions on freedom of the press  
South Africa has yet seen,

Section 278 has long been a part  
of the myriad of laws which sur-  
round and inhibit the free and  
proper flow of information,

Although I am aware of only  
one reported conviction under this  
draconian piece of legislation, it is  
on the statute books and, general-

ly speaking, responsible members  
of the press consider themselves  
bound by it. Accordingly, many  
claims of police misdemeanours  
and questionable activities have  
not been reported. The passing of

section 278 will not be mourned. |  
However, section 205 of the  
Criminal Procedure Act remains.  
Section 205, or rather its imple-  
mentation by the State against  
journalists, has for years been a  
major source of concern. A  
number of lawyers have been in-  
volved in many cases in which  
this section of the Criminal Proce-  
dure Act has been invoked against  
journalists, who have been sub-  
jected in an endeavour to force  
them to disclose confidential in-  
formation concerning the identity  
of their sources against the threat  
of imprisonment without the op-  
tion of a fine, :

I am pleased to say that, on 4  
number of occasions, because of  
the maturity of certain senior

members of the Department of  
Justice, good sense has prevailed,

. With the problem being resolved

without the journalist having cl-  
ther to disclose confidences or go  
to jail. However, the last such  
matter in which my firm was in-  
volved was the case of The Star's  
Patrick Laurence. He was sub-  
poenaed to disclose information

of a confidential source which the police claimed could assist them to investigate the alleged kidnapping of a witness in the recent Winnie Mandela trial. ;

. Laurence went into the witness

box to say why he would not disclose the information that (t

would be a breach of his journalistic code of ethics, Me was convicted and sentenced to jail with-

out the option of a fine. He gave

notice of appeal, but bail was re-

fused. Only an urgent application, brought at night before a Judge in the Supreme Court, secured a midnight release from a prison cell. His appeal was lodged, Lyt

. the State has failed to take any further action.

The Implementation of this law, like 80 many other laws, restricts the free flow of Information and Imposes what I consider unnecessary restrictions on the freedom of the press and, most importantly, the public's right to know.

We need to clean up laws which unnecessarily gag the press, otherwise we can expect a future government to take over where the present one leaves off. 0

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take place parallel o the  
sitmg of Parliament.  
With the exception of the  
CP, the other parties m  
Parhamment all have two  
representatives on each of  
the five Codesa working  
groups. â\200\230This meaps thar  
about a quarter of alf MPs  
ae direcdy involved in  
the negotration process.

There is still no clariry  
on whether Parfiament  
will adjourn on some days  
when meenngs of all the  
Codesa groups or Codesa

plenary sessions rakmg  
place ar Kempton Park,  
or whether it will con-  
timue as normal in the ab-  
sence of the Codesa par  
bapants. Ths, too, is ex-  
pected to draw strong  
incism from the CP.

Apart from the nego-  
nanop process, Mr De

- Klerk's opening speech ls  
expected lo deal with the

cconomy, and interpal  
crime and violence, bur ar  
the same time reflect  
Soath Africaâ\200\231s dipio-

matic, rrade, cultoral and  
sporing breakthrough  
â\200\230since the start of the ne-  
gotiation process.

For the first tume, the  
South African head of the  
Interests Section of the  
Russian Federation, Mr  
Alexer Makarov, will at-  
teud the opening of Par-  
lamemt on Friday. :

It will also be the first

ime a representative  
from the former Sovier  
Union has attended since  
diplomatic relaticms were  
severad in 1956.

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for interim gov r.

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By Brian Stuart  
CAPE- TOWN. â\200\224  
State President De  
Klerk will ask Parlia-

ment in his opening ad-

dress on Friday to en-  
dorse the concept of a  
non-racial transitional  
government, to be in-  
sttuted as soon as

possible, ;  
He will open what may

be the fimal sittings of

South Africaâ\200\231s last White-  
dominated Parliament,  
and spell ont in greater  
demil proposals for an -

tertm or transitonal gov- |

ermment thar will include  
Blacks m both the Cabi-  
ner and in Parliamemnt.

Mr De Klerk told Co-  
desa last month thar just  
as it was negessary to  
make the cxcutive aath-  
orify more represeniative  
of the Soath African pop-  
ulaton, It was necessary  
to bring Blacks into the  
legislature as soon as  
possible.

However, government  
insiders said yesterday the  
Nadonal Party proposals  
for nierim or transitional  
government, mduding di-  
rect Black represenmation



m Parliament, had not yet

been in 2011.

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the joint government-  
NP proposals will be  
made known in due  
course, both within the  
Codesa negotiations and

- to the public at large. It is

expected that the publica-  
tion will take place either!  
in late February or early

Dr Stoffel van der  
Merwe, NP secretary-  
general, said yesterday  
the NP approached the  
coming session of Parlia-  
ment and the Codesa ne-

gotiations with confi-  
dence.

â\200\234The imperatives to-

wards negotiations are so  
strong, and below the sur-  
face there is a tremendous  
amount of goodwill, in-  
spite of the bitterness and  
ravages we have gone  
through.

â\200\234I also believe in the  
basic ingenuity of South  
Africans. We will find a  
way, there is the neces-  
sity, the will and the capa-  
bility -â\200\224 and with those affri-  
butes we will succeed,â\200\235  
said Dr Van der Merwe

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Following yesterday's  
Cabinet meeting in Cape  
Town, Mr De Klerk will  
today address the follo-

doos

National Party can alsoâ\200\235

He is likely to deal broad-  
ly with NP and govern-

ment plans for the year ahead, but not necessarily detail the content of his opening speech on Friday 224 day.

.In next week's date on the State President's speech, the concept of Black inclusion will be welcomed by most other parties but will be strongly opposed by the Conservative Party, which demands self-determination for Whites.

The CP caucus will meet for a two-day strategy session in Cape Town today, with the party saying it will use every avenue open to it to oppose the creation of 2 unitary South Africa in which

o there should be 3 Black,

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Coretta King blames  
poverty on Bush gov

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Codesa working /[

oroupâ\200\231s 1st meeting  
â\200\230satisfactoryâ\200\231

By Sapa mrd Martin McGheo  
THE first meeting of  
the Convention for a  
Democratic South  
Afueaâ\200\231s five working  
groups yesterday  
achieved what it set  
out to do, though pro-  
gress was slow.

â\200\234This was reaily a very  
good day,â\200\235 Dr Zach de  
Beer, the chafiiman yes-  
terday of the Codesa daily

ement committes,  
(DMC), and leader of the  
DP delegaton, told 2  
medra conference after  
the dayâ\200\231s proceedings.

About 420 delegates  
and advisers of Codesaâ\200\231s  
19 parricipants attended  
the first meeting of the  
working groups at the  
World Trade Centre, out  
side Johannesburg.

The purpose of yester-  
dayâ\200\231s meeting was to got\*  
the working groups off

the ground, and op and  
ropnimg, he said. They  
were more concerned  
with targets than frm  
time penods. â\200\234That was  
achieved and ! am sads-  
fied with what's been  
dome.â\200\235

Substantive matiers  
would be dealt with when  
the working groups met  
agam on Febroary 6.

Each workmg group,  
made up of 38 delegates  
and 38 advisers, Â¢lected 2

steering committed  
three chose eight mem-  
bers and the other two  
chose nine members.

The steering commit-  
tees are responsible for  
finding the chairmen for  
meetings.

The issue of chairman  
for the working groups,  
because of its sensitive  
nature, had threatened to  
become an obstacle at  
yesterday's meeting. This  
was resolved though by  
the DMC, which met be-  
fore the working groups,  
and suggested the steer-  
ing committee concept,  
which would be respon-  
sible for choosing the  
chairmen.

It was still the intention  
to hold Codesa at the end  
of March, but it depended  
largely on the progress  
within the five working  
groups, Dr De Beer said.

It had first been pro-  
posed to spread two days a  
week in working group

meetings, but it was de-  
cided against this because  
of the workload of dele-  
gates, particularly MPs.  
It was agreed instead to  
meet every Monday at the  
World Trade Centre.  
Delegates at yester-  
day's meeting actually  
felt that Codesa would  
most likely be held in the  
first part of April when  
they expected the work-  
ing groups would have  
made substantive pro-  
gress in their workings.  
The media was not hope-  
ful to hear from delegates  
that they had been in-  
structed not to talk to the  
Press; as designated  
people on the DMC were  
responsible for that

Mr Joe Slovo, SA  
Communist Party chair-  
man and SACP delegate,  
did comment though  
that Seno's business has  
started. It was a good  
day.

The DMC, which met  
again after the day's pro-  
ceedings had ended, \*Ss  
essentially the servant of  
the working groups, Dr  
de Beer told the media  
We on the DMC are  
there to make sure that  
working arrangements  
exist.

He stressed that the  
DMC was not the boss  
of the working groups

The management  
committee is in a sense  
the boss of the working  
groups ... they must re-  
port to a plenary session  
of Codesa - what is be-  
ing done  
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THE Foreign Affains  
Mimister of the Peopleâ\200\231s  
Republic of Chma, Mr  
Quicnen Qiaq, nmde a  
lowkey ana flesting  
swpover in Somh Afo-  
ca vesterday while frav-  
cllmg from Zimbabwe  
to Nammbia,

Mr Qian mer Ins  
Seuth African coonter-  
parr Mr Pik Botha ar  
Jan Smpgts Afrport. the  
Deparmmmment of Foreign

He also had a 50-min-  
ure meetng behmnd  
cased doors with rep-  
resentattves of the Pan  
Africanmst Congress ar a  
Johannesbuwry airport  
bowcl. bat did not speak  
o thre Press.

had eswblished 2n mter-  
et office in Pretoria  
ander the aospices of  
the Cenrre for African  
Stodies. He said he was

running the officc bm

Chinese Min meets  
Pik, PAC in Jhb

would not efaborate.  
Meanwhnie, PAC  
depary president Mr  
Dikgane Mosericke, at a  
Press brienna folowmg  
the meeting, smd Mr  
Qian had confired s  
couny s contmeed  
friendship and swyport



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larpe number of 2reasâ\204ç,  
He refased to expiain

provided â\200\234all forms of  
wammeâ\200\235 to the PAC  
md had supported â\200\234a  
mnber of projecsâ\200\235.  
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were open, frank and  
cordhal and related to  
the longstanding rle-  
ladopship which has  
exrsted between our [in-  
eranon movement and  
the Peopleâ\200\231s Repnblic of  
Cmnâ\204ç - Sapa.

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warning on  
bond issue

THE ANC has eriticlscd government's  
250-million ecn 1B60m) imhlic bonil  
tssue and warncd (hat a â\200\234 eimoeraticâ\200\235  
government would "assess jis obliga-  
tonâ\200\235 to service and repay debts con-  
tracted by the present government,

The ANC sald In n siatemont yestorday  
the bond isswe was iy gross violntion of  
fnanelal and dnvestment sanclions [n forea  
against SA, nnd of UN resointions,

I Implicitly eritielsed â\200\224 without nam-  
Ing â\200\224 lead managers Bangto Paribos and  
Swiss Dank Corporatlon

The ANC snld it was â\200\234bound lo fiecknre  
onca agalm, that o democratic govermmnt  
will earelutity asgess {ls ohllgntions {o sor-  
vice and take responsibitily for dahis cop-  
tracled by (he Sa Bovermmnt and its  
virkows agoneleyâ\200\235, )

The ANC stntement ga)it il was partien-  
lavly erltleal becausa the lssue took place  
Jusl before the foration of an lerim  
govarnmeont nnd siich a governmont's for-  
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Cne ANC somrce snig, howover, that {he  
ANC's anger war more n â\200\234shol neress the  
bow" thasy am outright refisnl to hononr all  
ney forelgn loans, alihonglh ANC mernhors  
instst the thieal hadi (o he {aken sortonsly,

The ANC'Â® toncern derlved from ity  
linpresslon ihat government was onpeged  
in a cynlcal atiempl to bry voles i a  
future sloction mnd to presont iiself ns the  
vivnplen of {he poor for poildeal par-  
poses, the sowren pald,

Finance direetos- conernl Gorlined  
Croeser snld in Hninmcm the money

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SHEMNDAN CONNOLLY .  
md TIM COHEN | iyt

used would contribute to the financing of  
the national Budget, "the threat of which je-  
nerating the commitment of the debt ad-  
vantaged part of the communityâ\204ç,â\200\235

In its statement, the ANC said it was  
significant that the way Joan carried oner-  
ous interest rate charges, This represented  
a heavy burden on the economy and the  
people of SA, ' be

â\200\234The way bond is for five years, and was  
launched at 19,376%, and by selling at par,  
This is some 3% higher than straight mar-  
ket rates of interest,â\200\235 the ANC said,

But a senior analyst rejected the claim,  
saying the Infocast was not unreason-  
ably considering it was the country's first  
major entry into the bond market

In addition considering the political risk  
involved, interest rates normally charged  
to developing countries were at a premium  
to those charged to developed countries,

the analyst said, In any event, the 10,376%

rate was only marginally higher than  
benchmark issues in the bond market.

The ANC said it had learned "â\200\231" spoL.2  
lanmed o Issua oy cqn:l!\_v-l]n'ffï-\202 lâ\200\231;â\200\231}\??i-\201%"  
[u.'a!x'umwv! (o foreign subscribers which  
has the potential for providing investors  
with a rate of return of as high as 288, A  
Transnet spokesman declining to comment,

The ANC said: "We are clear that the SA  
regime remains on course of curbing  
the economic options of a future democ-  
ratic government through the imposition

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â\200\231y Sy

jâ\200\231Boml issue

of the costly burden of indebtedness on the  
economy,â\200\235

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said his  
organisation fully supported the ANC's po-

osition that the future government would  
! have the right to review loans provided by the  
| current government,

Coleman atsg rejeeted Croeser's stale.  
meit that the lonw wns rniser {o liolp  
UvÂ»câ\200\230mco the Budgel whicy was tnerensing)  
erlenlated (owards sochal upliftnent, ad.

Ing thal the Joan Â¥as roised milatorally,

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"In whose jwidgiment aye thoy henefflisg, r/  
the maforiy?â\200\235 Lo usked, eritialsing what}  
he sajd was bOvCrametâ\200\231s "top-down" dj.â\200\231  
proach aud jlg reluctaice (o entor I p  
negotintions on the issne, Nt

Invesponse to the propesition that Enyo-\*  
Pean banks |ind ImJicnlezl the ANC o  
Cosolu were blnifiang when they sugpeated  
i new govertinent would 10! repny the!  
debts, Coleman sald: "Uhelr biufi Ay he  
called,â\200\235 gt  
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THE KwaZulu government and  
the \_Developmentdâ\200\230Bâ\200\230ank of SA  
have signed a lpap agreement  
of more than R83m. to finance

development projects in Kwa-  
Zulu, including an education  
college at Gamalzkhe,

Port Shepstone.

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Passenger and  
police injured

in train attack

THREE policemen and 2 48-  
year-old man were slightly  
injured when a group of men  
armed with kieres, pangas  
and assegais attacked train  
passengers between Orlando  
East and Nancefield stations  
last night. 2

Police said policemen, who  
were compelled to fire in the  
air, were forced out of the  
train during the attack. At the  
injured were treated at i  
Baragwanath Hospital. The .  
motive for the attack was not i  
known and no arrests were i  
made, police said. i

In two separate incidents :  
yesterday four commuters !  
were admitted to hospital  
after being thrown from the  
Johannesburg-bound trains, -

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Code will let soldiers disobey orders:

SADF troops will have the right to disobey commands violating the constitution and will be hound to respect international law in terms of the draft military code of conduct set to be agreed to by pational peace accord signatories.

\_An informed source close to the negotiations said yesterday â\200\234substantial progressâ\200\235 was made at a meeting last Friday attended by representatives of the ANC, the SADF and Inkatha. The three make up the negotiating committee. . ;

The SADF code of conduct is one of the outstanding issues to be agreed in terms of the accord signed in September.

Almost. all the drafts of the code discussed so far include the requirement that

the onns be placed on troops to disobey

unlawful or unconstitutional orders.

TIM COHEN b=

/(ï¬\201:e of the drafts approves Geneva Com,

â\200\234ventions covering military conduct, but.

the final draft is likely to include a broadet, requirement that troops should act in accordance with â\200\234international lawâ\200\235.: - "5

The existing situation, set out in the military disciplinary code, is that soldiers need not obey unlawful commands. But i, terms of the draft code, soldiers will have: to accept responsibility for their actions,

It has been speculated that the signing of the military code was delayed after opposition in NP ranks to a leaked draft. Opponents maintained that allowing soldiers to disobey unconstitutional commands would have a detrimental effect on discipline.

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Cosatu set to seek representation at negotiations

By Mike Stluma

The Congress of SA Trade

. Unions, which today meets

business leaders by talks of .

discuss—the formation of a

' macro-economic: negotiating

Â© forum for the country, is to  
- seek direct representation at -

Codesa, The Star has learnt,

Sources close to the organi-

gation's national executive,  
which met in Johannesburg

. yesterday, said Cosatu lead-

ership would decide to apply  
for membership of Codesa,

There is no union representa-

tion on the body. S

~ Cosatu's Involvement in the

constitutional talks has been  
the subject of much debate  
within the federation as well  
as inside its alliance with the  
ANC and the SA Communist  
Party, both of which are Co-  
desa participants,

The decision to seek mem-  
bership of Codesa follows a  
decision taken last year that

Cosatu would only attend Co- . .  
. desa in its own right, and not <

as part of the ANC or SACP  
delegations. 2

" Cosatu has insisted that, as  
one of the key players in



Saouthâ\200\235 African clvll scclcty, it  
â\200\230ghould be allowed to take  
\_part in constitutional talks â\200\224

a position backed by the

otiicr major union federatton,  
. the National Council of Trade

Unions (Nactu), i

" .. Refetring to the absence of

. unlon representatlon at Code- -

sa, Nactu general-secretary  
Cuntingham Ngcukana sald  
yesterday: 'We belleve there  
. are collectlve worker rights

which need to be entrenched .

in any new constitution, such  
.as the right to strike.

" 0.7 â\200\234No organieation can claim  
- .to represent our interests,"

\* ' But when asked whether  
Nactu would seck member-  
ship of Codesa, Mr Ngcukana

sald Naotu would have to ask  
itsetf â\200\234many guestlonsâ\200\235 be-  
fore joining Codesa. .

. On a related matter, Coso-

- tu and Nactu, together with

the [Federatlon of Staff Asso-  
ciations, will meat business

-organisations ta plan the es-

tablishment of the economic

â\200\234 forum. The forum weae one of

labour's' key â\200\230demands ducing  
November's antl-VAT strike.

Unlon leaders are confident  
that, unlike last ycar, when  
they accused the Govornment  
of toot-dragging on tho-fssue, |  
chances of reaching agroo-  
ment are greater this thma.

The Star Tuesday January 21, 1992

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Established 1887

.- South Africa's largest daily newspaper

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X.. ond phase of the United States policy  
of constructive engagement. Duripg

' â\200\234 the 1980s the US Assistant Secretary  
-of State for. Africa, Chester Crocker, ap-

.. plied Constructive Engagement 1. In es. .

Since it sought to persuade the Botha age

ministration down the road of reform

. .- Now, Dr Crocker's successor; Hank Coben,  
. Is applying Constructive Engagement 2,

. Constructive engagement in its original -

version led to

encourage and persuade  
the Botha

administration along the road to

- reform. Just how effective it was is 2 mat- .

- terof debate's It may, however, have can-  
" tributed to the emergence .of President de

- Klerk's much bolder brand of reform after

he succeeded Mr Botha of

-Constructive Engagement 2 seeks to per-  
..suade parties on the Left and Right ex-

tremes of the political continuum to join ;,r

~CedEsa upd work. for = settlement. It govs |

â\200\234Tarther, however, and threatens to wield a  
- stick 85 well as dangle a carrot Vashing-

ton has roade it clear that if the Pan Afri-  
-canist-Congress persists in. its policy of

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armed struggle, inelnding the marder of  
: policemen, and of undermining Codesa, the .

US may be compelled to gse its consider-  
\* able Influence to- â\200\234suggestâ\200\235 to African  
. beads of state that they re-examine their  
. .relationship with'the PAC - i

. . Sinceâ\200\231 the PAC depends heavily â\200\230on the  
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twe recognised: South African â\200\234liberation

| moverzentsâ\200\235, it should â\200\224 in its own inter-

esis â\200\224 take carefu] note of the US pol-  
icy..So {ar, however, the PAC has rescted  
negatively, condemning. the US for â\200\234hypo-  
577 â\200\224 areference to Washington's past  
- Suppc.t for Unitw in Angola and its more

recent financial aid ta3REathA and ae-  
ctsing the US of interfÃ©Temein South Afr-

'caâ\200\231s internal affaairg i

. Weapplaud the attempt by the US 10 nge  
. its influence â\200\230to boister the process of  
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- clencies of Constractive Engagement 1, the

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-Hon rather than negative interference.

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