THE CITIZEN 06-10-92

#### Hundreds tortured by ANC: Ex-official

LONDON. — South Africa's African National Congress tortured hundreds of its followers, some fatally, in exile training camps for criticising their leaders, a former ANC official said yesterday

Mwezi Twala, who trained ANC guerrillas in sabotage techniques in African training camps in the 1980s, called for an international inquiry into the abuses, which he likened to "Vietcong and Khmer Rouge methods", including live burials.

He said several of ANC leaders, now negotiating a political settlement with the South African Government, colluded in the torture.

They included Chris Hani, general secretary of the South African Communist Party, and Joe Modise, now a member of the ANC executive, said Mr Twala.

"Modise told me I would die like a dog,"

added Mr Twala, recounting a 1984 incident at a camp in Angola when, he said, he was shot in front of the two leaders.

Mr Twala, trained in the former Soviet Union in the 1970s, showed broad scars on his stomach and right arm during an interview.

Thousands of ANC exiles returned to South Africa from their African training camps in 1990-91.

Mr Twala, head of a pressure group called the Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee, said he has more than 200 names of ANC dissidents abused in camps in Angola, Mozambique and Tanzania.

His trip to Britain was sponsored by the International Freedom Foundation, a conservative educational foundation with headquarters in Washington DC. The IFF has appointed its own in-

vestigator, senior South African lawyer Robert Douglas.

Mr Twala was scheduled to meet Foreign Office officials and address a fringe meeting of the governing Conservative Party's annual conference which starts today.

Amnesty International is probing what it has called "very serious abuses", following similar claims by other dissidents. Some have alleged up to 260 people died by execution, in power fights or by suicide.

ANC leaders acknowledge there were abuses in the training camps and has appointed a committee to investigate.

He said Oliver Tambo, who led the ANC through most of Nelson Mandela's imprisonment in South Africa, was told of the tortures, but did nothing to stop them. — Sapa-AP

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# ANC, Govt not ganging up on others: Viljoen

EAST LONDON. — The African National Congress/SA Government summit of September 26 had cleared the way to a resumption of multilateral negotiations, although this would still be a long and arduous process, State Affairs Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said yesterday.

The government's former chief constitutional negotiator told the East London branch of the Institute of International Affairs the September 26 summit had not been an act of ganging up against other parties in the negotiating process.

It had all along been the intention of the government to seek multilateral support for the Record of Understanding emanating from the summit.

"The government therefore considers it urgent to achieve multilateral consideration of those aspects of the Record of Understanding which affect more parties than the authors of the record."

State President De Klerk had made it clear that no new constitutional matters had been discussed in the bilateral talks of September 26.

It was a serious misunderstanding to suppose that a range of constitutional matters had been negotiated and agreed on in the course of formulating the Record of Understanding.

"There is still a big job awaiting the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) to actually negotiate agreements on all these vital issues."

Dr Viljoen said it was clear the issues of re-

gionalism and federalism would be a hard nut to crack in negotiations.

"The Record of Understanding provides for the transitional constitution — which still has to be negotiated at Codesa — to provide for national as well as regional government during the period of transition."

Dr Viljoen said the government did not accept the ANC viewpoint that arms caches should only be dealt with under a transitional government.

\_Sapa

16/1/11

# Comment

OUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY leader Chris Hani is a fascinating man, a controversial figure and to some, a frightening leader. impressed by the fact that our formerly totally intolerant country allows political leaders such as Hani the democratic right to do and say what they wish.

Speaking at an impressive rally in Carletonville, Hani said: "We are satisfied that the business we wished to accomplish in Bisho is not yet complete ... as far as we are concerned, the business remains unfinished until we have achieved our objectives."

These are strong words that must bring a shiver of apprehension to the military regime of Ciskei.

The fact that the SACP and its partners do not wish to take over Ciskei by force does not diminish the danger. We come from a past in which the Government reacted ruthlessly to acceptable political action.

Ciskei still operates like the old South Africa. Worse still, Ciskei has employed many former South African police chiefs and military adventurers from the reactionary regimes of the past. The best that South Africa can do is to rid Ciskei of such people.

Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has always said he was a temporary custodian of power in Ciskei. He should go before there is another tragedy. We do not think he has the strength to respond democratically to marches or rallies.

He is acutely aware of his unpopularity in Ciskei and elsewhere. This makes him quite dangerous.

# Winning the war

NCE the unbanning of the ANC, friend and foe alike admit the organisation has on many occasions come off second best

against the government in the propaganda war.

Only very recently has the ANC begun to roll back the tide. Spearheading this counter attack is the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity (DIP), headed by Dr Pallo Jordan. One of his chief lieutenants is Saki Macozoma.

At 34, Macozoma is one of the youngest men on the ANC's National Executive Committee. And as head of DIP's media liaison section he is one of the organisation's most visible leaders.

DIP is not an innocuous department concerned with churning out press statements, making pronouncements about the organisation's policies or clarifying and defending statements by the leadership.

Macozoma says although strictly speaking the DIP is not a policy making department, it has the latitude to "interpret policy, reformulate policies and on occasion even make policy".

He further elaborates that from time to time the DIP must make suggestions on policy changes "in order to avoid a situation where we have to defend the indefensible policies of the organisation".

With this in mind Macozoma justifiably regards his department as one of the most critical in the ANC.

The role of the DIP is going to be even more important in the future. As the battle for the hearts and minds of the people intensifies in the coming years among all the major political

players, more demands are going to be made on the ANC's propaganda department.

Macozoma believes they will be equal to the task. The bachelor from Port Elizabeth is the first to admit that since the unbanning of the ANC, the government has been winning the propaganda war.

"In the past we were always on the defensive. We were more reactive than proactive. Today I think there is a qualitative difference."

A former director of the communications department with the South African Council of Churches, Macozoma is not easy to typecast. He conducts press conferences with firmness and explains ANC positions in the most emphatic manner - a habit which has earned him the reputation of being aggressive.

No more than five foot tall, Macozoma does not suffer fools and does not take kindly to racist questions. I have seen him on more than one occasion using his sharp tongue in response to such questions.

Even as a pupil at a Dutch Reformed Church in Cala in the Transkei, he did not accept the racism at the school. He was angered by the vice principal, who used to throw peanuts at pupils.

He was later expelled from the school and informed he would not be allowed in any Transkei school. His crime was to defy a ruling that pupils should not play soccer on Sundays his favourite game.

A stickler for efficiency, Macozoma says he draws a clear line between his professional relations and relations outside work.

"When I come into the office, it is a professional relationship. But if I go out with colleagues. I am a different

"Once you come back to work you cannot bring what you have outside into professional relationships. Otherwise nobody knows who stands where and at the end of the day, there is lack of production."

He acknowledges that being a stickler for efficiency has created difficulties for him, particularly among his iuniors.

"If you adopt this attitude people find it difficult to try and solve problems with you. Yet it is important if you are in a management position for people to feel you are approachable."

Macozoma has not always been an ANC supporter or sympathiser. In his youth politicians like Dennis Siwisa of the PAC and Rev Gcanga of the Unity Movement made a big impression on him. Strange as it may seem today, he says Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi also impressed him and fellow schoolmates.

"There was an article written by Gatsha in the Eastern Cape Herald called 'Through African Eyes'. We were fully in agreement with the kinds of things he was saying - like the days of 'ja baas' are over."

As a pupil at KwaZakhele High School he was among a group of pupils who formed the Port Elizabeth branch of the South African Student Movement, one of the several structures of the Black Consciousness Movement.

At the height of the student uprisings in 1977 Macozoma and his classmates planned to take their protest to the city centre in Port Elizabeth because "everything had been burnt down in the townships".

The security forces apparently knew of the plan and arrested Macozoma and 42 other classmates - all matric pupils - the night before they were to sneak pupils into the city.

He was imprisoned with 32 other schoolmates for five years for "engaging in terroristic activities". Macozoma remained a member of BCM throughout his term on Robben Island.

On the Island he met other BCM luminaries like Mosibudi Mangena, Pandelani Nefolovhodwe and Mosiuoa "Terror" Lekota. He also corresponded extensively with Walter Sisulu who was a family friend.

He also started questioning several BCM positions, debating its "hostility to Marxism", the emergence of a middle class among blacks and the question of class analysis. The defection of leading BCM members like Barney Pityana and Henry Isaacs to the ANC and PAC respectively also generated a lot of debate.

Macozoma was gradually moving away from BCM and the final break came with the launch of the UDF (he admits it was an ANC front) a year after his release from jail. "I was involved in the plans for the formation of the UDF."

The same year the UDF was formed Macozoma left for Boston in the US to study for a master's degree. While in the US he worked (covertly) in ANC structures lobbying for disin-

Although he has never held office

in any ANC or UDF structure Macozoma has made a meteoric rise within the organisation. He joined the ANC in July last year and a year later was elected to its National Executive Committee.

A former server in the Anglican church, Macozoma describes himself as someone who "grew up in the church and later grew away from the church". He became disillusioned with the church early in life.

As a primary school pupil at a school with a liberal tradition, the Anglican All Saints in the Transkei, he was acutely aware of the disparity in lifestyle between whites and blacks. Then, his experiences at the DRC mission in Cala further drove him away from the church.

It took him a long time before he saw another side of Christianity. This was five years ago when he joined the SACC in Johannesburg. Meeting clerics like Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Rev Beyers Naude and Rev Frank Chikane made him change his attitudes towards the church. These, he says, were priests who showed that religion cared about people here on earth and not only in the hereafter.

In spite of his rise within the ANC, Macozoma has not yet decided whether to make politics a full time career. He says he is still attracted by the academic world.

At the moment, the goal of this former Zwide Celtic midfield star - "I even considered playing professional" - is to help the ANC dislodge the government.

"This is the moment. We either seize it or we don't. If we fail, I would like to feel later in life that I tried."

# FW will try to restore confidence

**Political Correspondent** 

CAPE TOWN. — State President De Klerk is expected to make a renewed attempt today to shake the country out of a mood of pessimism following strong objections to the government/ANC summit agreements last month.

In an address to the Cape Congress of the National Party in East London, Mr De Klerk is likely to emphasise some positive developments in spite of setbacks arising from the summit agreement.

Nationalist sources say he may respond to three major issues causing concern at the moment:

• The ANC threat to march on Ulundi, with all its violent potential, in spite of the undertaking to try to calm the political climate.

• The threat by the ANC to reverse any decisions the government may make on freeing political prisoners other than ANC-affiliated prisoners.

• The Buthelezi-Mangope-Gqozo conference today in Johannesburg, to which Right-wing groupings have accepted invitations, including the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

Last week Mr De Klerk

said the Kempton Park summit between himself and ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela, had been an attempt to get negotiations under way again.

"Since the Codesa deadlock, for which the government was not responsible, South Africa has been on a downward course towards confrontation and escalating conflict.

"A mood of pessimism and despair has replaced the confidence and growing goodwill which was evident during the Codesa process," he said.

Since then, the tripartite meeting between KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana President, Dr Lucas Mangope, and Ciskei's military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, has emphasised Black opposition to "private" agreements, to which they were not party.

Chief Buthelezi has obtained wider support for his views and garnered sympathy from other sectors of the population. His demand that Umkhonto we Sizwe must be abandoned is one of the issues on which Mr De Klerk has yet to respond.

Also likely to be discussed at the NP's Cape congress, either by Mr De Klerk or by members of the Cabinet, is the forthcoming short sitting of Parliament, now only a week away.

CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, has called on Mr De Klerk to cancel it, in view of opposition from various other parties, to some of the proposed legislation.

Mr De Klerk will not do that. But some aspects of the legislative programme appear to be in doubt. The government may not be able to go ahead with legislation to enable the State President to appoint people from outside of Parliament to the Cabinet and other senior posts.

# QwaQwa to miss 'summit of homelands'

THE Chief Minister of Qwa Qwa, Dr T K Mopeli, yesterday announced he would not be attending the summit called by the leaders of Ciskei, KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana and which is to be held outside Johannesburg today.

He said attendance of the so-called Conference for Concerned South Africans might confuse his constituents who were staunch supporters of federalist principles.

He added, however, that he would resist those that were trying to force the QwaQwa's ruling Diwkankwetla Party to join the African National Congress/SA Communist Party alliance and reiterated his regret that the alliance had "lumped" Qwa-Qwa together with regions that did not allow free political activity.

The "homeland troika"

— KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthele-

zi, Ciskei ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope — called the summit after a meeting in Mmbatho last week.

#### Criticised

The troika has criticised the bilateral Record of Understanding reached on September 26 by the government and the ANC and called for a meeting of leaders, parties and organisations to discuss the way forward.

The Conservative Party and the newly formed Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) have indicated they will attend the summit

#### Confirmed

 Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Mr Walter Felgate confirmed that the Homeland Troika summit will be held outside Johannesburg today.

After the ANC-Government peace summit, Chief Buthelezi announced he was breaking off negotiations with the

government. He cancelled a meeting with State President De Klerk, and instead met Mr Mangope and Brig Gqozo on the same day.

Mr Felgate could not shed light on today's agenda, or say which parties would attend the summit, due to begin at 9 am.

#### Denied

Last week, Mr De Klerk denied that agreements between his government and the ANC were aimed at excluding any party, and said the bilateral summit was intended to pave the way on the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

The government also undertook to resolve matters which the IFP saw as stumbling blocks to negotiations, in the same way it had done with the ANC.

The IFP was an important party, without which there could be no comprehensive solution to the country's problems, Mr De Klerk said. — Sapa.

#### Don't go it alone, Dawie tells I

Minister of Public Enterprises, Dr Dawie de Villiers, issued a veiled warning last night to Inkatha Freedom Party leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, not to abandon the negotiations process and attempt to "go it alone".

Dr De Villiers said no dispensation political aimed at restoring peace and stability would be viable unless it enjoyed the support of the majority.

"We must negotiate ourselves out of the mor- Fast London. Dr De Vil-

selves. We need the IFP Buthelezi. Dr and Neither the ANC nor the goverment can go it alone.'

Dr De Villiers said the government was devoting attention to the stumbling blocks which prevented the IFP from taking part in negotiations.

The aim was to get multi-party talks on the road again.

Opening the National Party's Cape congress in liers also attacked "Left wing radicals" within the ranks of the ANC alliance for seeking to create a climate for the overthrow of the government.

He accused the alliance of trying to make the ungovernable country "conflict-seekthrough

ing" mass action.
"The radicals want confrontation so that the government can be blamed. It would have suited them if the government had announced a state of emergency. Then they could have blamed the undemocratic forces in a police

"But instead we have given them democratic freedom to demonstrate their undemocratic meth-

He said the government had conducted itself with great patience and restraint and at the end of the day it was the government who occupied the moral high ground.

The mass action campaign had hampered efforts to set up an interim government.

Radical elements within the ANC's national executive committee would have to take responsibility for poor investor confidence and the poor performance of Black schoolchildren.

"Mass action has just magnified the problems and made things more difficult to solve," Dr De Villiers said. — Sapa.

#### Intent to fence. hostels blamed for IFP death

A IFP woman supporter was shot dead by unknown attackers in Alexandra township north of Johannesburg on Sunday and the party is blaming the bilateral decision by the government and the ANC to fence off hostels.

"The South African Government, in making bilateral agreements with the ANC, have exposed IFP residents to grave danger and imminent attack by the ANC which is intent on purging residential areas of IPF support," said vice-chairman of the IFP Youth Brigade, Mr Philip Ndlangamandla.

The name of the de-

ceased had not been released yet and no arrests have been made in connection with the shooting.

The decision to fence off hostels is already impacting heavily on IFPresidents. supporting These residents live under constant threat of death and attack by the ANC. Their only safety lies in the fact that hostel residents are able to defend them when these attacks occur," he said.

He said ANC comrades, in the belief that hostels will be fenced off, have gained in confidence and had stepped up the number of attacks on IFPsupporting residents.

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#### unda's visit to SA

LUSAKA. — The visit to South Africa of former Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, is off.

Dr Kaunda, who was scheduled to act as a mediator between the warring African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party, said on Sunday: "That mission is no longer possible - I don't think there is any need for it"

Dr Kaunda was answering reporters' questions at a farewell ceremony in Lusaka, at which he handed the presidency of the United National Independence Party (Unip), to his former Prime Minister, Kebby Musokotwane.

The former Zambian President also lashed out at Zambia's new govern-

ment, led by Frederick Chiluba, the United States and Western Europe for having facilitated his downfall from political power.

"The US and the Western world helped the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) to win the election. It was all the western world's political manipulation that contributed to my defeat."

With bitterness written

all over his face, Dr Kaunda also accused the Zambian media of precipitating his election

"I am leaving politics a clean man but I am not begging nor pleading for a pension. My children are looking after me. Can't you see, I am very fit?

"The frightened little men are now asking for my advice on state governance. They have lamentably failed to rule the country.

He dismissed charges he had stolen state money, blaming the economy's deterioration on several factors, including the world recession and the freedom struggle in southern Africa.

On Sunday night Dr Kaunda left for a twoweek tour of the US. -Sapa.

# **Unite with Buthelez**

A MAJOR factor in the acceleration of Klerk's policy of appeasement and surrender to the ANC/SACP's ever more strident demands is, as you rightly pointed out in your recent editorial, the fatal fragmentation of the White conservative groupings and their inability to present alternative policy options.

The blame for this situation must in a large part be shouldered by the media, for brainwashing a gullible White electorate into voting "Yes" in the recent referendum.

The referendum was in retrospect the last constitutional opportunity the Whites had of removing De Klerk and the disastrous policies of his regime.

His replacement by a resolute White government would have enabled decentralised them to negotiate from a structure. position of strength with the ANC on the only political option that could save South Africa from

federalism. The initiative to oppose unilaterally the ANC/NP axis has passed out of White Right-wing hands into the alliance of Black leaders led by Chief Buthelezi.

impending disaster, con-

Here is an 11th hour opportunity for all conservative Whites who are appalled at the lawlessness, political corruption and moral decay that is afflicting our land to unite with those Black

leaders who share their political objectives of a federal

The key to any organised and successful anti-De Klerk movement is the allegiance or otherwise of the security forces. If they are tired and disillusioned with being cannon fodder in the townships, of seeing unrepentant killers released back on the streets to continue their bloodthirsty activities, then they should join this new conservative alliance to provide the teeth and backbone that will rid this country of its radical and neo-Communist politicians

PHYLLIS McCARTHY Bedfordview

#### ANC welcomes peace in Mozambique

African National Congress has welcomed the cease-fire pact signed by the Mozambican Government and Renamo:

"The people of Mozambique deserve peace and relief from the many years of extreme violence they were subjected to, the ANC said yesterday.

"The ANC congratu-

lates all those who facilitated and brokered the peace accord, particularly Presidents Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and Quett Masire Botswana.

"It is the hope of the ANC that the peace accord will bring lasting peace in Mozambique so that the reconstruction of

the country will proceed as a matter of urgency.

"The ANC appeals to all of Mozambique's neighbours, particularly South Africa, to respect the peace accord religiously, so that we do not have a repeat of the broken promises of the Nkomati Accord".

- Sapa.

# Divide SA into federal states: DP

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — South Africa should be divided into federal states, with wide powers and responsibilities including police and justice, the Democratic Party has stated in its constitutional proposals, published yesterday.

The DP proposals call for the powers of the central government and those of the federal states to be clearly defined and entrenched in a new constitution.

Federal states would handle education, police, prisons, justice, health, local government, housing, manpower, tourism and nature conservation, regional development, roads, forestry and agriculture. They would have taxation powers.

The central government would handle foreign relations, defence, national security, macro economic policy, currency and monetary policy, foreign trade, national transportation, posts and telecommunications, mineral and energy of

mineral and energy affairs, water affairs and citizenship.

The DP proposals are in the form of a discussion document, which will come before the party's national congress in Jobannesburg on November 13 and 14 for approval or amendment.

In terms of these proposals, the president would be elected at a joint meeting of Parliament, rather than by a ditect public vote.

Mr Ken Andrew, DP national chairman, said the electoral system for a new South Africa would have to be as straightforward as possible, because of high illiteracy among voters.

"Illiteracy limits our choice of electoral systems, while we need to ensure that the legislature and government fairly represent the voters' choices."

The proposals include a National Assembly of 400 members, elected each four years on a system of proportional representation.

A Senate, to be coequal with the National
Assembly in ordinary
legislative measures,
would be elected by
popular vote every six
years, with each state in a
federal constitution being
represented by a minimum of four and a maximum of nine representatives, depending on its
voter strength.

Mr Andrew said this

system was weighted in favour of smaller states, giving them a powerful voice in the legislature.

All legislation affecting the federal states would lapse if vetoed by the Senate.

The president would be elected for a six-year term by secret ballot at a joint sitting of the Senate and National Assembly, and could only serve two terms.

He would appoint a Prime Minister and, on the advice of the Prime Minister, also appoint the Cabinet. The president, Prime Minister and Cabinet would be accountable to Parliament.

A state legislatures in each of the proposed federal states would be one-Chamber bodies, modelled on the national assembly.

An independent delimitation commission should be set up to determine the exact number and the boundaries of the federal states. They should not be defined on racial lines, but the commission should consider community of interests, economic viability and administrative effectiveness.

There should be free movement of people, money and assets between states, said the DP

#### 10 held after grenade death

Citizan Reporter

A NUMBER of people have been arrested in connection with a handgrenade attack which hilled a 35-year-old man in Soweto last Friday, police confirmed yesterday.

The arrincident in grenade we

According to The Citizen's information, 10 people were arrested, including a number of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

However, Soweto police spokesman, Colonel Tienie Haigryn, declined to disclose the

number of people arrested, or release their names as they were still being questioned and some would "probably be released".

The arrests follow an incident in which a hand-grenade was thrown into bouse number 299B in Zola 3, Soweto, at about 8.25 pm.

The owner of the house, Mr Josiah Mase-buku (35), was killed instantly and his wife, Sofia (26), was seriously wounded.

#### THE CITIZEN, TUESDAY 6 OCTOBER 1992

# THE CITIZEN COMMENT

#### Muck-up

THE release of "political" prisoners is one big muck-up.

The government had always insisted that it had freed all political prisoners in terms of accepted international definitions.

The ANC insisted that there were still 150 of its members who qualified for release.

The government stuck to its guns.

The ANC then made it one of the three issues which it insisted had to be addressed before it resumed talks, the other two being the fencing of hostels and the carrying of dangerous weapons.

When the government still held firm on the prisoner issue, refusing to release Magoo's Bar bomber, Robert McBride, and two other Umkhonto we Sizwe operatives who killed seven people, including four children, in landmine blasts in the Messina district, there was pressure from abroad.

Mr Douglas Hurd, the British Foreign Secretary, whose government has still not capitulated to IRA terror or amnestied IRA bombers, suggested that McBride and the other two should be released on parole.

The government released the three — and agreed that, in stages, up to 150 should be freed as well.

The government says it did not capitulate to anyone, yet the ANC believes it has made "important gains" that justify its return to the negotiation table.

Certainly it has good reason to feel it has scored a victory not only on the prisoner issue, but on hostels and the carrying of dangerous weapons.

The government may have hoped that by making the prison releases part of a process of reconciliation—it intends to "wipe the slate clean"—it could avert a public outcry.

If so, it must be shattered by the anger that is being expressed.

When the government released 57 000 ordinary criminals last year in a flush of official benevolence, there was a public outcry.

The public is jittery over the crime wave that has swept this country; that so many criminals should be freed, many neither rehabilitated nor having the chance of being rehabilitated, suggested that they would commit crimes again.

Such releases merely add to the feeling that this country is at the mercy of criminals who are neither hanged when they commit murder, nor kept in jail for long terms if their deeds are abominable enough.

Now we have the release of McBride and the

others to add to their concern.

We pity the families of McBride's victims, who have further cause for grief, as have the families of the landmine victims.

As for seeing Mr Walter Sisulu, deputy president of the ANC, and other ANC officials marching triumphantly with the freed Mc-Bride, we feel sick, for they showed no compassion for his victims, or their families, or awareness of the horror of planting car bombs that kill and main innocent people.

If the freeing of McBride and the landmine killers were not enough, the government (we suppose to show its evenhandedness) released mass murderer Barend Strydom, the Wit Wolf who killed seven Blacks in and around Strijdom Square, Pretoria.

That this man is free is disgusting — more so since he is unrepentant and would kill again for his cause if the need arose (McBride and the other two ANC operatives have almost the same approach, except McBride talks of reconciliation rather than violence).

To make matters worse, the government has released as political prisoners a murderer and bank robber who admits that his crimes were not political — and 11 others said to be ordinary criminals who committed serious crimes for which they were deservedly sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

Is there to be no end to this bungling, no end to the injection into society of men who should be serving their sentences to the full?

We wonder. But we can tell the government one thing: It has offended many decent, ordinary people. It is time it got its act together and thought of the consequences of such actions as we have outlined.

former at the ture - same heare

#### THE CITIZEN, TUESDAY 6 OCTOBER 1992

#### Woman (25) stabbed, stoned, 'necklaced'

DURBAN. — A 25year-old woman was 'necklaced', stabbed and stoned to death in Bruntville, outside Mooi River, on Sunday, police reported.

SA Police spokesman Capt Henry Budhram said Ms Thembi Zulu had been killed after a residents meeting in the small Natal Midlands township.

He said "White City" residents had met on Sunday afternoon and had later confronted Ms. Zulu at Bruntville Stadium. She was stoned and stabbed before a petrolsoaked tyre was placed around her neck and set alight.

A man, Mr Robert Khumalo, was injured after being stoned and stabbed several times during the day.

Police were uncertain if the incidents were related. — Sapa.

#### E CITIZEN, TUESDAY 6 OCTOBER 1992

#### Disbanded MK will be 'loose cannor

UMKHONTO we Sizwe members would become "loose cannon" and dangerous to the Inkhata Freedom Party if it was disbanded now, ANC Natal Midlands deputy chairman, Reggie Hadebe, warned yesterday.

He was reacting to the call by IFP president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, for the immediate disbandment of MK, the military wing of the ANC.

Mr Hadebe said the move would make it difficult to contain members' anger at the government and its surrogates "who continue to kill unarmed and defenceless people, whom MK soldiers have dedicated their lives to defending and liberating"

It would be in the country's hest interests to keep MK intact and subject to the control of an interim government," he said.

Chief Buthelezi should realise that MK would be dangerous to him and the IFP if disbanded now.

He should appreciate that soldiers were "not able to act now" because of the constraints placed on them by ANC political and military leadership to which MK was accountable

Mr Hadebe said MK was formed with the sole objective of liberating all oppressed people, including members of the IFP.

"So Buthelezi and the IFP have nothing to fear from MK, but they should instead give it the support it deserves."

Mr Hadebe charged that the IFP leader's call implied that MK was the creator and perpetrator of the violence in South Africa, whereas apartheid and its structures were in fact the source of violence in the country.

Mr Hadebe said the killing of IFP members could not be blamed on MK. Most IFP supporters were killed in self-defence by community members, he charged.

"Warlords" were often allowed to operate freely without fear of prosecution. The wrath of communities bearing the brunt of this violence sometimes led to retaliation and deaths, he alleged.

MK was also often unfairly blamed when the security forces were responsible for killing IFP supporters such as the Trustfeeds massacre, in which policemen were found guilty of murder, said Mr Hadebe. - Sapa.



#### THE CITIZEN, TUESDAY 6 OCTOBER 1992

#### Volksunie, govt agrees More talks

THE recently-formed Afrikaner Volksunie and the government/National Party agreed during talks yesterday they had identified enough common ground for continued discussion about the accommodation of the Afrikaner in a future political order.

In a joint statement, Constitutional Development Minister, Mr Roelf Meyer, and AVU leader, Dr Andries Beyers, labelled the talks constructive.

"The two delegations agreed that in spite of policy differences, enough common ground was identified for the continued discussions about the AVU's ideal of accommodating the Afrikaner in a future political order, and the government/NP's standpoint on regionalism."

The delegates also agreed that the ANC/Government Record of Understanding did not hamper further talks.—

#### THE CITIZEN, TUESDAY 6 OCTOBER 1992

#### ET offers Gqozo his support

By Vivian Warby

THE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, offered his full support to the Ciskei Government at a meeting between the two groups in Johannesburg last night.

Mr Terre Blanche was accompanied by his "generals" and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, the Ciskei's military leader, had several Ministers with him.

This was their fourth meeting.

In a joint statement they said they had agreed the African National Congress should immediately cease its violence,

TO PAGE 2

#### ET offers support

#### FROM PAGE 1

"cowardly behaviour" and intimidation.

"The AWB will support the Ciskei Government if the ANC threatens its authority with violence."

White the AWB would not attend the summit meeting called by the homeland troika of Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope, Brig Gqozo and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi today, Mr Terre'Blanche wished them well in their discussions.

The two groups also expressed their reservations about the fact that the SA Government had allowed the ANC/SACP alliance to use South African territory as a springboard for action against the Ciskei — "a friendly state".

"It was a blatant breach of the non-aggression pact between the two regions," their statement said.

Mr Terre'Blanche told The Citizen the meeting had gone very well. Ciskei Ministers described it as very productive.

A group of 40 AWB members stood outside the hotel while across the road a group of protesters carried banners, "The Butcher of Bisho," "Goozo you murderer" and "The murderer's back".

. See Page 4.

# But MK won't

THE possibility of a meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was raised yesterday by the ANC.

Chief Buthelezi's demand be disbanded before nesumed

meeting with the Inkatha Freedom Party at presidential level provided there were thorough preparations to make

It rejected, however, such a meeting a success.

"The policy of the that Umkhonto we Sizwe, ANC with regard to a nethe ANC's military wing, gotiated settlement is that it must be as inclusive as gotiations can be re- possible. There is, however, very good reasons why The ANC said it would | negotiations of a bilateral "favourably consider" a nature are necessary," the ANC said.

The Record of Under standing agreed to by the

#### ANC, IFP talks mooted

#### FROM PAGE 1

ANC and the government is one instance because it deals with implementation of agreements reached between the two parties in previous engagements."

Referring to Chief Buthelezi's call for the disbandment of Umkhonto

we Sizwe, the ANC said it bringing all armed forces was on record as rejecting the notion that the MK could be disbanded and weapons handed to the present government.

settlement in South Afri- A for a political settlement

in the country under multi-party control once an interim government of national unity is achieved.

"The call for the disbanding of MK as a pre-"The ANC firmly be- condition to negotiation lieves peace and the by Chief Buthelezi is inreaching of a political focusistent with the search ca will be better served by in South Africa." -- Sapa.



# THE STAR, TUESDAY 6 OCTOBER 1992

# Buthelezi told not to 'go it alone'

On the eve of Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Chief Buthelezi's alliancebuilding summit, the Government cautioned him last night against trying to go it alone in negotiations.

Opening the Cape National Party congress in East London, Cape NP leader and Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers warned against separatist tendencies.

Chief Buthelezi meets Bophuthatswana President Dr Lucas Mangope, Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaners Volksunie in Johannesburg today to discuss a negotiations alliance.

Dr de Villiers said no political dispensation aimed at restoring peace and stability would be viable unless it enjoyed the support of the majority.

"We must negotiate ourselves out of the morass in which we find ourselves. We need the IFP and Chief Buthelezi. Neither the ANC nor the government can go it alone," he said.

The Government was devoting attention to stumbling blocks preventing the IFP from taking part in negotiations.

The Minister of State Affairs, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, told the SA Institute of International Affairs in East London last night there had been no "capitulation" to the ANC in agreements reached in the "Record of Understanding" at the Government/ANC violence summit.

There had been no "ganging up or exclusivity" against other parties, he said.

#### Angered

Today's alliance-building meeting, which an IFP source said would be attended by political and business leaders, comes a week after Chief Buthelezi met Dr Mangope and Brigadier Gqozo in Mmabatho.

Chief Buthelezi, angered by the signing of the "Record of Understanding" by President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela on September 26, withdrew from all further contact with the Government and consulted his allies in an attempt to form an anti-ANC alliance.

They agreed to meet again today to discuss the way forward.

Yesterday, the IFP would not release a list of the organisations attending the summit or

its agenda

The CP's high-powered dele-gation, to be led by leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, will include deputy leader and Transvaal leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, foreign affairs spokesman and Soutpansberg MP Tom Langley, Natal leader Carl Werdt, Cape leader Jan Hoon and Free State leader Alex Danzfus.

In the Afrikaner Volksunie delegation will be Potchef-stroom MP Andries Beyers, Bethal MP Chris de Jager, Standerton MP Rosier de Ville and Ermelo MP Moolman Mentz, who recently broke away from the CP to form the new party.

AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche offered his full support to Brigadier Gqozo when the two leaders met in Johannesburg yesterday.

Brigadier Ggozo and Mr TerreBlanche said in a joint statement released after their meeting they had agreed the ANC "should immediately cease its violence, cowardly behavjour and intimidation"

"The AWB will support the Ciskei government if the ANC threatens its authority with violence," the statement said. Political Reporter and Sapa.

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#### THE STAR, TUESDAY 6 OCTOBER 1992

### The Star

Established 1887 -

South Africa's largest daily newspaper

# Buthelezi's best option

HIEF Buthelezi has set a condition for the IFP's return to negotiations: dissolution of the ANC's underground army. Umkhonto we Sizwe (or MK). His demand is undoubtedly a response to the imminent ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons in public places, including the shields spears, battleaxes and sticks "traditionally" carried by Zulus

The chief believes the ban is unfair to his followers. He foresees that they will be disarmed of "traditional weapons" but that the ANC will not be forced to disband MK or surrender arms caches.

His case is strengthened by suspicions that MK men may have been involved in a series of under-reported massacres of IFP members in Natal. The place names of these massacres — Kengeshe, Enlanzeni, Ensimbini, Nkobeni and Mpushini — are not as familiar as Boipatong or Bisho. But they are just as much part of South Africa's bloody chronology of violence.

The ANC denies that MK cadres are responsible for the killings. It says that it suspended armed struggle in August 1990 and asserts that MK has not been "operative" since then. The ANC offers another riposte: it will not dissolve its army until the IFP disbands its "private army", the Kwa-Zulu Police.

Assurances that the armed struggle has been suspended mean little amid the continuing slaughter of IFP members. The equation between MK and the KwaZulu Police is specious. MK is an anonymous guerilla army. The KwaZulu Police is an above-ground force. Legal redress cannot be sought against MK. It can — and is — sought against the KwaZulu Police.

But the realities of power are that the ANC is unlikely to dissolve MK or surrender its arms caches at Chief Buthelezi's behest. The IFP leader is in grave danger of painting himself into a corner. He should therefore rejoin the negotiating table and press his case there, in unison with President de Klerk.

#### BUSINESS DAY, TUESDAY 6 OCTOBER 1992

#### 'Power-sharing period likely'

CAPE TOWN - The average finding of more than 20 opinion surveys demonstrated that it was very unlikely the ANC would obtain an absolute majority in a future election, Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) GM Lawrence Schlemmer said at the Western Cape Growth Organisation annual meeting yesterday.

He said when taking all the findings together, the ANC would probably garner support of be-tween 45% to 50% of the electorate, the NP would get about 25% to 30% and Inkatha 10% to 12% with smaller parties taking up the rest.

Schlemmer said the findings took into account rural opinion polls which were normally ex-cluded from research surveys.

He added that such an election outcome could hold in store some surprises, and give relatively small parties such as the CP, the DP and the PAC a certain amount of leverage to form alliances.

In this context he thought it unavoidable that there would be a period of power sharing between the ANC and the NP.

Because they needed each other, they would have to govern together, but unhappily so. This would result in a lot of dualism, a continuation of mass action by the ANC and manipulative strategies by

UNDA ENSOR

state institutions.

Schlemmer believed there would be two dominating forces in policy making - a commitment to social welfare policies, high levels of state expenditure and state intervention in the economy, and on the other hand, constraints by minority-controlled state institutions to check such populist policies.

Power sharing would probably be tense, resulting in trade-offs and a fair amount of instability.

Regional powers would be fairly limited because of duress at the centre of the political system.

Schlemmer said such an outcome would mean moderate busifrom loans rather than invest-ment, an average GDP growth rate of about 2% to 3%, high levels of state spending, and an inflation rate of between 14% and 16%.

Trade unions would be agressive and wages would tend to rise about 2% above the inflation rate while unemployment would continue to rise. The division of society into First and Third World components would have to be accepted and development strategies devised for each sector, giving emphasis to productivity and self-sufficiency.

probably continue, with the addition of a capital gains tax.

A more optimistic scenario of the NP and ANC forming a centrist alliance was unlikely, Schlemmer said.

RAY HARTLEY reports the ANC has stepped up its preparations for a future election and advertised 23 posts on its elections commission.

The organisation has trained thousands of supporters in everything from how to cast a vote to campaign strategies and public speaking

One of the officials, a communication systems operator, would take responsibility for setting up and operating a computer network between the ANC's national office and its 14 regions, according to the advertisement

Fourteen regional and two national organiser posts have been advertised.

The organisers would "work with ANC regions in implementing the elections campaign, facilitating the setting up of structures, advising on organising methods, running workshops and promoting voter education", the advertisement said.

Other posts advertised included a receptionist, senior administra-The present tax regime would tor, accountant and fundraiser.

#### BUSINESS DAY, TUESDAY 6 OCTOBER 1992

# TPA explains hostel fences to KwaZulu

THE Transvaal Provincial Administration, in a bid to ease opposition to the fencing of hostels, yesterday sent an explanatory letter to the KwaZulu government.

A source said the TPA had said in the letter that the fencing was necessary to improve relationships between township residents and hostel dwellers.

The source said it was the TPA's view that barriers, which were "substantive enough but which are not unsightly or offensive", should be built between township residents and hostel dwellers until the relationship between the two improved.

At the recent summit on violence, President F W de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela agreed that 24 hostels in the Transvaal and four in Natal should be fenced off and subjected to increased policing.

According to reports, the ANC has identified two hostels in KwaZulu implicated in violence

News of the letter to the KwaZulu government came as the Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association was formulating protest action it would take against the fencing plan.

Association spokesman Leonard Mweli said yesterday consultations with the assoWILSON ZWANE

ciation's structures had taken place at the weekend and the association's executive would meet within two days to decide on a course of action.

He would not disclose the nature of the actions the association intended embarking on, saying the matter was too sensitive.

It is understood that the association is considering, among other things, the destruction of existing fences.

Mweli confirmed that hostel dwellers under the jurisdiction of his association were no longer paying rent.

TPA spokesman Piet Wilken said yesterday the TPA would seek a meeting with the hostel dwellers' representatives as the administration believed that any upgrading of hostels should be done in consultation with residents.

Wilken said it was a pity that the Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association had decided to boycott rent payments as such a move would exacerbate rather than resolve the problem.

Although no exact starting date was set for the fencing of hostels at the violence summit, reports indicate that the measures will be implemented within a few weeks, and the hostels should be fenced off by November 15.

#### BUSINESS DAY, TUESDAY 6 OCTOBER 1992

**IEWS** 

## Police arrest 25 after massacre in Richmond

POLICE have arrested 25 people in connection with the killing of 10 people in Gengeshe, near Richmond in the Natal midlands, last Saturday.

Nine of those killed were allegedly Inkatha supporters, and an attacker also died.

Meanwhile, nine people have been killed in unrest-related incidents since Friday.

# B/Day 5/10/92

#### New prisoner release plan

MORE prisoners, including former policemen and Inkatha members, were due to be released soon in terms of legislation to be published this month, a government source said yesterday.

The bureaucratic bungles encountered in the release programme so far would be investigated, but plans to expand the release programme in terms of the new criteria had not been shelved, the source commented

The joint ANC, Correctional Services and Justice Department committee, which approved the 150 prisoners released so far, would re-examine these releases.

But other tripartite committees — involving the Justice Department, the Correctional Services Department and specific political parties — would discuss more prisoner releases. These releases would be completed by November 15.

A meeting of such a committee involv-

TIM COHEN

ing Inkatha, for instance, could result in the release of Inkatha members who satisified the new, broader criteria for prisoner ireleases.

These releases would take place in terms of legislation due to be published in the short session of Parliament this month, rather than in terms of the President's prerogative powers

prerogative powers.

President F W de Klerk is understood to be reluctant to involve his constitutional powers in the prisoner release programme, and would prefer to permit the releases under specific legislation.

The ANC, suspicious that the legislation would be an attempt to introduce unilaterally an amnesty law which would indemnify state officials, slated the proposed legislation at a media briefing on Friday.

☐ To Page 2

#### Prisoners

However, it is not yet clear what the nature of the legislation will be.

About 350 prisoners listed by the ANC have still to be considered by the ANC/government committee, which would also investigate how gangster Lucky Malaza was included on the release list, a Correctional Services spokesman said.

A joint government/ANC committee was to investigate reports that at least 12 of the 150 recently released prisoners were guilty of ordinary and not political crimes.

guilty of ordinary and not political crimes.

RAY HARTLEY reports that ANC legal official Matthew Phosa phoned Vlok's office to tell him the ANC would not object to the rearrest of Lucky Malaza, just minutes after Phosa met the convicted robber and murderer at the weekend.

Phosa said his meeting with Malaza had been brief and to the point.

"We met for about five minutes. I asked him if any of his crimes had been politically motivated. He said no," he said.

Malaza surprised journalists by issuing a signed media statement after his meeting with Phosa. "1 ... acknowledge that all the activities that I have been sentenced for were criminal and not politically moti-

From Page 1

vated. I fully regret what I have done and undertake not to commit such crimes in the future," he said.

Malaza claimed he was representative of many South Africans who were forced

into crime by apartheid.

Meanwhile, IAN HOBBS reports from London that Conservative MPs are asking their government to ban ANC bomber Robert McBride from settling in Britain.

Senior MPs are so concerned that they are calling for a meeting with Home Secretary Kenneth Clarke.

Conservative home affairs committee chairman Sir Ivan Lawrence said he was appalled to learn that McBride and his wife Paula, who has a British passport, planned to settle in Britain.

"I don't think the British public will want a convicted terrorist walking the streets. He should not be allowed into Britain at all," said Lawrence.

The Sunday Express of London said the "usefulness of Paula's British passport" had been discussed at McBride's release-party. British immigration officials said that if McBride sought asylum in Britain there would be no obligation to admit him.

days October 6, 1993 Page 5

WITNESS R5 contribution is a.

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THE ANC, NP and IFP are new converts to democracy, and hence use fall forms of intimidation to frighten blacks and whites from becoming part or the "Democratic

Family mither P. William Minister the DP made this statement in an address of a Hillion public meeting last night.

4.10 -Witness Reporter.

ALLAN GOODERSON on tourism

# Natal is not getting its fair share

June this year, Natal's incoming tourists dropped slightly in comparison with last year. The incomes gener ated have not kept pace with inflation so, in real terms, there has been a reduction of about 6% in raid value.

Hotel occupancies for the current year to date are Durban 57%, south coast 35% Pietermaritzburg 55%, Drakensberg 44% and the rest of Natal 39%. When one compares this to our main opposi-tion of Cape Town, we are simply not getting our fair share. Occupancies there are 59% and this shows they are probably getting more international visitors at our

Cape Town's hotel room income is approximately 40% higher than Durban's. This reflects the continuing domestic tourism discounting that is taking place in Durban dur-ing this long recession, and that the overcrowding percep-tion by our Tollannesburg clients has taken its toll on the number of visitors to our city

It is pleasing to note, however, that despite the continued negative publicity overseas, caused by the extreme violence in our country, the number of overseas tour. ists passing through South Africa's three main airports has increased by 12,5%.

Unfortunately for the Industry, it would appear that the majority of these visitors are staying with relatives and friends, as national hotel oc-cupancies indicate a decline

Further statistics show that of the total number of overseas tourists to South Africa only 6%, stay in Durban hortels, which is disastrous when one compares this to 18% in Cape Town and 21% in Johannesburg.

Therefore we need Satour to spend more money on pro-moting Natal to overseas min-kets and to give Natal Kwa-Zulu much more prominence in their advertising strategy.

Our marketing organisa:

TO the end of conference market whose delegates book mostly out of season

Our convention centre should also be added to our tourism plan as, upon completion, it will generate tremen-dous business for Durban Traditionally these visitors travel on pre- and post-tours so, if we sell Natal correctly, the entire province will

The drastic decline in the number of people visiting the beachfront after 8pm can be directly attributed to the marked increase in the number of vagrants, beggars and the criminal element that prevails in the area. I appeal to the city council to reco a committee to this serious problem before Durban loses one of its me assets.

Should the political situa-tion in South Africa be re-solved, by 1997 Natal will need a new gateway as Louis Botha airport will not be able to handle the vast amount of new visitors that will be arriving. The La Mercy airport projectimust now become a reality and every effort should be made in readiness for the boom that is sure to come

The tourism industry will need imancial assistance for need imancial assistance for at least five years in the way of soft loans and we believe the government should greate a tourism bank for this pur-pose. Then let's give Satour a substantial marketing budget of R150 million plus to sell South Africa to our overseas South Africa to our overseas markets.

I am confident for the future. Natal/KwaZulu has,mas-sive potential but I believe 1994 will be another tough tradinglyear for South Africa. However, 1995, provided we are at peace, should show a substantial increase in the number of overseas visitors to South Africa and a resurgence of local tourism, particifiarly with the world rugby cham-pionships taking place in our

with the convention comes and Point waterfront schemes on sitem by 1997, we should be well set to boom for several years. There will be amajor