

Codesa will be restructured

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — The government and the ANC have agreed in principle that Codesa should be restructured for next year's multi-party negotiations, rather than create a new forum.

Significantly, the parties said they were committed to the agreements already reached at Codesa. This means the renewed negotiations will not have to cover the same ground.

Both parties yesterday expressed confidence that progress had been made at this week's three-day

bilateral meeting, and that their differences could be overcome, to place the country back on the road to political and economic stability.

There was also agreement on moving as rapidly as possible from the present situation to a rep-

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representative democracy.

However, the bosberaad revealed strong differences about the current violence. This issue will be discussed in greater detail when the bilateral meeting is resumed in late January.

There were also differences of approach to APLA's claimed involvement in anti-White terror attacks, on which the government and the ANC issued separate statements during the week.

While there was no in-depth discussion of APLA's involvement in violence, both sides indicated concern that the

Codesa to be restructured

terrorist attacks could lead to increased tension and further violence.

"It is clearly aimed by people, whoever they are, who would like to disrupt the process of negotiation. The fact that it is taking place on a racial basis indicated that it has that intention," a government source said after the bosberaad.

Mr Roelf Meyer, Minister of Constitutional Development, has fully endorsed the statement issued by Mr Hernus Kriel, Minister of Law

and Order, cancelling the planned bilateral meeting with the PAC next Wednesday unless the PAC commits itself to peaceful negotiation.

"There is no way we can continue with the proposed meeting unless we have a clear statement from the PAC in regard to violence, and especially to these incidents for which APLA claims responsibility.

"We are waiting for that reaction," Mr Meyer said.

Swapo increases ballot support nation-wide

WINDHOEK. —With final ballots in Namibia's first local and regional elections still being counted, the ruling Swapo party has increased its support around the country.

Provisional results give Swapo clear majorities in seven of Namibia's 13 regions.

The opposition DTA has majorities in two regions.

Of the 79 regional constituencies being contested, Swapo has so far

won 44 seats, plus 14 uncontested, the DTA 14 and the United Democratic Front two.

Swapo has also made inroads in areas traditionally held by the DTA taking the Karas region bordering South Africa, and winning local election majorities in farming towns in central Namibia.

Full results are expected later and must be verified during the week-end to appear in the Gov-

ernment Gazette early next week.

This is the first time Namibians have voted since pre-independence elections, organised by the United Nations, in November 1989.

Election Director Prof Gerhard Totemeyer yesterday again expressed his delight at the way the process had run and the high voter turnout of over 80 percent.

"It has really gone well,

with no problems," a weary Prof Totemeyer said.

Over 530 000 of Namibia's 1,4 million citizens registered to elect their first local authorities and regional councils.

Two councillors from each region will be elected to the National Council, a second chamber of Parliament, tasked with reviewing legislation by the National Assembly. — Sapa.

Boshoff calls for federal SA system

Citizen Reporter

THE CITIZEN 05 Saturday

A FEDERAL or a confederal system should be instituted in South Africa, Professor Carel Boshoff, chairman of the Afrikaaner Vryheidstiging (Freedom Foundation) told Dr Tom Vraalsen, a special representative of the secretary-general of the United Nations, at a meeting in Pretoria yesterday.

Prof Boshoff said it was preferable that either of these systems be instituted from "ground level up rather than instituting a central government which delegates power

down."

"No force can succeed in keeping irreconcilable groups together in one state with one central government. This will lead to further violence and disruption in the community," he said.

He believed that the forces demanding a number of states in the country had surpassed the forces that kept South Africa as a unitary state.

This was the inevitable and unavoidable result of a great number of people and groups of nations who, until now, had been

held together by a minority White government.

This government had become untenable and a new constitutional dispensation, which could only be peacefully realised through negotiations, was now a necessity, he said.

Prof Boshoff expressed himself strongly against Afrikaners who held out unrealistic expectations, seeing no future for themselves and who then decide to leave the country.

He believed there would be a place for the creation of a Afrikaner volkstaat within the rationale he had spoken of.

The Afrikaner people must, like all other peoples, remain a group in future as well. In this way they could also fulfil their destiny in the country as a Christian nation.

Dr Vraalsen said the UN believed that the people of South Africa had to, on their own, find solutions to the country's problems.

He warned that violence and the absence of a political solution would lead to massive economic damage.

Miss Black SA march for peace

UNDER scorching sun and streets and malls thick with bustling shoppers, contestants for the Miss Black South Africa beauty pageant marched in central Johannesburg yesterday afternoon.

They took to the streets to spread a message of peace and to call for an end to the violence that has killed 3 000 people this year.

"Peace in our land" cried a banner held aloft

as the 26 contestants meandered through streets, halting traffic. A spokesman for the promoters expressed alarm, saying it had been agreed they should walk on the pavements.

"We are marching to emphasise the need and the necessity and the urgency of the situation. There is so much violence," Miss Soweto Thembi Mhlavivana said. — Sapa.

Disband the KwaZulu Police Force: ANC

DURBAN/ — A senior Natal ANC leader yesterday urged the Goldstone Commission to recommend the disbandment of the KwaZulu Police and that its members should be integrated into the South African Police.

"We cannot emphasise too strongly our view that the continued existence of the KwaZulu Police Force is a major stumbling block to peace in the region," ANC Northern Natal regional chairman Dr Aaron Ndlovu told the commission in Durban.

"If the feeling of the people is so strong against the KwaZulu Police, it is our view that the commission has no option but to make this recommendation," Dr Ndlovu added.

The ANC Northern Natal region also reiterated a call for the deployment of an international peace-keeping force charged with the specific task of stamping out the violence in the province.

Such a force should be deployed for a specific period with a specific mandate, the commission was told.

An international peace-keeping force was needed because none of the political parties in the country, including the government, seemed to be able to stop the violence.

Another recommendation by the ANC was that the SAP and Defence Force should be brought under the control of a group of international police experts.

"Only in this way will the government be able to restore credibility to the disgraced South African security forces. Only then will our people have confidence in the security forces."

Unless security forces were seen to be neutral, or were controlled by neutral people, the ANC said antagonism between itself and the security forces would continue, as would political violence.

Also yesterday an ANC Lower South Coast organiser told the commission that residents of the area who did not support the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) or tribal author-

ities were hounded out of their homes and killed.

Mr Cyril Shezi said not only ANC members were singled out for attack, but anyone opposed to the authority of the chiefs, indunas or IFP were targeted.

• The commission will resume for one day, December 14, to hear further evidence, its chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said. — Sapa.

Non-supporters of IFP 'hounded and killed'

DURBAN. — Residents of the Lower South Coast in Natal who did not support tribal authorities or the Inkatha Freedom Party were hounded out of their homes and killed, the Goldstone Commission heard yesterday.

African National Congress Lower South Coast organiser Cyril Shezi said not only ANC members were singled for attack. This had happened to anyone opposed to the authority of the chiefs, indunas or the IFP.

"Armed with G3s (rifles) and traditional weapons and IFP flags, a systematic campaign of terror was launched."

He claimed that at one

stage of the campaign it was decided that children should be killed. There were incidents where children "had their brains bashed out against rocks".

The inability of the ANC to defend its supporters against such attacks resulted in thousands of ANC members becoming refugees. However, Mr Shezi added, the refugees were still harassed.

"The police, rather than give assistance and facilitate their return, were party to the aggression against refugees," Mr Shezi claimed.

He also called for the resignation of the head of

the Internal Stability Unit in the Port Shepstone area, saying no meaningful start to improving police/community relations could be made until this was done.

Mr Shezi said the ANC's Lower South Coast branch supported the call by the Local Dispute Resolution Committee and other local bodies for a full inquiry into the violence in the Port Shepstone area.

He said the inquiry should place special emphasis on: The role of the police; the conduct of warlords; and the reasons for the failure of the LDRC to function properly. — Sapa.

Govt 'aware' 4 600 ANC abroad for training

Citizen Reporter

THE government is aware of the departure of more than 4 600 members of the ANC for military training abroad since the unbanning of the organisation in February 1990.

According to the information of the South African Police, about 3 300 members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) left South Africa illegally in 1990 and 1991 for military training abroad.

However, the modus

operandi changed this year and recruits were sent out of the country with legal passports on the basis that they were to receive "education" abroad.

Only a small number of about 30 left illegally as opposed to about 1 300 who have left legally.

The most recent batch of about 850 left Jan Smuts Airport on several Safair charter flights at the end of October and

early in November.

Brought in from all over the country, the recruits were assembled at a holiday resort in Kwa-Ndebele from where they were taken to the airport as flights became available.

A number of children of school-going age are among those who were taken out, but according to police information there have also been a number of MK members

who had previously received military training in Angola and elsewhere.

These were people who returned to South Africa under the auspices of the United Nations repatriation programme, and who again left South Africa for further training.

So far this year, about 5 300 MK members have been repatriated through regular flights to Jan Smuts Airport.

The police have no detailed information on the type of training the recruits are receiving, but because of the fact that MK members who had already undergone extensive military training previously are among those who have left, it is be-

lieved that the training is specialised.

Apart from Uganda, others are being trained in other countries, including Tanzania, Egypt and India.

According to the police, those going to India are receiving training for an officers corps.

Apart from those being trained in these countries, it was also known that short training courses for members of the ANC's self-defence units — which last a bout three weeks — are being undertaken in the Transkei.

These courses are not sophisticated, and involve basic training in the handling of weapons, according to the police.

16/1/11

TERROR ATTACKS: R100 000 REWARD

De Klerk shocked

By Sapa and Brian Stuart

STATE PRESIDENT De Klerk yesterday expressed the government's tremendous shock at two attacks by the PAC's Azanian People's Liberation Army.

After talks in Pretoria with former French Finance Minister Edouard Balladur, he said, "We will not stand terrorism".

The attacks by the APLA would have a profound effect on discussions with the PAC.

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Terrorist attacks shock FW

FROM PAGE 1

Mr De Klerk said the government would leave no stone unturned to find the perpetrators.

In the King William's Town/Queenstown region extensive action had been taken and the government would act strongly and would not hesitate to take steps to curb violence in the area.

The National Party yesterday called for "drastic" action from the government to stamp out acts of terrorism, such as those committed in King William's Town and Queenstown.

Mr Piet Coetzer, NP chief director of information, said in a statement the NP condemned the abhorrent act of terrorism in Queenstown, and ex-

tended sympathies and hopes for full recovery to the victims.

"That people were not killed can only be described as a miracle," said Mr Coetzer.

"It is simply not acceptable that groups of trouble-makers are able to pursue these terror tactics.

"The NP appeals to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, to take urgent and drastic steps to pursue and apprehend the terrorists, and to clamp down on the perpetrators of these acts.

"These shocking deeds, and the understandable publicity which accompanies them, do untold harm to community relations in South Africa, as they are aimed at whipping

up racial hatred.

"They are also doing incalculable damage to South Africa's image abroad."

The level and type of violence made it urgent that there be joint responsibility among the various negotiation parties for restoring law and order, Mr Peter Gastrow, Democratic spokesman on law and order, said yesterday.

It had become urgently necessary for a Cabinet sub-council on security as proposed in Codesa, to be established.

"We need the national Party, ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party and others to take joint responsibility and to become jointly accountable for law and order, and for dealing with this type of violence."

The current violence not only generated instability but was harmful to the whole negotiation process.

Mr Willem Botha, MP for Uitenhage, said the CP in the Eastern Cape expressed its sympathies to the victims and their families. These were cowardly attacks on innocent people.

"The CP holds the government, and specifically the State President, responsible for these acts of terrorism in the Eastern Cape, because effective action had not been taken against organisations such as the PAC and ANC, which have repeatedly made threats of terror.

"It has not only permitted these organisations to maintain their

military wings, but even allowed further training to take place in neighbouring states and, according to some reports, within South Africa.

"The State President was personally responsible for the unbanning of the SA Communist Party, ANC and PAC in 1990, against the warnings of the CP, and has elevated the ANC to its principal negotiation partner."

The CP demanded the banning of organisations responsible for acts of terror, steps to protect the public of the Eastern Cape against terrorism, especially during the holiday period, and financial support for farmers to make their farms secure.

AK-47 is revealed as SA's number one killer weapon

Citizen Reporter

THE AK-47 rifle — which has this year alone caused 373 deaths in South Africa — is the country's number one killer weapon.

Police crime statistics show that the AK-47 also caused injuries to 405 people during the year.

These were the figures as at the end of September and compare to the 318 killed by AK-47's last year and 334 injured.

The limpet mine, used in yesterday's attack in Queenstown, and which was the principal terrorist weapon used by the ANC during its years of exile, has been responsible for 19 deaths since 1988 and 257 injuries to people.

This compares to the 777 deaths and the 932 injured by the AK-47 over the same period.

A third weapon, the hand-grenade, has also taken a high toll in unrest and terror incidents.

This year, hand-grenades have claimed 52 lives and injured 215 people, against the 38 killed and 222 injured last year.

In the case of both the AK-47 and the hand-grenade, the number of deaths caused by their use has risen sharply over the past two years.

The total number of deaths caused by AK-47's

in the preceeding three years was 86 and by hand-grenades 18, while 153 were injured during the period by AK-47's and 274 were injured by hand-grenades.

Yesterday's attack apart, the number of people killed by limpet mines dropped to one killed so far this year, while nine were injured.

Since 1988 limpet mines have killed 19 people in South Africa, while 257 have been injured.

Of the 210 policemen killed this year, 41 were gunned down with AK-47's and 38 were injured.

Hand-grenades have caused one of the police deaths and 44 injuries to policemen.

AK-47's have been used in the killings of 327 civilians this year and 301 last year, while they have caused injuries to 405 civilians this year and 284 last year.

Hand-grenades this year were responsible for 50 civilian deaths and last year 37, while they caused injuries to 168 civilians this year and 212 last year.

A police estimate of the amount of visible physical damage caused by the use of limpet mines puts the total figure at R8,1 million since 1988, with the figures for both 1988 and 1989 topping R3 million.

Similar estimates on the amount of damage caused by AK-47 rifles over the same time period are R13,3 million, with damage in 1991 of R5,5 million and this year's figure estimated to date at R6,7 million.

The amount of damage caused by hand-grenades was estimated at R1,7 million for the same period, with the highest figures again occurring in the past two years.

3 ANC men held for attack on colleague

A FORMER African National Congress (ANC) regional secretary in the Eastern Transvaal and two trained Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) members have been arrested in connection with a hand-grenade attack on the home of an ANC member, police said yesterday.

The treasurer of the ANC Eastern Transvaal regional office, Mr Johannes Shabangu, and his fiancée were injured when two handgrenades were hurled into a house in KaNyamazane, KaNgwane, on November 11, Middelburg police said.

Investigating policemen arrested MK member Mr Derrick Mpupheku Skosana (23). Before

the arrest, another man was shot dead when he attempted to throw a hand-grenade at policemen.

On Wednesday, another MK member, Mr Nelson Mnisi, gave himself up to police in Nelspruit, and a day later ex-ANC Eastern Transvaal regional secretary Mr Joseph Harold Nkuna also

gave himself up.

A 17-year-old youth was also arrested after police searched Mr Nkuna's house and found a hand-grenade and ammunition.

All four men appeared in the Nelspruit Magistrate's Court yesterday on attempted murder charges. — Sapa.

Gqozo is 'disillusioned' with peace process

THE CITIZEN
BISHO. — Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, who has proposed a "Kei Republic", said yesterday he was disillusioned with the peace process in South Africa.

He told a regular meeting of chiefs and headmen his government still played its part and adhered to the terms of the Peace Accord.

"Although I have been very disillusioned with the whole peace process in South Africa, Ciskei has kept on playing its part and we adhered to the terms of the Peace Accord," he said in his speech.

He said six headmen

had died, 39 had resigned and 36 had lost their properties in unrest touched off by a campaign to oust him.

"The year 1992 has been endowed with a number of unhappy events which occurred as a result of a wave of political violence perpetrated by the enemies of my gov-

ernment," he said.

The government had hired a private security company to protect the traditional leaders, he said.

Brig Gqozo has proposed a Kei Republic embracing Ciskei, the Eastern Cape and Border. He excluded Transkei. — Sapa.

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THE CITIZEN COMMENT

New terror

IT didn't take long for the Azanian People's Liberation Army to launch its second terrorist attack on Whites.

This time it blasted a Queenstown restaurant, injuring 19 people and causing R500 000 damage.

The sheer ghastliness of the attack is illustrated by the fact that a Russian limpet mine in a satchel was placed under a table by two Black men and a woman, who left shortly before the blast.

Can you imagine that? They planted the bomb without caring whether anybody would be killed or seriously injured.

It is lucky that nobody was killed; unfortunately eight people were seriously hurt.

The attack follows the one at the King William's Town Golf Club in which four Whites were killed and 17 people were injured.

Everyone, of course, is horrified by this outbreak of terrorism.

They know that its aim is to cause fear and panic, though past experience has shown that terrorism does not achieve its objective.

People learn to live with it, to take precautions at shops, cinemas and restaurants, and to be on the alert for parcels or packages that might contain bombs.

However, people do get injured, people do die, and that is the most ghastly part of it all — the callous disregard for life and limb, the indiscriminate nature of the bombings.

Well, APLA should know that its two senseless attacks have roused public opinion against it.

It has also offended the international community, which is on the side of peaceful negotiation.

The security forces will hunt down the killers. Of that we can be sure.

There will be a rejection of terrorism not just by Whites, but by Blacks as well.

The ANC, which has already condemned the two terrorist attacks, does not want terrorism by APLA to bedevil negotiations and to harden White attitudes.

But in the end, it is the government that must put a stop to these attacks — not just pursue the terrorists responsible.

For if there are more attacks — and it seems there will be — and if people are killed in them, the government will find itself under increasing attack.

The Conservative Party is already blaming it for the two attacks because the ANC and PAC have been allowed to operate and train combatants inside and outside South Africa. Since there is already a swing against the government in the White electorate because of the endemic violence, both political and criminal, terrorism will exacerbate matters and increase the bitterness of Whites who have seen their hopes of a peaceful settlement dashed.

They will expect the government not just to track down the terrorists responsible for individual attacks, but to take action against APLA itself.

Thus, when the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, says the government is well aware of the statements of violence by some members of the Pan Africanist Congress and APLA, which is the PAC's military wing, concerning intensified terrorism in White areas, it is not sufficient to say such utterances will not be tolerated.

When he says the government calls on the PAC to keep its members under control, otherwise the PAC will have to contend with the might of the police, it is not enough.

When State President De Klerk, expressing the government's tremendous shock at the two attacks, says, "We will not stand terrorism," it is not enough.

The government will have to ban APLA or take emergency powers to deal with it in other ways.

For if the attacks go on, with loss of life and limb, there is going to be tremendous reaction not only against the government, but the whole process of negotiation.

Our advice:

Act tough. Act now. Stop this terrorism before it escalates. Halt APLA in its tracks even if you have to use powers that you have shelved or abandoned.

Fiery Sotsu has become the Vaal comrades' hero

S. Star 5/12/92

ERNEST Sotsu, once described as the most dangerous man in the Vaal Triangle, considers himself a man of peace.

The fiery Boipatong activist, who has been in the eye of violent political storms that have recently rocked the Vaal, is admired by Vaal youth as a true grassroots leader. Yet, at heart he is a lonely man.

Now 65 years old and almost destitute, Sotsu is proud of the fact that he has spent most of his adult life as an activist.

When violence engulfed the Vaal two years ago, Sotsu spearheaded calls for the formation of community self-defence units (SDUs).

Last week, a major peace initiative attended by most of the civic and political organisations in the Vaal examined and demanded the restructuring of the SDUs, which have become, in

Fire-eating ANC Vaal leader Ernest Sotsu has been portrayed as one of the most dangerous activists in the violence-racked Vaal Triangle. JOE LOUW interviewed him, and found him to be lonely and near-destitute.

many areas, the scourge of the communities they are supposed to protect.

He speaks without bitterness of the traumatic events that have punctuated his life. On July 3 last year, he hurriedly returned from an African National Congress conference in Durban to his home in Boipatong to find his house burnt down and his wife and children murdered.

"At first I was consumed with rage," he said. "But I consider myself a true Christian and most of my anger has subsided now. I rejoice in my grandchildren, Sandile and Khaya, born since the massacre."

Sotsu believes his

family fell victim to a hit squad which had targeted him because he was chief organiser for the ANC in the area.

Born in a small village of Qumbu near Um-tata in Transkei, he was deeply influenced by the political activity stirred up by the ANC in the 1950s. He was soon involved in the Defiance Campaign and, by the time the Freedom Charter was launched in Kliptown in 1955, he was a full-time activist in the Vaal area.

By the 1980s, with the ANC banned, he was "knee-deep in the underground movement" recruiting youths and helping to build up Umkhon-

to we Sizwe. "I went on many very dangerous missions in and out of Transkei and Lesotho," he says. "I had to be very wily and pose as many different kinds of people."

He was finally captured at the Transkei border, charged with murder and terrorism and jailed for five years by the Matanzima government. In jail he met and "rubbed shoulders with" the young Brigadier Bantu Holomisa, who eventually set him free in 1984.

Sotsu plunged back into Vaal politics on his return to his home in Boipatong. He was a key leader in the campaigns against black city councils and the ensuing rent boycotts. But he felt a deep need to work with the thousands of workers in the various hostels, especially those at Sebokeng and KwaMasiza.

His clarity of thought and talent as an orator soon gained him many converts among the hostel dwellers.

But, while he was gaining allies, he was also attracting enemies. He became caught up in the internal squabbles of the National Union of Metalworkers, which eventually exploded to make the Sebokeng Hostel one of the Vaal's key flashpoints.

Sotsu was accused of being power-mad and embittered because of being sidelined by the

ANC. He denies this.

Serious violence broke out in the Vaal just after the unbanning of the ANC in 1990.

"The need for communities to defend themselves became obvious. Inkatha impis were running rampant and to me it was very clear that the regime had a hand in destabilising our communities," he says.

"The ANC and Communist Party did not do much in the structuring of these units. This turned out to be a major mistake, for it left the door open for these units to be exploited by the regime. They were quickly infiltrated, not only by agents provocateurs, but also by the tsotsi and thug element.

"Soon we had a situation where the units were getting totally out of control."

Sotsu says he supports the initiatives of the Vaal community organisations for peace but does not see much hope unless positive steps are taken to reorganise the SDUs.

"We are all hopeful for peace," he says, "but we will have to work hard. We will have to implement the resolutions that want the SDUs put under strict community control and re-vamped with a new set of operating rules holding them accountable not only to the communities but to a regional structure."

16/1/11

Government and ANC optimistic after meeting

3/11/92 5/12/92

Eyes now on multi-party talks in February

NEGOTIATORS from the African National Congress and the Government have come back from their three-day retreat cautiously optimistic that they will be able to present a common position to multi-party talks scheduled for February.

Each side had about 20 delegates at the talks, which got down to the nuts and bolts of negotiations.

The bilateral meeting was held at an undisclosed venue in the Northern Transvaal. A South African Air Force plane ferried the negotiators there and back.

The two sides will meet again in January, and have their eyes set on multi-party talks in February. The Government and the ANC do not want to give the appearance that they have struck a deal in secret, with the multi-party talks merely serving as a rubber stamp. Both sides have stressed the need for all major political parties to take decisions on South Africa's political future, and then be bound by the decisions.

Mr Roelf Meyer, Minister of Constitutional Development, and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary general of the ANC, issued a joint statement last night, saying delegates worked through a substantial number of items on the agenda.

"Where agreement was found, formulations were prepared for

MARTIN CHALLENGOR
Political Correspondent

submission to their principals for finalisation. Between now and the continued bilateral in January, discussions will proceed on an ongoing basis with a view to ensuring effective conclusion of understandings in order to facilitate the negotiating process.

"Both parties recognised the importance of bilateral meetings aimed at bringing about the resumption of multilateral negotiations and will proceed in meetings with other parties.

"More specifically, the need for a speedy movement from the current situation to a democratic dispensation was recognised. To this end every effort should be made to ensure the resumption of Codesa in a restructured and more representative form. The two parties reaffirmed their commitment to the agreements already arrived at in Codesa.

"The meeting was approached in the context of the recognition that although they have different and often contradictory policies, there is a shared responsibility to ensure that a multi-party negotiated transformation from the present situation to a democracy must take place rapidly.

"Agreements that have been

reached in the past, and may be reached in the future, do not bind other parties, but represent joint efforts at facilitating the peaceful negotiating process.

"The problem of political violence also received attention and will again be intensively addressed at the meeting in January. Joint preparations will continue in the meantime."

Political sources said the two sides were determined not to let themselves be sidetracked by the Inkatha Freedom Party's release of a draft constitution for Kwa-Zulu/Natal, nor the attack in Queenstown. These were interpreted as attempts by the IFP and PAC to try attract attention to themselves and show their muscle.

"The response of the Government and ANC should be interpreted by the IFP and PAC as the Government and ANC being determined to push ahead to reach a negotiated settlement."

Political sources said the talks were open-hearted, and held in a positive, future-orientated spirit, with delegates mindful of the economic and violence problems facing the country. Part of the discussions focused on a government of national unity.

Now, the Cabinet is to have its own retreat on Monday and Tuesday to prepare for next year.

16/1/92

Mandela
Saturday News
unveils
5/12/92
new bid
to boost
economy

SVEN LUNSCHÉ

ANC president Nelson Mandela has committed himself to a vigorous anti-trust policy "to inject competition into the economy and create new ownership structures".

Anti-trust policies are set to replace large-scale nationalisation as the ANC's major tool in breaking down the concentration of economic resources.

Mandela, opening an ANC workshop on anti-trust, monopolies and merger policies yesterday, also expressed deep concern about the state of the SA economy.

"We need to address the feeling of exclusion of the majority from the economic mainstream. We remain of the view that the economy is owned and controlled by a little white enclave and that this is entirely unsustainable given the socio-political landscape," Mandela said.

16/1/11

Wanted: The Collective wisdom of all leaders

S. S. L. a r
5/12/92

ANC president Nelson Mandela is a troubled man. Last week, after reading *Perspective*, he invited me to lunch to talk about the violence in the land and about a meeting between himself and IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He argues that they have been over this ground before and that is why he prefers a meeting of "the collective wisdom" of all political leaders in this country to tackle the issue of violence.

He draws my attention to an agreement, which I publish in full below, between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party in January 1991.

That agreement, according to Mandela, should have gone a long way to stopping the violence. Truth is that innocent men, women and children are dying out there. On Wednesday it was in Empangeni.

The agreement should have helped stop the carnage. It was an excellent document that should have laid the foundations for the peace we need desperately.

That it failed was not a failure of ideas or of vision. It was rather a failure of will, a failure to implement.

This is not the time to point accusatory fingers at the ANC or the IFP and blame the one or the other or both for the failure.

It is time to ensure that whatever emerges from the meeting - a preparatory one is on December 9 - is turned into visible action.

That is the challenge facing the two organisation. We all know the constraints that limit the range of solutions but we expect them to be creative within those limitations.

Agreement between the ANC and Inkatha, January 29 1991.

1. Both parties call for an end to the present violence in Natal and the Transvaal. They will take steps to prevent acts of violence and destruction among their members or carried out by their members and they will act to deter other parties from instigating and carrying out acts of violence and destruction.

2. Both parties are committed to political tolerance and freedom of political activity. The ANC and IFP have the right to exist as political organisations with their policies and programmes. The parties will act to create a climate between them free of forced recruitment

and vilification.

3. Both parties will act to ensure that all persons with authority over public facilities will allow their use by all people irrespective of their political affiliation. This applies to facilities such as venues and facilities specifically established for recreational and a variety of community activities.

In particular, both parties urge a return to school and normal learning and teaching and will take steps to ensure no pupil is excluded from a school by virtue of political affiliation.

4. Both parties wish to state their firm belief that no matter what agreements may be reached between them, the attainment of peace also requires the existence of an effective peace-keeping role by the security forces and that the South African Government must accept its responsibilities in this regard.

Both parties agree to take steps to ensure that all security force members would:

Act without political bias;

Receive professional and appropriate training as a peace-keeping force;

Act and function with due respect for the sensitive community situation that exists.

Both parties believe that it is essential that a reconstruction and development programme is expedited to reduce the potential for violence. This is particularly the case in Natal and in the Transvaal hostels. This programme must be above partisan considerations and be designed to meet the needs of all people irrespective of any affiliation they may hold.

The programme must give priority to refugees and displaced persons arising from the violence and take all steps to peacefully and effectively reintegrate divided communities.

Implementation:



Joe Thloloe's

Perspective

In order to implement the principles agreed upon today the high level contact between the IFP and the ANC will continue through existing joint mechanisms. The committees charged with this task will, after due and proper involvement of local leadership and the grassroots structures, report to the ANC national executive and the IFP central committee on obstacles encountered and progress made in terms of the following brief:

Principle 1:

To develop practical steps to bring about an end to violence between the organisations in these regions, to facilitate local level peace initiatives and to act as crisis contact points. The committees must consolidate and implement existing local agreements such as the Lower Umfolozi Peace Accord.

Principle 2:

To ensure that all persons affected by Principle 1 are aware of this agreement and that they take active steps to implement it.

Principle 3:

The ANC and the IFP will cooperate in initiating and implementing non-partisan reconstruction programmes in areas devastated by violence.

All resources available to any one organisation for reconstruction work should, wherever feasible and desirable, be made available to a trust fund to be jointly administered.

Principle 4:

To develop a code or codes of conduct based on accepted principles and practices which do not impinge negatively on the rights of individuals and political groups and which are equally applicable to both organisations and all security forces.

The two organisations also resolved to organise a joint tour by Mandela and Buthelezi of all affected areas.

16/1/11

Goldstone to *The Saturday News* extend sitting *5/12/92* in Durban

SAP slammed by ANC and Inkatha

MR JUSTICE Richard Goldstone has extended his commission's sitting in Durban to hear more evidence on political violence in Natal and KwaZulu.

The hearing was to have finished yesterday, but the five members of the commission will be in Durban again on December 14 to hear more evidence.

By coincidence yesterday, the session finished in time for legal representatives and members of political parties to see the start of the "Switch on for Peace" project, including the release of dozens of white balloons, outside the city hall.

Yesterday's hearing was taken up with witnesses from the African National Congress, Congress of South African Trade Unions, and the Inkatha Freedom Party. IFP and ANC/Cosatu witnesses repeated allegations about each other's political philosophy that they claimed perpetuated political violence, and about each other's role in individual attacks.

MARTIN CHALLENGOR
Political Correspondent

The only point the ANC and IFP witnesses agreed upon was criticism of the South African Police. Both sides accused the SAP of not carrying out their duties diligently enough, thoroughly enough or quickly enough.

IFP member Mr Walter Ntseli told Mr Justice Goldstone that in 1989 there were 32 IFP branches operating in Inanda. Today there were just four operating normally as the IFP leadership had been targeted for assassination. There were about 50 places in Natal and KwaZulu that were now no-go areas for the IFP, Mr Ntseli said.

Many IFP structures had gone underground, and had no contact with other IFP structures. Some IFP members had taken out ANC membership in fear of their lives, Mr Ntseli said.

Another IFP witness was Mr Mzwandile Sabelo, chairman of the IFP's youth brigade branch in Umlazi, whose father, Mr Winnington Sabelo, was allegedly killed by an

ANC hit squad. Mr Sabelo criticised the work of the SAP and the KwaZulu Police.

Mr Michael Mabuyakhulu, giving evidence for Cosatu, said there had been a marked trend in recent months of attacks on union leaders. Since the beginning of this year, 19 members of the National Union of Metalworkers in South Africa, employed in the Alusaf factory in Richards Bay, had been killed. The perpetrators were inevitably IFP members, he alleged. Balaclava-clad gunmen surrounded members' houses and shot at them with AK-47s, automatic shotguns and G3 rifles.

Mr Mabuyakhulu said: "The mood and frequency of these attacks has resulted in the view by Cosatu that a hit squad may well be operating in the region with the objective of eliminating union leadership. It is further believed that this is orchestrated from high levels within the KwaZulu Government.

"The lack of any sanction or action taken against the perpetrators reinforces these views," Mr Mabuyakhulu said.

Let the region go it alone, say readers

Saturday Nov 5/11/92



LAST night's Mawelane topic — the controversial proposal by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi for a new and separate constitution for Natal/KwaZulu — attracted a huge response with an overwhelming majority supporting the plan for the region to go it alone.

Judging from the comments made by callers, Dr Buthelezi can rely on the votes of many Natal whites if a referendum were to be held on the issue today.

The few critics of the proposal warned of dire consequences if Natal/KwaZulu attempted to go its own way.

A selection of views follows:

Mrs Margaret Viljoen, Pinetown: I would vote yes. The Xhosa and Khoi have shown over the years that they cannot get along.

Mr Andre Nel, Umhlo: They can have a thousand Codruses but there will never be agreement. I say Yes.

Mrs Norma Wilson, Umhlo: The whole of Natal is behind Buthelezi.

Mr M. Botha, Durban: It is a badly timed political stunt staged by Buthelezi at a time when his popularity is at an all-time low. The sad difference is that this time the stunt is going to lead to bloodshed.

Don Makhanya, Umhlo: I have long been waiting for this Natal/KwaZulu move.

M. Singh, Reservoir Hills: The nation should call Buthelezi's bluff and agree to the referendum. People in Natal are far more intelligent than Buthelezi gives them credit for.

Mr Henry Duggan, Durban: Dr Buthelezi is nothing more than Mandela's chief office boy. He should become a British territory with a Governor appointed by the Queen.

Mr Welcome Zulu, Umhlo: Before 1910, Natal was a self-governing state, so why shouldn't we go back to a similar system.

Musa Z. Hussein, Sherwood: I think Natal is different from the rest of the country. Yes, I think we can do it alone.

Dr Elizabeth Cipolla, Durban: I have already written to Dr Buthelezi supporting him.

Mr John Deane, Amantsoyi: The majority of white people I know wouldn't mind living under Buthelezi's rule.

Buthelezi as their leader.

Mrs Brenda Carter, Umhlo: Everyone I know and work with is solidly behind Dr Buthelezi and his plan. If a referendum was held immediately, he would undoubtedly score a landslide victory.

Mr Bill Brinkman, Durban: The solution for South Africa depends on the solution that must be found in KwaZulu/Natal. I believe Dr Buthelezi has the interest of the people at heart.

Mr Dick Dixon, Eastlands: Dr Buthelezi has done a good job.

Mr John Nkomo, Greenfield: It is something that has to happen. I can't see the country surviving as a unitary state.

Mr Peter Crocker, Durban: A federation of states would be the best system.

Mr Steve Davidson, Westville: Three cheers for Buthelezi. At last we have heard some sense to balance the socialistic "horse manure" churned out by the Pretoria/Umhlo/Afrikaner/African Nationalist axis. Natal/KwaZulu must secede.

Mr Gregory Lennan, Queensburgh: I have a lot more faith in Dr Buthelezi than in any of the other party leaders.

Mr Nolani Gubuza, Umhlo: KwaZulu is an illegitimate structure established by the Government. The plan is very divisive.

Mr M. Lagan, Kingsburgh: I wholeheartedly agree that Natal/KwaZulu should go it alone. Durban should be a free port like Hong Kong so that it brings in millions to the province.

Mr Andrew Smithfield, Ladysmith: Dr Buthelezi is wrong to think we can go it alone. South Africa is a single nation and should be run as such.

Mr Frank Reardon, Umhlo: I would vote Yes. Democracy has become closely linked to federalism.

Mr John Hawke, Gillies: We have long advertised Natal as the last outpost, which is an indication we consider ourselves somewhat independent. What Dr Buthelezi means is that we should be a federal state in a group of federal states.

THE SAT. STAR, 5 DECEMBER 1992

ANC, Govt closer after indaba

Shared commitment to addressing problems

**DALE LAUTENBACH, ESTHER WAUGH
and PETER FABRICIUS**

A STRONG and shared commitment to addressing the problems facing South Africa was the message that emerged from the three-day "bosberaad" between the African National Congress and the Government.

Government sources stressed there had been no bilateral deals and no agreements. But they indicated that, despite differences, both sides had found common cause and a partner with whom they could once again work seriously.

The need to get back to a multilateral forum was stressed, however, and much of the time was apparently spent addressing this.

Interestingly, there seemed a rapprochement on the form of the new multilateral forum. ANC president Nelson Mandela said last week that Codesa was an adequate instrument and should not be changed.

But in a joint statement after the "bosberaad", the ANC and the Government said "every effort should be made to ensure the resumption of Codesa in a restructured and more representative form".

It was understood that this restructuring would involve making the alterations necessary to incorporate parties, such as the Pan Africanist Congress, which did not attend Codesa 2.

The Government had previously been inclined to support greater changes to the Codesa formula.

A second "bosberaad" will take place in the second half of January and the issue of violence will top the agenda. In the interim, contact will continue and subcommittees will work on specific areas.

Damaging events

Government sources were confident that despite the two potentially damaging events of the week — the unilateral KwaZulu-Natal constitutional proposals and the attacks for which the PAC's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, was suspected — South Africa was now closer to a multilateral forum than before.

The Government remains adamant that the PAC has to make its position on violence and its armed wing absolutely clear before meetings between the two can resume. As a result, the planned meeting between the Government and the PAC scheduled for Wednesday is still in the balance pending a PAC clarification.

As for the Inkatha Freedom Party, Government sources were confident that its KwaZulu-Natal proposals would embolden it to come to the negotiating table.

A meeting between President F.W. de Klerk and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is set for Thursday. This follows De Klerk's reaction to the IFP proposals, in which he expressed concern that such unilateralism could spur violence.

Although the "bosberaad" — not attended by Mandela or De Klerk — did not complete the agenda, the outstanding issues are to be discussed by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

The two sides did agree on an extensive agenda for ending the violence which would be comprehensively discussed at the joint meeting next month, the sources said.

A senior source close to the negotiations denied there was any political significance in the absence of Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee. This was due to pressure of work, they said.

Coetsee's absence raised eyebrows at the meeting, as he is known to be a conservative.

THE SAT. STAR, 5 DECEMBER 1992**ANC-Ciskei talks today**

BISHO — The ANC and the Ciskei government will meet today under the chairmanship of the National Peace Secretariat. Differences between the ANC and the Ciskei negotiators on a separate dispute resolution committee for the homeland will be the main item on the agenda. — Sapa

Fiery Sotsu has become the Vaal comrades' hero

ERNEST Sotsu, once described as the most dangerous man in the Vaal Triangle, considers himself a man of peace.

The fiery Boipatong activist, who has been in the eye of violent political storms that have recently rocked the Vaal, is admired by Vaal youth as a true grassroots leader. Yet, at heart he is a lonely man.

Now 65 years old and almost destitute, Sotsu is proud of the fact that he has spent most of his adult life as an activist.

When violence engulfed the Vaal two years ago, Sotsu spearheaded calls for the formation of community self-defence units (SDUs).

Last week, a major peace initiative attended by most of the civic and political organisations in the Vaal examined and demanded the restructuring of the SDUs, which have become, in

Fire-eating ANC Vaal leader Ernest Sotsu has been portrayed as one of the most dangerous activists in the violence-racked Vaal Triangle. JOE LOUW interviewed him, and found him to be lonely and near-destitute.

many areas, the scourge of the communities they are supposed to protect.

He speaks without bitterness of the traumatic events that have punctuated his life. On July 3 last year, he hurriedly returned from an African National Congress conference in Durban to his home in Boipatong to find his house burnt down and his wife and children murdered.

"At first I was consumed with rage," he said. "But I consider myself a true Christian and most of my anger has subsided now. I rejoice in my grandchildren, Sandile and Khaya, born since the massacre."

Sotsu believes his

family fell victim to a hit squad which had targeted him because he was chief organiser for the ANC in the area.

Born in a small village of Qumbu near Umata in Transkei, he was deeply influenced by the political activity stirred up by the ANC in the 1950s. He was soon involved in the Defiance Campaign and, by the time the Freedom Charter was launched in Kliptown in 1955, he was a full-time activist in the Vaal area.

By the 1980s, with the ANC banned, he was "knee-deep in the underground movement" recruiting youths and helping to build up Umkhon-

to we Sizwe. "I went on many very dangerous missions in and out of Transkei and Lesotho," he says. "I had to be very wily and pose as many different kinds of people."

He was finally captured at the Transkei border, charged with murder and terrorism and jailed for five years by the Matanzima government. In jail he met and "rubbed shoulders with" the young Brigadier Bantu Holomisa, who eventually set him free in 1984.

Sotsu plunged back into Vaal politics on his return to his home in Boipatong. He was a key leader in the campaigns against black city councils and the ensuing rent boycotts. But he felt a deep need to work with the thousands of workers in the various hostels, especially those at Sebokeng and KwatMasiza.

His clarity of thought and talent as an orator soon gained him many converts among the hostel dwellers.

But, while he was gaining allies, he was also attracting enemies. He became caught up in the internal squabbles of the National Union of Metalworkers, which eventually exploded to make the Sebokeng Hostel one of the Vaal's key flashpoints.

Sotsu was accused of being power-mad and embittered because of being sidelined by the

ANC. He denies this.

Serious violence broke out in the Vaal just after the unbanning of the ANC in 1990.

"The need for communities to defend themselves became obvious. Inkatha imps were running rampant and to me it was very clear that the regime had a hand in destabilising our communities," he says.

"The ANC and Communist Party did not do much in the structuring of these units. This turned out to be a major mistake, for it left the door open for these units to be exploited by the regime. They were quickly infiltrated, not only by agents provocateurs, but also by the tsotsi and thug element."

"Soon we had a situation where the units were getting totally out of control."

Sotsu says he supports the initiatives of the Vaal community organisations for peace but does not see much hope unless positive steps are taken to reorganise the SDUs.

"We are all hopeful for peace," he says, "but we will have to work hard. We will have to implement the resolutions that want the SDUs put under strict community control and revamped with a new set of operating rules holding them accountable not only to the communities but to a regional structure."



PROUD BUT LONELY: Ernest Sotsu, with his grandchildren Sandile (left) and Khaya, considers himself a man of peace. Photograph: JOE LOUW

MK sit-in proves hard to report on

CHARLES WEBSTER

SIT-INS we've grown used to, but this one was certainly unexpected: 27 people, said to be returned Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) soldiers, holding a sit-in in the foyer of the ANC's headquarters at Shell House in protest at lack of rations and accommodation.

That, at least, was what one Johannesburg newspaper reported this week. The Saturday Star decided to investigate, and ended up going in ever-increasing circles.

MK chief-of-staff Sphiwe Nyanda had said in an interview on Wednesday afternoon that he did not know of the sit-in. But ANC liaison officer Sakie Macozoma confirmed it had happened.

Saturday Star attempted to contact Nyanda on Thursday morning, but we was told by one person that he had left the country, by another that he was outside Johannesburg, and by a third person that the sit-in issue "has been resolved".

We tried once more and were again told that Nyanda had left the country. We insisted that this was impossible as Nyanda had spoken to reporters only the previous afternoon.

Memorandum from exiles

We were promptly asked to hold the line, and were put through to a man who said Nyanda would be contactable early yesterday morning. He said he would ask Nyanda to return Saturday Star's call.

In another attempt at obtaining the real story, Ronnie Mamoepa, the ANC's PWV regional spokesman, was contacted. Mamoepa had told reporters earlier that a memorandum had been received "from a group of returned exiles", and he told us he felt that the exiles' needs should be provided for by the people of South Africa.

Apparently Mamoepa had been misquoted earlier as saying he had received a memorandum from the MK soldiers who had taken part in the sit-in. Mamoepa said he had not been assigned to deal with the demands of the sitters.

Nyanda finally called the Saturday Star yesterday and explained he had been in the western Transvaal on Thursday. He denied there had been any "sit-in as such", but said several returned Vaal Triangle MK cadres had arrived at Shell House on Tuesday, saying they had run out of money and asking for the ANC's support. He had asked them to leave, saying the matter would be dealt with.

He told Saturday Star that returnees — both exiles and returned MK cadres — were, for a certain period of time, provided with food and accommodation by the National Co-ordinating Committee for Refugees (NCCR). He added that while the ANC was negotiating with the Government about integrating MK and the SADF, many of the organisation's soldiers were unemployed. The NCCR, according to Nyanda, could provide refugees' needs only for a limited time because their funds were limited.

SaturdayStar

Unleashing a whirlwind

MORALLY and politically reprehensible — these are the only words to describe the terror campaign being mounted by the Pan-Africanist Congress's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla). Prosai-cally dubbed "Shock and Show", they say it aims to hit at the security establishment by killing civilians.

This tactic has been in operation for several weeks in the Border region. It culminated in an attack on the King William's Town golf club last Saturday and again at a Queenstown restaurant on Thursday — responsibility for which Apla has now admitted. As a strategy it is thoroughly bankrupt.

There was a time when many in South Africa and abroad accepted that the intransigence of an arrogant Government justified the use of force and violence. Even the PAC recognises that this is no longer the case, which makes its statements recently, especially the one last night by a man claiming to be Congo Jibril who admitted Apla's responsibility for both attacks and who described the shoddy strategy behind them, were surprising to say the least.

The talks the organisation has held with the Government have not produced concrete results, but the PAC has clearly undertaken them in earnest.

For some time now the PAC has refused to take responsibility for the actions of its armed wing. It was still doing so last night when Jibril stated that all the PAC does is to supply Apla with money for its activities. It boggles the mind to think how easily the organisation washes its hands of Apla's activities even though Apla's commander, Johnson Mlambo, is a senior vice-president of the PAC.

Rightly, the PAC is among those who insist that President de Klerk should take responsibility for the actions of the security forces — yet it allows itself a different set of rules.

In doing so, the PAC displays a na-ivety that it will one day come to rue. Every organisation in South Africa with an armed wing knows that it is easier to unleash violence than to rein it in.

The PAC is clearly not too sure what its troops are up to. It should remember that gunmen wielding death wield power too. When the PAC takes its place in an elected government, will it always be sure which way those guns are pointing?

Growth seen as saviour of the destitute

ANGLO-AMERICAN, stout advocate of a market-based economy with minimum government interference, has called for State intervention to help address poverty.

But it emphasises that State intervention should be short-term and serve as an auxiliary action, rather than the main thrust of an anti-poverty programme.

Anglo's contribution to the debate on how best to tackle the problem — and danger — of widespread poverty in South Africa is contained in an article in the latest issue of *Optima*.

It summarises the chief ideas proposed by Anglo in a much longer document, drawn up, in part at least, in response to the challenge thrown down to business leaders by Nelson Mandela shortly after his release from prison in 1990.

Highlighted

In an address to businessmen after his release, Mandela highlighted the inequalities of wealth, affirmed the ANC's commitment to nationalisation as one means of addressing the problem, and challenged business notables to put forward their own ideas.

Draft copies of the original document were sent to key political actors, including the ANC. But — as Anglo puts it — "political groupings approached did not take up the invitation to debate the ideas and proposals contained in the draft".

Anglo is unequivocal on the primary importance of economic growth as the best way of combating poverty. It is in the context of that axiom that its advocacy

ANGLO-AMERICAN dusts off a plan to abolish poverty, inspired by Nelson Mandela, in which the State adopts a 'market-friendly' line, reports PATRICK LAURENCE.

of short-term State action should be seen.

"Economic growth is the only meaningful way to reduce poverty over time," Anglo declares. "It empowers the poor by creating formal and informal jobs; at the same time it promotes the maximum sustainable level of public and private programmes for poverty alleviation."

Economic growth, it adds, generates additional money for expenditure on social services and poverty-reducing mechanisms to address the needs of "the very poor" (as distinct from the poor).

Anglo warns that "direct transfers" — subsidies and handouts of food and services — do not succeed in alleviating poverty.

"They are, typically, not sustainable. They often benefit the middle classes and not the poor. Because of pressures to extend their coverage, they lead to fiscal and balance of payments crises, and a subsequent collapse of growth."

Anglo cites Zimbabwe, noting that that country's financial and economic crisis has led to the collapse of many socio-economic programmes — including free education — which it introduced with high hopes in the 1980s.

One of the best prescriptions for economic growth and poverty reduction is a "market-friendly approach" by government, facilitating a situation where the two forces work in harness.

A positive and powerful spin-off from economic growth is a decline in the population growth rate. Once the process starts, it can be reinforcing: as the population growth rate declines, so the economic growth rate can rise and, with it, the average income per capita.

Anglo adds: "There is a special obligation on all policy-makers, despite political and cultural difficulties, to energetically confront the issue of population control."

Illustrating the importance of stimulating economic growth, Anglo makes a series of calculations: a 1 percent growth rate between now and the end of the century would create 400 000 new jobs; a 3 percent growth rate would add 1.4 million new jobs; and a 5 percent growth rate would generate 2.5 million extra jobs.

The benefits of growth and job creation in the formal sector of the economy would add to the size of, and raise income levels in, the informal sector of the economy.

Anglo notes that the 1990s have thus far been years of negative growth, but says important steps have been taken to stimulate growth, including abandonment of the financially ruinous policy of apartheid, and acceptance of the need to negotiate a fully democratic constitution.

Further hopeful signs include steady growth since 1984 in the volume

of non-gold exports, and the increase in manufactured exports from 18 percent to more than 30 percent of total exports.

Much, however, will depend on the economic policies adopted by a post-settlement government and, in particular, whether or not it has learnt the imperative need for a "market-friendly approach".

But, while Anglo subscribes to a market-driven economy in general, it accepts and argues for a State-directed programme to alleviate the plight of the "very poor".

It defines the very poor as those mainly rural people who lack access to fundamental resources. People who have jobs in the formal sector, however badly paid they may consider themselves, are excluded from the definition.

Directed

The Anglo document cites two examples of State-controlled anti-poverty strategies: those directed at providing rural people with fresh water and employment.

It envisages the formation of "job brigades" in which the poorest of the poor will be drafted to extend the infrastructure through the building of dams, roads and the like.

Anglo stresses the importance of working closely with people, of listening to them, and of the State or its functionaries not assuming they know what is best.

The contracting economy — the third quarter of this year registered an annualised shrinkage of 3 percent — and the looming budgetary squeeze underline the need for economic growth as the motor force behind poverty alleviation.

R100 000 reward

FROM PAGE 1

The police also possessed information that APLA was planning its attacks from Zimbabwe and Transkei and that APLA stored arms caches in both countries.

Police were about to question the Pan Africanist Congress leadership on information they might have of the atrocities, Mr Kriel said.

In Thursday night's limpet mine attack on the Buffalo Springs Spur Restaurant, 19 people were injured, eight seriously, and R500 000 damage was caused.

Mr Kriel said that in the light of the serious situation in the Eastern Cape, with particular reference to alleged APLA activities, he wished to emphasise that the government viewed the situation in an extremely serious light.

He announced the expansion of investigation teams, the establishment of several police bases in strategic locations in the Eastern Cape, and the deployment of additional manpower in the area.

The cordon-and-search operations would be conducted in the region on an ongoing basis, and measures would include the erection of road blocks and physical searches of individuals and vehicles.

Steps would be taken to upgrade the security measures in public places and restaurants in co-operation with local communities and businessmen.

"I warn the leadership of the PAC to immediately bring its armed wing under control, or to distance itself from APLA's activities," said Mr Kriel.

A moral and legal obligation rested on the PAC to immediately supply the SAP with all the information it might possess on crimes or atrocities committed by APLA.

"In this regard, the leadership of the PAC is about to be questioned by the SAP," he said.

The police in the interim would hunt down those responsible for the latest attacks.

"Valuable information is being followed up.

"We urge these governments not to allow their territory to be used for terror attacks against South Africans," he said.

"It must also again be stated that until the PAC can find a satisfactory solution to the problem of APLA from within its own ranks, the SA Government will not be in a position to negotiate with the PAC," said Mr Kriel.

Terrorism was completely unacceptable in the current national and international climate, and the police appealed to all South Africans "to help eradicate this evil from our society".

The attack on the restaurant was followed an

hour later by an armed attack on a deserted farmhouse in the neighbouring town of Dordrecht.

The blast at the Buffalo Springs Spur in Queens-town occurred at 11.15 pm on Thursday. The bomb might have been concealed in a leather satchel which was brought into the restaurant by the three suspects.

They had a small meal and left the restaurant. A few minutes later the bomb shook the restaurant, injuring 19 Whites, five of them seriously.

Evidence indicated that a SPN limpet mine of "Eastern origin" had been used in the blast.

The attack on the farmhouse in Dordrecht, eight km from the Transkei border, occurred at midnight on Thursday.

R-4 and R-5 automatic rifles were used in the attack, along with one hand-grenade and five petrol bombs, said the police spokesman. The hand-grenade caused minimal damage, while only two of the petrol bombs exploded.

The farmhouse, on the farm Lemoensfontein, is owned by Mr A A Myburgh. Mr Myburgh and his family had taken to sleeping in Cradock and there was therefore no one at home when the attack occurred.

X APLA: We bombed Spur

A MAN claiming to be commander of intelligence operations for the Pan Africanist Congress' military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, in the Eastern Cape and Transvaal last night said APLA had been responsible for the bomb attack on

the Buffalo Springs Spur in Queenstown on Thursday night in which 19 people were injured, eight of them seriously.

In a telephone call to Sapa from "somewhere in the city", Congo Jibril said six APLA members had been involved in the Queenstown attack.

Eight men and a woman combatant had carried out last week's attack on the King William's Town Golf Club where four people died.

The attacks formed part of an APLA operation in the Eastern Cape dubbed "Shock and Show", he said.

TO PAGE 2

APLA did it

FROM PAGE 1

APLA attacks were not aimed at Whites per se, but at the security establishment. He explained this by saying White people were "the silent eyes" of the security forces and that Whites made themselves available for military conscription.

Explaining the PAC's lack of communication with APLA, he said the organisation's political leadership had no say over APLA activities. "They (the political leadership) only supply the money (for APLA activities)." —Sapa.

• See Page Five

De Klerk shocked

By Sapa and Brian Stuart

STATE PRESIDENT De Klerk yesterday expressed the government's tremendous shock at two attacks by the PAC's Azanian People's Liberation Army.

After talks in Pretoria with former French Finance Minister Edouard Balladur, he said, "We will not stand terrorism".

The attacks by the APLA would have a profound effect on discussions with the PAC.

TO PAGE 2

Terrorist attacks

FROM PAGE 1

Mr De Klerk said the government would leave no stone unturned to find the perpetrators.

In the King William's Town/Queenstown region extensive action had been taken and the government would act strongly and would not hesitate to take steps to curb violence in the area.

The National Party yesterday called for "drastic" action from the government to stamp out acts of terrorism, such as those committed in King William's Town and Queenstown.

Mr Piet Coetzer, NP chief director of information, said in a statement the NP condemned the abhorrent act of terrorism in Queenstown, and ex-

tended sympathies and hopes for full recovery to the victims.

"That people were not killed can only be described as a miracle," said Mr Coetzer.

"It is simply not acceptable that groups of trouble-makers are able to pursue these terrorist tactics."

"The NP appeals to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, to take urgent and drastic steps to pursue and apprehend the terrorists, and to clamp down on the perpetrators of these acts."

"These shocking deeds, and the understandable publicity which accompanies them, do untold harm to community relations in South Africa, as they are aimed at whipping

up racial hatred.

"They are also doing incalculable damage to South Africa's image abroad."

The level and type of violence made it urgent that there be joint responsibility among the various negotiation parties for restoring law and order, Mr Peter Gastrow, Democratic spokesman on law and order, said yesterday.

It had become urgently necessary for a Cabinet sub-council on security as proposed in Codesa, to be established.

"We need the national Party, ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party and others to take joint responsibility and to become jointly accountable for law and order, and for dealing with this type of violence."

shock FW

The current violence not only generated instability but was harmful to the whole negotiation process.

Mr Willem Botha, MP for Uitenhage, said the CP in the Eastern Cape expressed its sympathies to the victims and their families. These were cowardly attacks on innocent people.

"The CP holds the government, and specifically the State President, responsible for these acts of terrorism in the Eastern Cape, because effective action had not been taken against organisations such as the PAC and ANC, which have repeatedly made threats of terror."

"It has not only permitted these organisations to maintain their

military wings, but even allowed further training to take place in neighbouring states and, according to some reports, within South Africa.

"The State President was personally responsible for the unbanning of the SA Communist Party, ANC and PAC in 1990, against the warnings of the CP, and has elevated the ANC to its principal negotiation partner."

The CP demanded the banning of organisations responsible for acts of terror, steps to protect the public of the Eastern Cape against terrorism, especially during the holiday period, and financial support for farmers to make their farms secure.

ANC slams bombing

THE African National Congress yesterday condemned the bombing of the Queenstown restaurant, saying the victims were innocent and the attack was the work of "desperadoes" uncertain of their chances through the ballot box.

"Mr Andrew Hendriks, deputy chairman of the ANC Border region, said:

"The attack on innocent diners at the Spur in Queenstown following shortly on the King William's Town Golf Club killings, must be condemned by all at this juncture of South Africa's political life." — Sapa.

Suspect arrested over train killing

**MONTSHIWA
MOROKO**

POLICE have arrested an alleged train killer as a result of assistance from a witness, Witwatersrand police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Dave Bruce said yesterday.

Bruce said the arrest was "unique" because it was the first time since the carnage started that an arrest had been made with the help of a member of the public.

The suspect was named as hostel resident Mkhuluzana Zulu (41).

Bruce said a second suspect was sought by police. Zulu was charged with killing Elmont Mandla, of Transkei, at Cleveland station on November 4.

A further charge of attempted murder of a second commuter was being investigated.

Bruce said that as a result of the suspect's arrest, an AK-47 assault rifle and a quantity of rounds of ammunition were discovered. Zulu had been charged with their possession.

Ballistic tests would be carried out to determine whether the AK-47 had been used in any attacks.

"However, this is not the murder weapon. We are looking for a 9mm pistol.

"The mere fact that we have confiscated this firearm means we may have saved lives. People who commit crimes on trains are not boy scouts. They perpetrate the most barbaric acts," Bruce said.

Police had repeatedly stated that without the assistance of the public it was difficult to investigate cases of murder. In any criminal investigation, the police depended on witnesses who might have information to pass on.



SHOCKED: Nelson Mandela concerned at "eroding of economy".

Mandela unveils new bid to boost economy

SVEN LUNSCHÉ

ANC president Nelson Mandela has committed himself to a vigorous anti-trust policy "to inject competition into the economy and create new ownership structures".

Anti-trust policies are set to replace large-scale nationalisation as the ANC's major tool in breaking down the concentration of economic resources.

Mandela, opening an ANC workshop on anti-trust, monopolies and merger policies yesterday, also expressed deep concern about the state of the SA economy.

"We need to address the feeling of exclusion of the majority from the economic mainstream. We remain of the view that the economy is owned and controlled by a little white enclave and that this is entirely unsustainable given the socio-political landscape," Mandela said.

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Anti-trust legislation had been identified by the ANC as one of the tools to address "this legacy of apartheid".

"We have repeatedly been informed by prospective foreign investors that the SA investor environment is quite hostile because of the stranglehold of the conglomerates on the economy," he added.

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Mandela

● FROM PAGE 1.

Mandela emphasised, however, that anti-trust policies needed to be fashioned to suit local conditions and should be applied with flexibility. It would be successful only if there were a change in the minds of those who currently controlled the economy.

Anti-trust measures were only one of the ways of addressing the problems of South Africa's "rapidly eroding economy".

Mandela said he was particularly concerned about the effects of inflation (rising food prices, in particular) and unemployment on the

lives of most people.

"I am shocked that only 3 percent of school-leavers will be absorbed into the formal economy next year.

"I am also concerned that the levels of investment are declining as rapidly as they are.

"I'm all too aware of how this eroding economy will challenge a fledgling democracy and thus appeal for the establishment of an interim government of national unity as soon as possible," Mandela said.

The workshop is set to formalise detailed anti-trust proposals by the ANC, but includes input by large companies, such as Anglo-American, the Competition Board and international experts.

Boshoff calls for federal SA system

Citizen Reporter

A FEDERAL or a confederal system should be instituted in South Africa, Professor Carel Boshoff, chairman of the Afrikaaner Vryheidstigting (Freedom Foundation) told Dr Tom Vraalsen, a special representative of the secretary-general of the United Nations, at a meeting in Pretoria yesterday.

Prof Boshoff said it was preferable that either of these systems be instituted from "ground level up rather than instituting a central government which delegates power

down."

"No force can succeed in keeping irreconcilable groups together in one state with one central government. This will lead to further violence and disruption in the community," he said.

He believed that the forces demanding a number of states in the country had surpassed the forces that kept South Africa as a unitary state.

This was the inevitable and unavoidable result of a great number of people and groups of nations who, until now, had been

held together by a minority White government.

This government had become untenable and a new constitutional dispensation, which could only be peacefully realised through negotiations, was now a necessity, he said.

Prof Boshoff expressed himself strongly against Afrikaners who held out unrealistic expectations, seeing no future for themselves and who then decide to leave the country.

He believed there would be a place for the creation of a Afrikaner volkstaat within the rationale he had spoken of.

The Afrikaner people must, like all other peoples, remain a group in future as well. In this way they could also fulfil their destiny in the country as a Christian nation.

Dr Vraalsen said the UN believed that the people of South Africa had to, on their own, find solutions to the country's problems.

He warned that violence and the absence of a political solution would lead to massive economic damage.

Disband the KwaZulu Police Force: ANC

DURBAN. — A senior Natal ANC leader yesterday urged the Goldstone Commission to recommend the disbandment of the KwaZulu Police and that its members should be integrated into the South African Police.

"We cannot emphasise too strongly our view that the continued existence of the KwaZulu Police Force is a major stumbling block to peace in the region," ANC Northern Natal regional chairman Dr Aaron Ndlovu told the commission in Durban.

"If the feeling of the people is so strong against the KwaZulu Police, it is our view that the commission has no option but to make this recommendation," Dr Ndlovu added.

The ANC Northern Natal region also reiterated a call for the deployment of an international peace-keeping force charged with the specific task of stamping out the violence in the province.

Such a force should be deployed for a specific period with a specific mandate, the commission was told.

An international peace-keeping force was needed because none of the political parties in the country, including the government, seemed to be able to stop the violence.

Another recommendation by the ANC was that the SAP and Defence Force should be brought under the control of a group of international police experts.

"Only in this way will the government be able to restore credibility to the disgraced South African security forces. Only then will our people have confidence in the security forces."

Unless security forces were seen to be neutral, or were controlled by neutral people, the ANC said antagonism between itself and the security forces would continue, as would political violence.

Also yesterday an ANC Lower South Coast organiser told the commission that residents of the area who did not support the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) or tribal author-

ities were hounded out of their homes and killed.

Mr Cyril Shezi said not only ANC members were singled out for attack, but anyone opposed to the authority of the chiefs, indunas or IFP were targeted.

• The commission will resume for one day, December 14, to hear further evidence, its chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said. — Sapa.

Non-supporters of IFP 'hounded and killed'

DURBAN. — Residents of the Lower South Coast in Natal who did not support tribal authorities or the Inkatha Freedom Party were hounded out of their homes and killed, the Goldstone Commission heard yesterday.

African National Congress Lower South Coast organiser Cyril Shezi said not only ANC members were singled for attack. This had happened to anyone opposed to the authority of the chiefs, indunas or the IFP.

"Armed with G3s (rifles) and traditional weapons and IFP flags, a systematic campaign of terror was launched."

He claimed that at one

stage of the campaign it was decided that children should be killed. There were incidents where children "had their brains bashed out against rocks".

The inability of the ANC to defend its supporters against such attacks resulted in thousands of ANC members becoming refugees. However, Mr Shezi added, the refugees were still harassed.

"The police, rather than give assistance and facilitate their return, were party to the aggression against refugees," Mr Shezi claimed.

He also called for the resignation of the head of

the Internal Stability Unit in the Port Shepstone area, saying no meaningful start to improving police/community relations could be made until this was done.

Mr Shezi said the ANC's Lower South Coast branch supported the call by the Local Dispute Resolution Committee and other local bodies for a full inquiry into the violence in the Port Shepstone area.

He said the inquiry should place special emphasis on: The role of the police; the conduct of warlords; and the reasons for the failure of the LDRC to function properly. — Sapa.

Miss Black SA march for peace

UNDER scorching sun and streets and malls thick with bustling shoppers, contestants for the Miss Black South Africa beauty pageant marched in central Johannesburg yesterday afternoon.

They took to the streets to spread a message of peace and to call for an end to the violence that has killed 3 000 people this year.

"Peace in our land" cried a banner held aloft

as the 26 contestants meandered through streets, halting traffic. A spokesman for the promoters expressed alarm, saying it had been agreed they should walk on the pavements.

"We are marching to emphasise the need and the necessity and the urgency of the situation. There is so much violence," Miss Soweto Thembi Mhlavivana said. — Sapa.