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Rugby row: Craven 'won't bow to pressure'

# Don't disrupt tour, urges ANC

MEC/1992/29/10/92

CAPE TOWN—The joint president of the SA Rugby Football Union, Dr Danie Craven, said yesterday Sarfu would comply with all requirements laid down by the ANC to get international tours back on track.

Dr Craven was reacting to a formal statement issued by the ANC yesterday stating that the movement endorsed the National Olympic Sports Committee (NOSC) withdrawal of support for international rugby tours.

"We urge the Anti-Apartheid Movement not to engage in any activities to disrupt the current tour of the South African rugby side to England," the ANC's spokesman on sport, Mr Steve Tshwete, told Reuters.

Dr Craven response yesterday was: "That's fair enough."

The British Rugby Football Union secretary, Mr Dudley Wood, said: "We were expecting a statement from the ANC and obviously we are very pleased with the news."

The NOSC has accused the Sarfu of not doing enough to develop the sport among blacks.

The move threatens the World Cup due to be held in South Africa in 1995 and the Springbok tour of Australia next year.

Earlier yesterday Dr Craven said he would not bow to ANC pressure to resign.

Regarding allegations of taking unilateral decisions, he said it was not always possible to consult at all times as some matters needed an immediate response.

If certain people had not been consulted on some deci-

sions, it should be clear to them that it was not intentional, Dr Craven said.

● Transvaal Rugby Football Union president Louis Luyt yesterday welcomed Mr Tshwete's announcement that they would ask British cities hosting the Springbok side to allow the English tour to go-ahead.

Dr Luyt admitted on the radio actuality programme, *Newsbrief*, that the rugby administration had played hide and seek.

He said they had done a lot for development, but had said nothing about it. Dr Luyt said a marketing manager would be appointed within the next two weeks to deal with public relations.

The Springboks are due to arrive in England on Sunday, and their itinerary includes a one-off Test at Twickenham on November 14, following their two-Test tour of France.

"It is impractical for the matches of the South African team to be called off since elaborate preparations have been made for this tour and it is not the appropriate thing to do right now," Mr Tshwete said.

Mr Tshwete said that, in spite of the plea to anti-apartheid groups, the ANC was still not supporting the current Springbok tour and was still rallying behind the NOSC.

● NOSC boss Mluleki George was due in New York yesterday to address the UN Special Commission on Apartheid on rugby tours and the lack of rugby development in underprivileged black townships. — (Sapa-Reuter)

16/1/11



# The Star

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## A mediator for Natal

**T**HE assassination of ANC leader Reggie Hadebe can only compound the terrible conflict in Natal. The timing and locality of the killing — Hadebe was ambushed en route back from a dispute resolution meeting at Ixopo — is likely to undermine the tenuous peace process.

The ANC, noting that Hadebe and his companions attempted to persuade a reluctant Inkatha Freedom Party leader to participate in the peace meeting, has already voiced its suspicion that the assassins used that time to "prepare their ambush".

The assassination of Hadebe, a young man of courage and talent, is another tragedy in a long and intensifying chronicle of violence. There have been no fewer than three massacres in the past week.

Natal's proud Zulu people seem to be plunging inexorably into civil war. So far, however, neither Nelson Mandela nor Mangosuthu Buthelezi seems able to rise above the level of recrimination. Calls for them to meet urgently and take joint action to end the violence have seemingly fallen on deaf ears.

Their response has been verbal manoeuvring. Mandela wants a meeting of the signatories to the peace accord, not a face-to-face meeting. Buthelezi wants a one-on-one meeting, not a conference of peace accord signatories. The result, whether intended or not, is procrastination while people die.

Perhaps it is time for the ANC leader and his IFP counterpart to admit that the problem is too big for them and that they need the help of an honest broker. Their problems and accusations should be laid on the table and subjected to critical but constructive analysis by a neutral mediator of international status. The time to break the cycle of violence has arrived. Natal's dead and injured demand no less.



## Peacemakers are 'targets of killers'

By Bronwyn Wilkinson  
Crime Reporter

Peacemakers in the ANC, IFP and civic associations have become the main targets of assassinations in what ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus described as "a concerted and sinister direct attack on peace".

The ANC has not counted the number of local leaders assassinated, but IFP spokesman Kim Hodgson said today 253 IFP leaders — mostly involved in peace initiatives — had been murdered since 1986.

Since the signing of the National Peace Accord last year, 49 IFP peace workers and leaders had been killed.

On Tuesday, ANC Midlands deputy chairman Reggie Hadebe was gunned down when returning from a regional dispute resolution committee meeting in Ixopo.

And yesterday, IFP leader and KwaZulu MP David Ntombela survived an alleged attack on his car when driving home from a region-

al dispute resolution committee meeting in Durban.

Niehaus said he was sure the slayings had been done by "people who do not want to see peace" and hinted at the existence of a Third Force that knew the movements of peace workers.

Others killed recently:

- Prince Mhlambi, ANC Phola Park squatter camp leader, was shot last week. He was involved in peace talks with police.
- Vusi Tshabalala, Tokoza Civic Association assistant general secretary, a local peace worker, was gunned down in Tokoza on Tuesday.
- Floyd Mashele, head of the ANC's peace desk, died in a mysterious car crash near Pietersburg in July.
- Sam Ntuli, Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal leader, was shot in Tokoza, in October last year.
- Winnington Sabelo, IFP leader in Folweni, was killed in Durban earlier this year.

No arrests have been made in connection with any of these deaths.



# Leaders may be called to testify on violence issues

## Goldstone intervenes

By Peter Wellman

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone announced today he was considering asking political leaders to appear at public hearings of his Commission of Inquiry in a bid to curb the ongoing violence.

The sittings will be held in Cape Town in December.

In two terse announcements, he intervened dramatically in crucial areas that appear to have defeated

the politicians: political violence and intimidation, and the widespread use of automatic weapons. It is thought that Justice Goldstone sees a possible facilitating role for his independent commission in finding ways of addressing these problems effectively.

Hopes for peace in war-torn Natal were perilously balanced last night.

The assassination on Tuesday of ANC Natal Midlands deputy leader Reggie Hadebe was still threatening to sabotage delicate peace talks, but may instead have

given them new impetus.

It became clear yesterday that patience with peace efforts in the Natal killing fields was running out as Natal Midlands ANC leader Harry Gwala warned that no amount of talk between the ANC president, Nelson Mandela, and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi would end the carnage.

National Peace Committee chairman John Hall met Mandela last night, and was to meet Buthelezi today and President de Klerk tomorrow to try to set up peace

talks.

De Klerk is expected to announce new security measures today to curb the Natal violence, including declaring unrest areas and sending in troop reinforcements.

Violence remains a key stumbling block to the resumption of stalled constitutional negotiations.

Justice Goldstone, as chairman of the commission of inquiry regarding the prevention of public violence and intimidation, he said: "The commission has decided to call for urgent submissions from all interested parties on ways and means of strengthening the structures of the National Peace Accord, and making them more effective in reducing the level of political violence and intimidation."

He also said the commission was "deeply concerned at the dramatic increase in the number of deaths and injuries among leaders and supporters of political parties and organisations and, in particular, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress, which

have been caused by the use of automatic weapons".

He called for urgent submissions on "ways and means of curbing the illegal importation of automatic weapons, and their distribution and use in South Africa in the furtherance of political violence".

The deadline for submissions on both matters is November 30. The address is Secretary of the Commission, Private Bag X858, Pretoria 0001.

Persons or organisations

● To Page 3 ■

## Goldstone intervenes

● From Page 1

were free to make submissions on a confidential basis, said Justice Goldstone.

After receiving submissions, the commission would "decide which persons or organisations will be requested to address it at the public hearings", he said.

The commission has the power to call anyone from the State President downwards to appear before it.

After the public hearings, Justice Goldstone will "make recommendations to the State President on steps which should be considered by the Government, the National Peace Accord structures, signatories to the National Peace Accord, other political parties or organisations, and the governments of Bophuthatswana, Venda and

Transkei, to reduce the level of political violence and intimidation.

"Ciskei is a signatory to the National Peace Accord."

Public hearings on public violence and intimidation will be at the Breakwater campus of the Graduate Business School at the University of Cape Town from December 7 to 9.

The hearings on automatic weapons will be at the same venue, beginning on December 10.

● A team of European Community (EC) observers arrived in South Africa today to help monitor violence in the country.

Co-ordinator Gavin Aarvold said he and his colleagues would attempt to prevent violence, defuse tension and promote peace by their presence in situations of potential conflict.





Inspiring sight . . . a reader will join these Zulus against the ANC if the latter seeks to impose a Marxist dictatorship.

## Zulus underestimated in political equation

What a wonderful sight was your photograph of 30 000 Zulu warriors in full regalia marching through Johannesburg demonstrating against the enemy — the Communist ANC terrorists! The glory of the Zulu nation shines again!

Here is the salvation of the whites in South Africa — these descendants of Cetewayo's impis that imposed the worst defeat on the army of the British Empire to that date at Isandlwana.

The umCijo regiment — "The little brush of leaves that extinguished the fire" — the Goba-makhosi, the aMbonambi, the nNokenke and the uDududu . . . these were established regiments each with their own traditions.

The Zulus, who form the largest ethnic group, have been underestimated in the current political equation. This may be due to President de Klerk playing to an overseas audience of leftist persuasion which sees the

ANC as the "black" component of the white/black political scene in South Africa. This is fallacious. No wonder that Mandela wants a tame or defeated Zulu nation.

If it ever comes to a fight, I will join Zulus against the Marxist-Leninist ANC which cynically wants to seize power and impose a dictatorship upon us under the guise of a democracy.

S R Hay

Bergvlei,  
Sandton

□ □ □

I am astounded at the outcry over the Zulus carrying their traditional weapons.

As a matter of interest, how many of the thousands killed died as result of an assegai thrust, compared with those killed by ANC AK-47s?

(Mrs) Maud Cox

Windsor Park West,  
Randburg



## Report on ANC torture helps talks

By DAVID BREIER

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

WHEN the Government and the ANC meet to strike a deal on the future of security forces, they will be able to look each other in the eye and see their own reflections.

Politicians believe the Amnesty International (AI) report on ANC torture camps, which goes further than the ANC's own, earlier report, could have a positive spin-off for negotiations by putting both sides on the same low moral level.

Revelations such as ANC guards burying dissidents up to their necks

and suffocating them with plastic bags, will make it more difficult for the ANC to pontificate about Civil Co-operation Bureau and Department of Covert Collection dirty tricks, they believe.

"A wide range of people have been chastened and will have slightly greater humility in terms of moral rectitude," said Democratic Party national chairman Ken Andrew.

"This will prevent one side saying they are angels while the others are devils," he added.

Andrew believes the levelling of the moral high ground could make it easier for both sides to meet on

equal moral terms and to reach crucial agreements on joint control of security forces, without one side being on the defensive.

DP justice spokesman Tony Leon said the AI report, coming after revelations of Military Intelligence dirty tricks, showed that neither side could be trusted with human rights after they had "so systematically and self-consciously abused them".

He said the AI report, which he has studied, was "a most appalling catalogue". He added that events had underlined the need for a strong Bill of Human Rights vigorously defended by an independent judiciary.





# They'll have to get it right first time

**A** SHIVER of excitement ran through the country's business elite this week on the rumour that talks about talks were going well, and that a transitional executive council — in effect, an unelected multinational government — might be only months away.

But still people asked each other, as South Africans tend to do wherever they meet these days: "Are you optimistic? Pessimistic? Do you have hope?"

President de Klerk tried to restore some perspective by offering a timetable, if all goes well, for a transitional executive council to start work in June, and for national elections nine months later.

The ANC, which had been nagging him for a timetable, and which had promised to call off sanctions as soon as it had a date for transitional government, flew into a tantrum. The country, it said sanctimoniously, could not endure an extra year of corruption and mismanagement; elections had to be held in 1993, not 1994.

As usual, the ANC's middle-class and foreign-funded apparatchiks were being both cheap and shallow: the country has been sliding into poverty since 1981 or so, and living standards have only got as far down as 1965. There's a long, long way to fall yet.

Not all the news is bad — inflation is falling at last, and even government spending is coming down a bit, and one of these days, mark my words, we shall see somebody in government prosecuted for corruption, or perjury, or fraud.

Anyway, there's no guarantee that we should be better off under the ANC, which on its good days can barely manage Shell House and which has been ferocious in preserving for its own future use the National Party's machinery of patronage, the centralised spending, the huge bureaucracies, the parastatals, the interfering and overweening government that breeds both corruption and mismanagement.

Nevertheless, businessmen and foreign ambassadors have been trying to force the pace of negotiations, and

the ANC itself has decided to "turn on the tap". Its motives are a matter for speculation, but it's fair to suggest that Finance Minister Derek Keys may have secured the attention of the ANC's limousine revolutionaries with his charts showing how we are hurtling towards the end of the world.

The attempt to hustle President de Klerk quickly offstage, even if it means offering him "sunset clauses" and other bribes, may not be unconnected with the ideological dispute between Joe Slovo and Pello Jordan, the left-of-SACP intellectual who seems to think negotiation is a form of consorting with the enemy.

Suddenly the ANC is impatient for power, and the reason hardly matters. What does matter is that nobody seems to be asking the critical question: will the main parties agree — can they agree? — on the substance of a democratic constitution in time to meet the ANC's timetable, or even President de Klerk's?

Put the question a bit differently: what powers will the Nationalists allow the ANC to wield over Nationalists? Or what powers will the ANC permit Chief Buthelezi to wield over ANC members? Which of them will control the armed forces of the state, and if none of them, then who?

**O**UR very recent history has shown us that the Nationalists cannot be trusted with money, the armed forces cannot be trusted with power, and neither the ANC nor the Inkatha Freedom Party can be trusted to keep the peace. So what rules will they make for each other? What restraints on power? What checks and balances?

What power to the people?

John Maynard Keynes, I think, once said that no meeting of business competitors did not end in a conspiracy against consumers; similarly, no meeting of politicians does not end in a conspiracy against the people. So what are the chances that the tax-funded Nationalist WaBenzi from Bryntirion and the ANC's *nouveau riche* WaBenzi from Houghton will not, if

they agree at all, conspire against the rest of us?

And what's the rush? They have all the time in the world. The pressure is off. One cannot find a local businessman, nor a German banker, nor a diplomat, nor a government official, who thinks a government of national unity will bring us investment, or restore overseas faith in our blood-soaked economy.

A cabinet minister remarked this week in private conversation that South Africa was drenched in goodwill; the whole world seemed to be holding its breath, praying for us to make a successful transition before the entire sub-continent slips irretrievably into the abyss. To which a prominent Afrikaans capitalist retorted that, yes, they wish us well, but they turn away at the very mention of risking their precious cash here.

**T**HE stark reality is that we are, for the time being, on our own. If our survival depends on foreign investment, we won't survive. If we hope to restore economic growth, we shall have to pull ourselves up by our bootstraps. A few years of disciplined behaviour, of tight monetary policy, of frugal government, of low inflation and rising productivity, of lawful behaviour in the streets and civilised discourse among politicians — and then we shall be able to talk again of foreign investment.

To achieve any of this we shall need agreements, and conventions, and forums, and the Nats and the ANC and the IFP will have to talk to each other. If, in doing so, they reach agreement on a constitution under which each of them is willing to trust the other with the possession of power, well and good. If not, they must carry on talking, because constitution-making is arduous, painstaking work, and if we do not get it right we shall simply have to do it all again, after another round of violence and destruction.

**KEN OWEN**



# Goldstone to assist SADF inquiry

THE Goldstone commission will actively participate in investigations into SA Defence Force intelligence activities headed by Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn.

At a top-level meeting in Pretoria on Friday, Judge Richard Goldstone met with General Steyn, Minister of Justice Kobbie Coetsee, Defence Minister Gene Louw and the Chief of the SA Defence Force, General Kat Liebenberg, to work out the extent of the commission's co-operation.

In a statement issued by the State President's office after the meeting, it was noted that the commission's interest in the investigation by General Steyn "relates to its mandate — the investigation of political violence and intimidation".

Advocate Torie Pretorius, a member of the Goldstone commission's staff who participated in the raid on a Military Intelligence operations centre in Pretoria a fortnight ago — which revealed covert plans to destabilise the ANC's military wing — will work with General Steyn.

His appointment is to ensure the commission will be party to all relevant information gleaned as a result of investigations.

Judge Goldstone reiterated

By CHARLENE SMITH

ated that his commission was not seeking extra legal powers.

"I emphasised in my statement of November 16 1992 that, from its inception, the commission has enjoyed the widest legal powers to enable it to perform its mandate."

However, at a meeting 10 days ago, President FW de Klerk granted a request by the judge for more manpower and resources to enable it to carry out those investigations.

## Staff

It is believed that the commission wants to expand its small, overstretched full-time staff and needs bigger quarters than the cramped offices it now occupies in Pretoria.

Judge Goldstone said he had sought the active co-operation of all relevant parties to enable the commission to investigate the activities of public and private armies and other agencies alleged to be involved in public violence and intimidation.

Judge Goldstone hoped other "relevant non-governmental parties will also give their active co-operation to the commission."



# SUNDAY STAR, 29 NOVEMBER 1992

Intelligence, security police and other covert bodies to ensure these were not used against the ANC in elections.

At the same time the Government would insist on the disbanding of MK.

The Government envisages joint control of the security forces developing along with the constitutional process.

A Government background document this week proposed that a constitution place "the armed forces under neutral, non-partisan control to ensure that they cannot be abused for party political ends". Other differences between the ANC and Government, which had seemed almost insurmountable before this week, have now been narrowed.

## Insisting

Last week the ANC was insisting on a date for an elected interim government, while the Government was digging in its heels.

Now the Government suggests the first half of 1994, while the ANC wants the last quarter of next year — a difference of a few months, and one that can surely be bridged.

Internal differences in the ANC threatened to undermine ANC strategy for power sharing in a new constitution. But the ANC's National Executive this week adopted the power-sharing proposal with minor amendments. De Klerk welcomed this as a positive step.

And both sides are also growing closer on agreeing that an interim government and constitution-making body will only have a limited lifespan.

## ANC hand jointly on the trigger 'by June'

■ **Taking over:** The ANC could begin exercising joint control over South Africa's security forces as early as June next year.

By DAVID BRIDGES  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

DIRTY tricksters and third force operators skulking in the security forces could be answerable to their perceived enemies, the ANC, as early as next June.

This development is the fruit of growing convergence between the Government and ANC on a number of issues — including joint control over the security forces.

Further agreement on control over the SAP, SADF and National Intelligence Service and their integration with the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), are to be discussed at this week's "boseraad" between the Government and ANC.

## Negotiated

President de Klerk revealed this week that in terms of the Government's reform timetable, some joint control over the security forces could be in place by June.

His timetable proposes that a Transitional Executive Council (TEC), including the ANC and several other parties, be instituted in June.

De Klerk said the TEC could have sub-councils involving substantial dealing with aspects of the security forces.

As was negotiated at Codesa before it collapsed, the TEC role in the security forces would "level the playing fields" for an election.

In that sense, said De Klerk, the TEC would be drawn into the process even before an interim government, which he proposes be elected in March or April 1994.

Political sources said this weekend that in practice the ANC would insist that "levelling the playing fields" in the security forces would involve joint control of military





# OPINION

## Behind the mask

**T**HE avuncular mask of the ANC has begun to slip, exposing the true face of an organisation whose members are less schooled in the gentle arts of democracy than in the deceptions and terrors of revolutionary conspiracy.

That the ANC used assassination and torture — the very instruments for which it condemns the clandestine services of the government — has been known in outline for years, but has been difficult to pin down precisely. It has taken a report by Amnesty International to show that the ANC itself has a record as depraved and brutal as anything done by the security police or the clandestine services of the government. This record had hitherto been concealed behind smooth, albeit inane, assurances that the horrors made Albie Sachs weep, but beyond that great care has been taken to conceal the truth and to protect the torturers and the killers.

The Amnesty report discloses the ANC's own inquiry to have been no better at uncovering the truth than the Harms commission on the other side, and for the same reason: ridiculously restrictive terms of reference, and a conspiracy by higher powers to hide the truth.

This dreadful past has evolved into the nasty present. A Goldstone inquiry heard evidence this week which suggested that the ANC, or its SACP arm, may have carried out a classic operation in disinformation when it sent a Mozambican agent to plant a false story in *Vrye Weekblad*.

The episode has no great importance (so far as we know) but it suggests that the ANC's clandestine "dirty war" continues, despite the unbanning of formerly proscribed organisations and leaders. It suggests, too, the contempt in which the ANC holds a free press, including — and perhaps especially — the sympathetic and therefore more gullible "alternative" media.

Finally, as we report elsewhere in this issue, the ANC is sending Umkhonto we Sizwe recruits to Uganda (of all AIDS-ridden pits!) to be trained as soldiers. To what end? To renew the struggle against their fellow-South Africans if, perchance, the electorate chooses a government that Umkhonto, or the SACP, or the ANC dislikes? To resume a civil war? Why, at a time when sensible people argue that we should scale down our military forces because they have no obvious enemy except each other, does the ANC build up an army?

An organisation that knowingly conceals in its ranks both torturers and killers, which simultaneously pursues an open campaign for democracy and maintains a clandestine agenda, and which is building up an army abroad, now wishes to rush quickly through constitution-making so that it can get its bloodied hands on power. Indeed!

The conclusion is plain: far from rushing into a new constitution, we need time, and infinite pains, to ensure that the constitution will curb those whose lust for power drives them to torture, to murder, and to conspire.



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# SATURDAY STAR, 28 NOVEMBER 1992

## JO-ANNE COLLINGE

**THE** African National Congress executed, tortured and ill-treated prisoners in its camps in various African countries over a period of at least 12 years — and government agencies of the host countries actively collaborated in some of these abuses.

This is the conclusion of an investigation of abuses in ANC camps, based on first-hand accounts by surviving victims, by Amnesty International, the influential London-based human rights group.

It reinforces the recently published findings of an ANC-appointed commission of inquiry which found "extraordinary abuse of power" by ANC security officials and "gratuitous and random violence" by guards at the camps.

### Security apparatus

The Amnesty investigation emphasises the need for the ANC and relevant authorities to take action against the perpetrators.

"Individual torturers should be identified in order to ensure that they hold no future position in the ANC or government security apparatus.

"Details of their cases should also be forwarded to the appropriate authorities in the countries where the abuses took place in order that they might be the subject of criminal investigation and, if appropriate, prosecution," Amnesty argues.

"However, these steps should be taken only after a thorough investigation which will allow the alleged human rights violators the opportunity to respond to the allegations against them."

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus pointed out yesterday that the ANC had been gearing up to act on the findings of the inquiry it had initiated. As a first step it had set up a second, more clearly independent, commission comprising two foreign members and one South African.

"Our National Working Committee is still determining the terms of reference of this commission.

In doing so, the issues raised by Amnesty International will also be taken into account," he said.

Amnesty insists that in August 1991 the ANC still held prisoners in Tanzania although it publicly denied this. Amnesty says it has tried in vain to trace five of these prisoners who were held at Dakawa camp: Justice Gumbi, Albert Bhengu, Terror Wonder, Schaft Lwane Khoza and George Kiteseng.

Niehaus reiterated yesterday that none of these was in ANC custody. They were either in Tanzanian jails or else unable to obtain amnesty to return to South Africa.

Noting that ANC president Nelson Mandela said that the leadership of the ANC accepted full responsibility for the

● TO PAGE 2.



# THE SUNDAY TIMES, 29 NOVEMBER 1992

## Show of force by troops brings a lull to violence

By RYAN CRESSWELL

A SCENIC stretch of the Natal South Coast freeway, so dangerous that it has been dubbed the "hell run", is being guarded by soldiers. The soldiers started guarding the stretch of the N2 between Kingsburgh and the Shell Ultra City after 18 incidents of stoning, hijackings and beatings occurred on the road last month.

Soldiers on three armoured Buffels guard the road at different points day and night in shifts.

A company of troops from the Durban Light Infantry and another company from Durban's 19 Field Regiment have been patrolling the road and the area around Umkomas and Umgababa for nearly a month. They are due to be relieved by two companies from a Transvaal regiment this week.

Police in the area have also stepped up patrols. They say only one case of armed robbery happened on the road this month. Captain Bala Naidoo said: "It is now quiet on that stretch of road. We did not know who was going to attack next so we charged some of the people walking along the highway for jaywalking. This helped control the situation."

### Watch

Soldiers guarding the road said they had heard automatic gunfire in the small rolling hills near the road and had found arms and stolen vehicles.

"But we haven't come under fire yet. These days we have to draw fire before we can return it," said a soldier.

Groups of soldiers have also kept watch from the overhead bridges across the freeway.

For years, rocks were hurled down on motorists from the bridges on this stretch of the N2.

### Stabbed

But recently hijackers began hanging rocks on strings from the bridges to burst windcreens, placing large rocks in plastic bags on the road and even driving cattle onto the freeway to stop cars.

In the past few months a number of motorists were stabbed or beaten and others injured when they lost control of their vehicles.

The area is also a hot-spot in the political war between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress.



ON GUARD: Tim Newton, Shane Muller, Bruce Hart, George Whitehead and John de Wet

Picture: HORACE POTTER

## HIGHWAYS OF HATE

By BILL KRIGE

EACH morning a convoy of businessmen leaves Lady Grey under armed escort, not knowing who will survive the 60km run to Sterkspruit in "Little Transkei".

Ten days ago, two men died in separate ambushes on the road to Sterkspruit, a small town which seethes with anti-white hatred.

The road north to the Free State is just as dangerous.

A shop manager was shot dead in April and there has since been a spate of ambushes and attacks, many of them spilling over into the Eastern Cape. The Pan Africanist Congress has claimed responsibility for some of the attacks.

Now suppliers are refusing to run trucks into Sterkspruit, despite a stepped-up Transkei police and military presence. The town is situated in a small pocket of land separate from the main homeland.

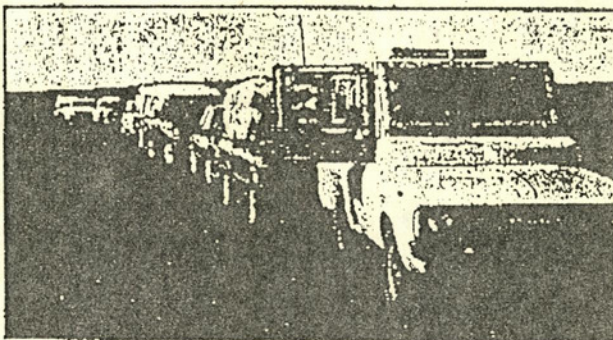
"If they want help from the troops, they will get it. They just have to ask," said Transkei's military leader, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, after meeting a delegation of businessmen on Friday.

But in an open letter to President FW de Klerk, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and PAC president Clarence Makwetu, he accused South Africa of deliberately destabilising his region.

He also accused Pretoria of waging "a relentless psychological war" and of having "resolved to bring about massive starvation of Transkei people in order to foment discontent on a large scale".

The general spoke of an "economic blockade" of Sterkspruit, enforced by the SAP and the military.

In the beleaguered town, critical food and petrol shortages are starting to take their toll, and walls have been spray-painted with PAC slogans.



DANGEROUS JOURNEY... a convoy of businessmen leaves Lady Grey

## Now traders must travel in convoy as town seethes

General Holomisa claimed the shortage of supplies was a repeat of SA's closure of the Lesotho border to bring the government of Chief Leabua Jonathan to heel.

But the borders are open, and there is no visible SAP or military presence near Lady Grey or the entrance to the Hardsch district from Zastron in the Free State.

For businessmen who are sharing the R14 000-a-month cost of hiring a security firm in Alval North for their convoy protection, the bad news is that their problems are likely to persist.

Many see the Transkei police as corrupt and incompetent — they were on strike when the ambushes took place last week — and readily believe the rumours that they will be targeted by the PAC until the last trader is forced to quit.

The word is out that this will be by the end of January.

"There has been a huge increase in crime here. Not a single shop hasn't been hit, but I've yet to learn of an arrest," said one businessman.

The day after the security firm began escorting the convoy, two of its guards were allegedly accosted in a Sterkspruit

fast-food outlet and harassed by Transkei police.

The problem of competent policing was largely a political one of the South African government's making, the deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Gert Myburgh, conceded this week.

"We are all anxiously awaiting the day when we can wipe out boundaries," he told a meeting in Lady Grey. But he didn't expect that to be earlier than 15 months from now.

Referring to rumours of Apla's involvement in the ambush killings this month of Mr James Tsomane and Mr Peter Schroeder, he said it "is a great pity (if) they continue to do this while on the other hand the PAC talks to us".

At least six other motorists have been injured, some of them seriously, by gunfire or petrol bombings in the past few months.

There are only about 40 people who commute from Lady Grey regularly.

One of them, Mr Ben van Rooyen, had petrol bombs flung at his vehicle while passing the same spot where his employee, Mr Tsomane, died last week while trying to help victims of an earlier shooting.

Mr Charlie Mather, owner of a range of businesses which employ 200 Transkeians, said there had been a marked upsurge in anti-white feeling in Sterkspruit.

"Transkei police stopped our convoy to search us for weapons. Why? We're the victims," he said.

Meanwhile, an intercity bus line has temporarily rerouted its vehicles for fear of attacks in the Transkei.

Translux spokesman Elmarie Botha said on Friday the bus service from the Eastern Cape to Natal was being rerouted through the Free State.



## Calming words

**P**RESIDENT de Klerk's timetable for constitutional reform, spelled out in some detail this week, has gone some way towards steadying the volatile mood of businessmen who, by default, have come to speak for the white community. At least the President has nipped in the bud the rumour that flashed through the boardrooms earlier in the week, suggesting that a government of national unity, or at least a joint executive, was no more than months away.

Instead, the President has set a framework against which progress in negotiations can be sensibly judged. A great deal remains to be done if the transition is to be

completed by 1994, and obstacles may be expected at a dozen different points in the process.

Those, mainly businessmen, who think the country cannot survive another year without a constitutional settlement had better lie down now and die; the rest of us can get on with the task of making a living in the meantime. At least there is no need to stam-pede from one end of Diagonal Street to the other, straining to capture rumours of impending doom.

As for President de Klerk, when he sees the settling effect of telling people frankly and plainly how he sees the future, he may learn to take the public into his confidence more frequently.

## The eyes have it

THE ANC's negotiating team was asked at a press conference this week what effect the Goldstone commission revelations on a military intelligence plot to discredit the organisation had on personal relations with their government counterparts.

Mohamed Valli Moosa responded: "I don't talk to them." (This, it later transpired, meant that he wasn't part of the team dealing with the government, rather than that he kept quiet at meetings).

Mac Maharaj, who obviously does attend meetings, said they glowered at their counterparts with a "sterner look in our eyes".

Joe Slovo responded that "it lengthens the spoon we use to sup with them".





# Slain ANC leader ex-Inkatha official

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Reporter

ANC Natal Midlands deputy chairman Reggie Hadebe, who was murdered near Ixopo in Natal on Tuesday, was once a senior member of the Inkatha Freedom Party's Youth Brigade, The Star learnt yesterday.

The 35-year-old Hadebe, who was very popular in ANC ranks in the Natal Midlands, was shot dead when a car carrying ANC officials from a peace meeting in Ixopo was ambushed on Tuesday. He was shot in the neck and died on the way to hospital.

In an interview with the BBC World Service on the same day, KwaZulu Chief Minister and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he was sorry to learn about Hadebe's death. He said he had known Hadebe personally "when he was a member of my party".

IFP spokesman Thami Duma



Reggie Hadebe . . . very popular in ANC ranks.

later confirmed to The Star that Hadebe, whose wife Regina is expecting their seventh child, joined the IFP — then known simply as Inkatha — in 1975 and resigned in 1978. He was national treasurer of the IFP Youth Brigade.

ANC Natal Midlands regional executive committee mem-

ber Yunus Carrim yesterday spoke highly of Hadebe, saying he was "a good strategist and is irreplaceable".

Carrim said Hadebe — who often served as Natal Midlands regional chairman "because comrade Harry Gwala is often busy" — was born in Ixopo and educated at the University of Zululand, where he obtained his BA degree. He later taught at Saint Mary's Seminary from 1982 to 1984, where he rose to the position of deputy principal.

Hadebe, who was president of the students' representative council at the University of Zululand in 1981, left Ixopo in 1985 to flee violence in the area and settled in Maritzburg, where he was active in the United Democratic Front.

In 1986 he was elected to the national executive committee of the National Education Union of South Africa, and was regional chairman of the union in the Natal Midlands.

According to Carrim, Hadebe was detained under the state of emergency in 1988.



## MP fires shots at would-be assassins

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — Inkatha official and KwaZulu MP David Ntombela yesterday escaped another assassination attempt (more than 20 attempts have been made on his life) when his car was shot at on the Edendale-Elands-kop road.

The shooting came after the assassination of local ANC leader Reggie Hadebe on the Richmond-Ixopo road.

Ntombela said: "I want to warn the people who want to kill me. I won't run away. I will defend myself with everything I've got. I don't believe in killing others, but I will act in self-defence."

Ntombela and three companions were driving home from a regional dispute resolution committee meeting in Durban when they were ambushed by gunmen at about 5 pm on the Edendale-Elands-kop road.

Their vehicle was struck by bullets, but no one was injured.



David Ntombela . . 'I won't run away.'

Ntombela said two men were standing at the roadside. One fired at his car, the bullet thudding into the bodywork at his foot. Ntombela and his bodyguards got out and fired at the two men, who ran away.

"As we chased them I saw they were running towards a group of about 10 men. Obviously they wanted to lure us to the group, but the group ran away when we fired."



# Hadebe: ANC claim Ulundi hit-list

DURBAN. — The assassination of African National Congress Natal Midlands deputy chairman Reggie Hadebe was the direct result of a hit-list emanating from Ulundi, ANC officials claimed yesterday.

Mr Hadebe (35), died when a vehicle transporting ANC officials to Pietermaritzburg from an aborted peace meeting with tribal chiefs in Ixopo was ambushed on Tuesday afternoon.

Inkatha Central Committee member Walter Felgate disputed the ANC allegations last night: "That's an absurd accusation.

"If the ANC has discovered a hit-list we find it astonishing they didn't hand it to the National Peace Committee and only talk about it after someone dies."

Meanwhile, the driver of the vehicle which was ambushed, Midlands ANC deputy secretary and attorney John Jeffery told a news conference in

Pietermaritzburg yesterday: "I have no doubt the people responsible were at that (Ixopo) meeting.

"The assassination of comrade Reggie Hadebe was a well planned ambush by trained assassins. All the facts point to this ... The Inkatha Freedom Party and the state will have to answer many questions," said Midlands ANC chairman Harry Gwala.

Mr Felgate also rejected this claim, saying the IFP did not use violence as a political means.

He said that if the ANC had information or allegations on the killing they should hand it to the correct channels, including the police and the Goldstone Commission — which will inquire into Natal violence next month.

Mr Gwala further said the National Peace Accord was in jeopardy following Mr Hadebe's murder.

He called for a review of the accord nationally in light of its failures, particularly in Natal.

Expanding on this, leaders from the ANC's three Natal regions cited several examples of the IFP's withdrawal from local peace structures in these areas.

Tuesday's failed peace meeting in Ixopo was one example, they said.

Mr Felgate explained his organisation had suspended involvement in some local structures because "our people are being killed on their way home from these meetings".

He said attacks on IFP supporters also continued while peace structures were being established.

Elaborating on their allegations against the IFP, Southern Natal chairman Mr Jeff Radebe said ANC intelligence sources had discovered a hit-list, compiled in Ulundi, of ANC leaders in Natal who were to be assassinated.

Mr Hadebe's name was included and "his assassination proves our information is correct".

The ANC leaders said the ambush required planning and accurate, reliable communication.

They explained that the car they were travelling in was not known but could have been marked at Ixopo.

"In our view the choice of the site and the clear need for communication make this a well-planned operation."

Mr Felgate, meanwhile, said the ANC's response to Mr Hadebe's murder would only exacerbate existing tensions in Natal and could lead to more violence. — Sapa.

## Hadebe: IFP is 'disturbed'

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday said it was "very disturbed" by Tuesday's ambush murder of African National Congress Natal Midlands leader Mr Reggie Hadebe.

"Though he was no friend of the IFP, we abhor this senseless killing," the IFP said in a

statement.

The IFP added that despite intense provocation, it had always rejected the use of violence as a political strategy.

The IFP also suggested that people refrain from speculating about the identity of

those responsible for Mr Hadebe's death.

"It should be noted in this regard that the attempted assassination of Hadebe just two months ago was the result of inter-ANC fighting in Pietermaritzburg between comrades and MK," the IFP statement said. — Sapa.



THE CITIZEN 29-OCTOBER 1992

## Saddened Pope decries acts of anti-Semitism

VATICAN CITY. — Pope John Paul yesterday strongly denounced recent incidents of anti-Semitism and xenophobia in Europe and expressed solidarity with Jews.

Speaking at his weekly general audience, the Pope said he was saddened by the profanation of the memory of the millions of victims of the Holocaust, the Nazi extermination of Jews.

"The Church deplores the hate, the persecutions and all forms of anti-Semitism which

target the Jews of any era and which are carried out by anybody," the Pope said.

Vandals in Germany last week wrecked a former concentration camp cemetery in the third attack in a month on a memorial to victims of Nazi extermination.

The Pontiff was quoting from *Nostra Aetate* (In Our Times), a 1965 Vatican document which revolutionised relations with Jews by repudiating the notion of collective Jewish guilt for the death of Christ.

In the latest incident in Germany on Friday night, assailants smashed 50 concrete grave-stones and daubed swastikas on a memorial plaque in the small town of Ueberlingen on Lake Constance, at the border with Switzerland and Austria.

The Pope, who helped protect Jews in his native Poland during the wartime German occupation, also said he was concerned about recent episodes of xenophobia, racial tensions and what he called

extreme and fanatic nationalism".

"Every form of racism is a sin against God and humanity," he said.

Hostels for foreigners seeking political asylum in Germany have been the favourite target of almost nightly attacks by Right-wing and neo-Nazi gangs.

The Pope crowned improved Catholic-Jewish relations in 1986 when he became the first Pontiff to visit a synagogue. — Sapa



# Dr T: We'll negotiate with ANC present

By Fred de Lange

IN an important policy statement Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, last night said he and his party would take part in any negotiation forum in which the ANC was also represented.

In a statement released in Pretoria last night, Dr Treurnicht said that CP would not allow itself to be disqualified from taking part in any negotiation forum by the mere presence of the ANC at the same forum.

He said his party would

look after the interests of the Afrikaner nation at such negotiation forums.

Dr Treurnicht stressed, however, that his party would not get involved in direct negotiation with the ANC.

"The CP has never sought out the company of the ANC and will also never become involved in direct talks with the ANC as long as that organisation denied the Afrikaner's right to its own land and its self-determination.

"The CP would, however, not allow itself to be disqualified from stating its case in the interest of the Afrikaner nation by

the mere presence of the ANC at a negotiation forum," he said.

Dr Treurnicht's statement followed a statement by the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) in which that organisation expressed surprise at a decision by the CP to take part in a joint negotiation forum on a local government for the greater Pretoria area.

The leader of the AVU, Mnr Andries Beyers, said while the decision to take part in the forum was in direct contrast with the declared policy of the CP, it should nevertheless be welcomed.

Dr Treurnicht said in reaction to this that the AVU obviously had a severe identity crisis and this was manifested in the way in which the AVU frequently changed its association with different political groupings.

He said by making such a statement, Mr Beyers obviously, shared the aims of the ANC/SACP alliance and was even acting as a spokesman for the ANC and the National Party.

This was especially true in the light of the fact that the AVU piously took part in the forum for talks arranged by COSAG.



THE CITIZEN 29 OCTOBER 1992

## PAC opportunism

THE PAC's offer to mediate between the ANC and the IFP is a sick and blatant attempt to derive political mileage for itself from the violence that is ravaging our country.

The following should be considered in this regard:

1. PAC members are involved in violence albeit at a smaller scale than others.

2. By "offering" to mediate between the IFP and the ANC, the PAC neglects the main causative factor of the violence; ie, the apartheid regime, and it further gives credence to the simplistic view that the current violence is "Black on Black" violence.

3. The PAC doesn't have the standing or the credibility with either the ANC or the IFP to be of any use as mediators.

4. Why does the PAC persist in "offering" its services as mediator when already a war of words has broken out between itself and the ANC, the latter rejecting the PAC intervention?

A true "honest broker" will not advertise its services through the media, by disclosing publicly letters it has sent to Nelson Mandela, etc.

The PAC's opportunism does not begin with this "offer". The PAC has now seen it fit to meet the De Klerk regime, after most of the obstacles and the dirty work have

already been done by the ANC, and it can now discuss the "modalities of a constituent assembly" after the government has already agreed to it, after extracting concessions from the ANC.

The PAC then proudly proclaims to its supporters that it has "forced the regime" to a constituent assembly, while yielding nothing to the regime — unlike the compromising ANC!

While the present level of violence must be stopped, it is a pity that the PAC sees it necessary to follow the strategy of opportunism and grandstanding to further its political objectives.

**K BADAL**

Durban



## CP confusion over joining Pta forum

Citizen Reporter

CONFUSION reigned at the Conservative Party's head office in Pretoria yesterday after an announcement by the leader of the CP in the Pretoria City Council, Mr Paul Fouche, that he and members of his caucus intended to take part in a negotiation forum with the aim of establishing one local government in the greater Pretoria area.

The decision to take part in the forum is in direct contrast with a firm commitment last week by the CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, that his party would in no way become involved with negotiations with the ANC.

The Chief Secretary of the CP, Dr Lem Theron, was still attempting to reach Mr Fouche by late yesterday afternoon to clarify the matter.

When approached by The Citizen, he denied any knowledge of Mr Fouche's decision. When Mr Fouche later issued a statement confirming the decision, Dr Theron said this did not mean that the CP would be negotiating with the ANC and that negotiations at the forum would only be directed at the other groups present, excluding the ANC.

The forum, which is

due to hold a plenary session tonight, consists mainly of the ANC and ANC-supporting organisations. The ANC, the SA Communist Party and Cast, as well as a number of other smaller organisations which support the ANC, hold two-thirds of the 24 seats on the Management Board of the forum.

Mr Fouche said in his statement that it was absolutely necessary for his caucus to take notice of happenings and actions of the party's representatives on the first tier of government.

The progress made in the area of self-determination for nations made at Cosag held promise for the acceptance of a conceivable constitutional option for South Africa.

He said the participation of the CP on a joint negotiation forum for a local government system for the Pretoria metropolitan area should therefore be seen in the light of:

- The maintenance of a Christian philosophy of life as was prescribed in the living Word of God.

- The belief that self-determination of nations and therefore also for the Afrikaner was the only in-

fallible recipe for maximum peace for the different nations in South Africa on all levels.

- The CP's honest, dedicated and unbiased contribution towards bringing peace and peace of mind for the different ethnic groupings as well as the residents of all the city councils surrounding Pretoria.

In its reaction to Mr Fouche's announcement, the leader of the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU), Mr Andries Beyers, welcomed the decision.

He said while this announcement was in direct contrast with Dr Treurnicht's view, it should be welcomed because the decision to take part in the forum was in the interest of the residents of Pretoria.

"The CP will in future no longer be able to attack the AVU because we are prepared to negotiate with Communists and atheists because their city councils are doing the same," Mr Beyers said.

He said negotiations with all parties, including the ANC, was in the best interests of a peaceful settlement. The CP city councillor's decision to lead the party leadership was therefore necessary.



## LETTERS

The Citizen PO Box 7712  
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# Making deal with ANC won't work

WHEN President De Klerk started his reform programme he appeared to have a clear vision of the goal and the way to reach it.

Maybe he still has, but it is disconcerting to trace the path of negotiation which is littered with key positions abandoned by the National Party:

1. The government was completely opposed to an interim government before a new constitution had been negotiated. Now the main purpose of negotiation seems to be to install just such a government.

2. The government was adamant that a new constitution must be negotiated between the leaders of the main parties and not imposed by an elected constituent assembly where the largest party can dictate to the other groups. This position has been abandoned.

3. The government wanted a rotating presidency as a means of true power sharing. This idea has been buried quietly.

4. The government wanted a second chamber

with strong veto powers. This concept has been completely watered down.

5. The government wanted a 75 percent majority requirement for decisions affecting the constitution and other important matters. This position has been abandoned.

6. The disbanding of MK was one of the government's conditions for further negotiation. MK is still around, killing, robbing and now even forging money (The Citizen, October 23).

7. The government insisted that an indemnity or amnesty to ANC members could be granted only if a similar amnesty was granted to members of other groups. The ANC refused, so the government caved in. Now the government is being told by the ANC that it will "nullify" any such legislation introduced unilaterally by the government (The Citizen, October 23).

8. In its eagerness to woo the ANC back to the negotiating table, the

government has now also managed to alienate and weaken vital allies such as Buthelezi.

Where are they going to draw the line?

The government's current policy of making a "deal" with the ANC will not work. History has shown again and again that when you deal with a radical organisation with strong Marxist and revolutionary leanings, you have to negotiate from a position of strength.

Appeasing radicals does not work, it only increases their appetite for more concessions.

Once the government has stripped itself of its allies and power base, it will stand naked in the cold and the ANC will just dump it, regardless of any "deals".

The majority of moderate people in South Africa rely on the National Party to safeguard their future. To secure this future, the National Party will have to make a stand. I hope they know where and when to make it.

PETER PRICE

Johannesburg



## SA faces bloodbath if leaders don't talk: DP

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — South Africa faces a bloodbath unless State President De Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi worked together to end violence and resume negotiations, the Democratic Party warned yesterday.

With decreasing confidence in the three principal leaders, the country was drifting closer to civil war, said Dr Zach de Beer, DP leader.

The assassination of Mr Reggie Hadebe, deputy leader of the ANC in the Natal Midlands, following shortly on the killing of 30 people at the weekend, was a grim warning that South Africa's option for a peaceful resolution was being increasingly narrowed.

"While political leaders delay the negotiation process, people continue to be killed.

"The National Peace Committee, which the DP strongly supports, is preparing a meeting of all political leaders. But it is to be regretted that a tragedy like this should be required to trigger such a meeting.

"The DP urges all political leaders to use this opportunity to focus on how to alleviate further violence by resuming negotiations as speedily as possibly.

"Any further delays move us closer to civil war."

Dr De Beer said a recent poll indicated decreasing confidence in Mr De Klerk, Mr Mandela and Dr Buthelezi. They

should heed this finding.

"A meeting between all political leaders is not enough. A shift in focus is urgently required among all political parties.

"Priority must be given to greater responsiveness to the grievances and demands of the people. Agreements among leaders are fruitless if they are not translated to and accepted by the people," added Dr De Beer.

Mr Colin Eglin, chairman of the DP caucus and former party leader, also warned that the country now faced one of the greatest challenges in its history.

South Africa would have to achieve reconciliation, or it would see its future promise replaced by "a bloodbath which will make Lebanon look like a haven of tranquillity".