

AP 1992-4-3-12

Buthelezi attacks De Beer

IDO LEKOTA

ULUNDI: In what could be interpreted as an attack against those calling for Yes in the forthcoming referendum, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has accused Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer of making public statements "which are totally disruptive of normalised IFP/DP relations."

"I am thinking here of his astounding statement that by definition agreements between the National Party and the African National Congress at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa amount to sufficient consensus."

On Tuesday Dr Buthelezi accused the Government of colluding with the ANC to exclude KwaZulu from the constitutional negotiations. He also indicated that he was no longer "comfortable" with the State President, given Mr F.W. de Klerk's present relationship with the ANC.

Meanwhile, political experts feel that yesterday's attack on Dr de Beer, together with Dr Buthelezi's assertion on Tuesday — accusing the English institutions, academics and Press of "propping up" the rejection of the Zulus at Codesa — could alienate English-speaking whites from whom Dr Buthelezi has hitherto commanded support.

The experts claimed that such alienation could sway some of the referendum voters.

Dr Buthelezi dismissed media reports that his statement saying he would "go to the very heart of Afrikanerdom and campaign until KwaZulu's right to participate in negotiation is recognised" could be interpreted as a support for a No vote in the referendum.

According to him, he issued a statement on February 2 supporting a Yes vote in the referendum.

On negotiations the KwaZulu Chief Minister said he saw the vital necessity of the State President negotiating with black leaders.

However, he indicated that he did not believe in negotiations that were doomed to fail.

Dr Buthelezi also reiterated his commitment to individual and minority group rights.

"Guaranteeing group rights is a compromise I am prepared to make, whether it be in one or another form of consociational government or whether it be in one or other form of federal government — or whatever else is truly democratic and can gain mass acceptance."

Yesterday Dr Buthelezi also called for one sovereign state in which there was one sovereign Parliament: "We have always had one sovereign state with one sovereign Parliament and there can be no deviation from this fact," he said.

The Citizen 12/3/92 (1)

FW: NP FIERCELY ANTI-COMMUNIST

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — The National Party was not only "fiercely anti-Communist", but would ensure that Communist ideology had no part in the new South Africa, State President De Klerk has said in response to Right-wing allegations of Communist influence.

"I reject with contempt that we are playing footsie, or that we are subjecting ourselves to Communist pressure.

"We regard Communism as a major threat, something which needs to be opposed and something that has proved itself to be detrimental in any society," Mr De Klerk said.

The fact that the Communist Party had been

unbanned did not mean subscribing to Communism. Other parties with other ideologies were also unbanned.

"There is, for instance, the AWB, which supports a cross-breed between Nazism and Fascism: I don't agree with that either. I differ from that as vehemently as I differ

TO PAGE 2

• See Page 4, 0

The Citizen
12/3/92

2

FW slams Communism

FROM PAGE 1

from Communism.

"Nazism and Fascism have done as much harm in the world, and specifically in Europe, as Communism has done. All these ideologies are absolutely unacceptable, they are bad news, and we can never allow them to take hold in South Africa."

Speaking at Pretoria last weekend, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, said the NP was negotiating to hand the people over to Communists. That was a lie.

"I don't like accusing a fellow-believer of a lie, but if anybody says we are pro-Communist, and that we are allies of the Communists, then there is no milder expression than saying he is telling a lie."

"We are strongly anti-Communist. Communism is unacceptable, and has always been unacceptable. And we have no alliance with the ANC."

The NP had fundamental policy differences with the ANC, but these were even stronger in the case of the SA Communist Party, which had been vigorously opposed at a time when it was supported by Russia and received money, training and weaponry from the Eastern Bloc.

"But Communism has failed. Even the countries of its origin have forsaken it. Now only Cuba is trying to keep Communism afloat, and Cuba and Communism are fast sinking."

It was therefore possible to deal with Communism differently than before, by exposing it and its failures to the light. It now had to argue against the statements of people like Gorbachev and Yeltsin who said it could not work.

Mr De Klerk said Communism was based on five key characteristics — and the new South African constitution must protect against all five.

In the first instance, everything in a Communist system was centralised and there was no devolution of power. The NP said in a new constitution the devolution of powers was an absolute prerequisite — the total opposite of Communism.

The NP said there should be devolution to regional government, to local government and ever lower, so that communities could make decisions for themselves of matters affecting them.

Secondly, Communism did not allow free elections or multi-party elections, but established a one-party state.

"We will never agree to a constitution which does not ensure beyond all doubt that regular multi-party elections will take place — we would not even consider it for a moment. That is absolutely the opposite of Communism."

A third characteristic of Communism was that religion was undermined and even prohibited. Communism viewed religion as a threat, because Communism was an ideology.

"We say that absolute freedom of religion and acknowledgment of it are prerequisites for a new constitution. Otherwise, we (the NP) will not be party to it and there will not be a new dispensation. Again, the opposite of Communism."

Fourthly, under Communism everything belonged to the State. What was sought in South Africa was a constitution which absolutely entrenched private property ownership, which was the exact opposite of the Communist philosophy.

"The private ownership of property must be safe against any arbitrary actions of any future government, and protected against any state interference. It must be so and will be so."

Fifthly, Communism saw the security forces as an integral part, and extension of the Communist Party. It manipulated security forces and made them part of its political structure.

"We say there must be objective security forces, resistant to political interference, and which regards its highest duty as the maintenance of the constitution. That is again the precise opposite of Communism," said Mr De Klerk.

"We say, give us a mandate to make all five of these elements, which are diametrically opposed to Communism, part of the new constitution."

"When we have done that, with such a constitution, then Communism will be like a fish on dry ground."

"The constitution, in terms of our proposals, cannot and should not be amendable with just a simple majority. Amendments must require a highly increased majority. There must also be consensus before you change a constitution."

"I therefore say that our very proposals, those which we have identified as being the essentials, must be part of a new constitution."

"They are anti-Communist in their definition and in their intent and in their goal."

"Therefore I reject with contempt the allegation that we are giving in to Communist pressure or that we are in alliance with the Communists."

Referring more specifically to the ANC, Mr De Klerk said there were "fundamental differences" between the NP and ANC, and problems still to be solved.

"There is the problem of the ANC only having suspended the armed struggle and not having ended it. Arms caches must be handled effectively and placed under proper control."

"Political movements cannot operate as political movements while they have private armies. Unless they end the armed struggle, we cannot venture into long-term binding agreements at Code-sa."

"There must be an unconditional commitment and involvement in the peaceful process, not a conditional one," said Mr De Klerk.

Chief puts weight behind Yes vote in March 17 referendum

The Daily News Thursday March 1992-12

Buthelezi shrugs off CP's overture

**IDO LEKOTA and
MARTIN CHALLENGOR**

Daily News Reporters

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has firmly squashed attempts by Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht and other CP people to drag him on to their side in the referendum campaign.

Delivering his policy speech in Ulundi yesterday, Dr Buthelezi called for one sovereign parliament in South Africa, which is the complete opposite of the CP's idea of South Africa being broken up into independent nation states — the new name they give to the National Party's failed homelands system.

Dr Buthelezi is annoyed by CP attempts to claim his support. Having his name used in the media as a political football in the referendum made him feel "sick in the pit of my stomach", he said.

Dr Treurnicht and other CP members are desperately looking for black endorsement for their partition plan and have portrayed the willingness of black leaders to speak to them as potential support for partition.

All the black leaders Dr Treurnicht has met have urged him to take his case to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

Dr Treurnicht said in Durban last night: "Let Gatsha Buthelezi tell you whether he despises the whites or whether he seeks a sort of alliance in the future with exactly, precisely, the conservative whites of South Africa."

The Natal leader of the CP, Carl Werth, said in Richmond earlier this week that the CP was relatively satisfied "we can talk with" Dr Buthelezi. The IFP, President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and the Ciskei coup leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, "added to the CP makes a big block of people, a very big power base", Mr Werth said.

However, dashing the CP's hopes, Dr Buthelezi repeated yesterday that he had issued a statement on February 20 supporting a Yes vote. "The unitary system which we knew ever since 1910 and a universal adult franchise system which could make it work has always been my cherished ideal, and remains my cherished ideal."

Dr Buthelezi said: "I am prepared to look at

alternatives provided always the alternatives do not compromise the necessary and fundamental principle of democracy itself.

"Before we can have any democracy worth talking about we must have one sovereign state in which there is one sovereign parliament.

News by Ido Lekota and R.M. Challenger, 18 Osborne Street, Durban.

See Pages 2 and 5

CP claims Nat lead is narrowing

JOHANNESBURG: With the referendum campaign entering its crucial final stretch, a buoyant Conservative Party is claiming it has narrowed the lead of the Yes vote down to just a few percentage points.

CP sources said yesterday the NP's own latest estimates showed that their original 60-40 lead had been pared right down to a nail-biting 52-48 narrow margin.

But the National Party yesterday firmly rejected this, and said the Yes-vote camp was still commanding just under 59 percent of the vote — a very slight drop on its estimated lead before the campaign started.

Reliable political observers believe that the No camp is making much of the running among the large body of voters which was uncertain at the start of the campaign. But this could still change depending on how the campaign went in the next few days.

The observers say the bedrock of about 49 percent Yes voters is solid, and could expand to produce a winning result of between 53 and 62 percent.

But, they warned, the chances of the landslide victory which President de Klerk wants were looking increasingly

remote under current circumstances.

They said the CP's persistent message that a Yes vote is a vote for "black communist domination" was resonating among many voters and they believed the Yes camp was not adequately refuting this message.—Daily News Correspondents

News by S. Johnson and P. Fabricius, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg.

March 12, 1992

THE NATAL MERCURY

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Bishop supports 'church Codesa'

THE president of the South African Catholic Bishops Conference (SACBC), Bishop Wilfrid Napier, has pledged his support for KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthe's suggestion that there be a church Codesa.

Bishop Napier said that while a church Codesa might not be feasible "right now", the issue should be addressed.

"And a first step towards structured joint action is the objective evaluation of the existing ecumenical structure, with a view to assessing how it could become effectively the church Codesa," he said.

"I believe the motivation for a church Codesa must be above suspicion, otherwise it will not get

Mercury Reporter

widescale support."

Bishop Napier said the greatest practical obstacle to this was the lack of an assured source of income to fund the process.

He said although the Conference of Churches at Rustenburg might be regarded as a church Codesa, it was in fact a "once-off conference and not a process towards a well-defined goal".

"It sought and reached consensus on a very limited number of issues, leaving the crucial ones hanging," he said.

Bishop Napier said the greatest weaknesses of the Rustenburg meeting were "its lack of authority, its failure to set up a follow-up structure and its financial non-viability".

Inkatha slams SAP attack statement

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has slammed the SAP for suggesting that Inkatha members were responsible for killing six people during a weekend attack in Mpumalanga.

Mr Kim Hodgson, head of the Inkatha Institute's violence study unit, said investigations had shown that the attack on the Ndlovu home in Dhlamini Road, Section C, Unit 3, was the result of a "domestic dis-

pute".

"The motive for the attack was not political... neither the ANC nor the IFP as political organisations were involved."

● Police spokesman Capt Bala Naidoo said yesterday the SAP stood by its earlier statement that the attackers were "believed to be Inkatha supporters". — (Mercury Reporter)

Movement fails to disrupt Codesa PAC has to have a credible alternative

SOWETAN 12-03-92

THE PAC enters its third national congress next month facing the heaviest odds in its entire existence.

Since the movement decided not to continue in multiparty talks - which are embodied by Codesa - last November, it has faced the arduous task of creating an impression on the unfolding democracy in South Africa.

It has been difficult for the PAC over the past four months to disturb the flow of Codesa. In fact, almost all the political leaders in Codesa are emphatic: "The PAC cannot disrupt Codesa."

Nevertheless, while Codesa has been accepted by all and sundry as the most effective vehicle for change in the country, the PAC has dubbed it a farce.

And with this the Africanists have isolated themselves from the mainstream - but have retained their following.

In places, PAC membership has swelled, and it reports around 410 branches nationwide.

At next month's congress in Umtata, the PAC expects nearly 4 000 delegates from within South Africa and from around the world.

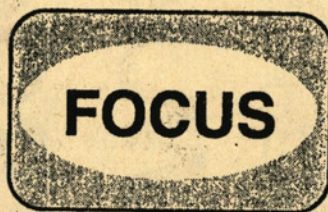
Effectively then, in shirking Codesa, the PAC has bolstered its grassroots popularity.

The question then is: What next? Where to now?

Mr Mhlubi Mbandazayo, the PAC's political affairs spokesman, says that the Africanists are not terribly perturbed by Codesa and the advances made there.

The PAC keeps one eye in the convention but its main focus remains on education.

"Our main thrust is to educate the masses about political developments.



ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

"We must show them what Codesa has to offer, and what tricks lie behind Codesa," Mbandazayo explains.

In terms of PAC thinking, Codesa is a forum where the "political strength" of the liberation movement is outweighed by the "relative strength" of the white people in South Africa.

The PAC's national organiser, Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani, cites the gun laws as an example.

"Whites have always been allowed to (legally) own up to 27 firearms, they have had military training, the South African Defence Force reports to the white government, the white minority holds the economic power in the country and Parliament and the civil service are controlled by whites," Nemadzivhanani says.

Both Nemadzivhanani and Mbandazayo believe that this powerful position of the white bloc will lead to black people being "co-opted" into central government as "co-managers" of apartheid.

Mbandazayo believes, too, that it is not enough to protest against Codesa only for the sake of protesting.

"We must come out very clearly with our own position," he says.

What is the PAC's position, then?

"We shall never stop short of the total transfer of power to the majority," he says.

And the PAC does not believe that Codesa will deliver this.

It is easy, he explains for political negotiators in Codesa to speak about "peace and good government" in supplication of eventual votes.

"But we in the PAC are not looking at numbers or (a show of) hands.

"We are looking at the heads behind the hands," he says.

Shifting the locus to what Codesa promises, he says the convention is loaded with people like homeland leaders and political figures in the tri-cameral Parliament who do not have any real constituencies.

He points out that military leaders in the Transkei, Ciskei and Venda were never voted into power by means of elections.

"The bantustans and the tri-cameral Parliament are structures of apartheid anyway," Mbandazayo says.

The PAC believes, however, that the present constitution - which makes room for apartheid structures in terms of the Own Affairs concept - should be abolished.

"It cannot be in existence during the interim period," he says.

The PAC does not, before the April congress, rule out participation in an interim government or constituent assembly - the latter might however by the end of the negotiation process be known by a different name.

"If a constituent assembly is created democratically, we have no problem with participating. But we will do so at a disadvantage," Mbandazayo says.

It is in this regard, he explains, that the PAC congress must come up with a workable alternative to disrupt and discredit Codesa, he says.

"Our members do not want to be part of Codesa. But we will put it to them that this is not enough. They must mandate us to come up with an alternative," he says emphatically.

But, surely, the leaders of the PAC must be able to read the situation, must be able to take a decision and lead?

"Naturally the leadership will make suggestions, but it remains up to the party as a whole. And its following on the ground make as much difference as its leadership," Mbandazayo says.

Is there, then, absolutely no way that the PAC will, at this stage, get involved in negotiations of any kind with at least the Government present?

"We are prepared to have bilateral talks with the Government in a foreign country with an independent chairman, and only to discuss the modalities of a constituent assembly.

"At this meeting a transitional authority will be appointed which will return to South Africa and govern by decree," he explains.

The PAC faces a difficult task in stepping out of the giant shadow that Codesa is casting in South Africa, and indeed coming out with a more acceptable (to the world) alternative to the convention.

And when it does come out of next month's congress, a lot of people will be waiting to see just what it is that the Africanists have up their sleeve.

But at this point nobody knows.

Boesak furious as Norway cuts aid

DR ALLAN Boesak yesterday rejected reports that his Foundation for Peace and Justice had inadequately accounted for funds from the Norwegian government.

According to the reports from Oslo, Norway has stopped aid to the foundation because it failed to deliver complete accounting

Sowetan Correspondent

for its support in 1991.

Last year Norway gave the foundation R400 000 as part of about R1,78 million in support since 1986.

Boesak, chairman of the ANC in the Western Cape, said it was a misunder-

standing or somebody had slipped up.

"I am angry and shocked that this has happened. It's a gross misunderstanding and I expect the Norwegians to clear it up."

He said he had given the Norwegians financial reports and statements since 1986.

"They are talking about

taking a decision on the basis of not getting reports for 1991 to 1992. But that's impossible, because our fiscal year ends on February 28. That means we are winding up our books," Boesak said.

The foundation's books were ready to go to his auditors, he said.

"Normally all our

funders get an auditor's report and my report by the end of April."

He had been told that "there are some people in Norway who are concerned that the foundation will be used to strengthen the position of the ANC as a political party and also my own position".



ON THE LINE

**Aggrey
Klaaste**

THE ugly, ungainly sprawl of dead bodies on the front pages of *Sowetan* is becoming the norm.

It is also getting me down.

Newspapers use such dreadful pictures for various reasons.

The immediate reason is aimed at getting what is rather indelicately called the "best" story or picture. In the old days it was called a scoop but with television and other forms of instant communication, scoops are rare.

Sadistic

This does not mean journalists are sadistic or ghoulish. They are forced by dictates of the market - the readers who prefer bad news over good.

Another reason is the endeavour to shock readers, with the intention (the hopeful intention, I must add) that such acts will be stopped.

This sometimes works. Many times it does not. *Sowetan* tries to be the type of paper that responds immediately, preferably creatively, to problems in the community. If we can shock or advise, cajole or induce readers to be peaceful we give it our best shot.

We start campaigns. We will soon start a peace crusade with the help of our communities and certain organisations.

We will try to reach every mind, touch every heart.

to communities, I believe the essential "glue" that keeps nations together must come from its children.

I have suggested that members of all organisations, political and otherwise, of all race groups should have plans to fight for the present and future happiness of our children.

I thought that while I am nation building, we should remind ourselves of Steve Biko and how he had his own brand of nation building.

I am not ashamed to say that the fundamentals of my thinking on nation building came from Steve Biko and Black Consciousness. I know I have upset the followers of this creed by not following the political or ideological imperatives behind BC to the letter.

Biko was a revolutionary, not in the orthodox fashion that causes hair to grow on the puny political chests of weaklings, but in an honest and profound manner.

Steve Biko's magic came from a love of people - all people - and what almost seemed like a romantic innocence about the goodness of man.

Saintly

Such saintly people are usually martyred.

Steve Biko could quite easily have taken the fashionable route to fame and "relevance" by using all the accepted slogans and beating his chest with orthodox rhetoric.

At the start of this year I said I would start a children's crusade, a process that will encourage people to what is best for the nation of South Africa. I said that every married woman knows the way to marital harmony by a love

What he did - and I am amazed at the way in which political organisations have failed to copy this - was to get intimately involved with communities. Most political organisations claim they have links with what is called "the grassroots". They are forever doing things for that mystical element called the people. What they actually mean is that the rallies, the funerals, the meetings that they hold are well attended.

I am not suggesting that political organisations are useless. They simply misinterpret the myth for the fact. They probably honestly believe the things they are

doing will benefit the people. Many political activists will sacrifice time and money, will go to jail even for the sake of what they call the people. The problem is that they do not seem to be able to translate such noble sentiment into acts of commitment.

Heroes

The people love political heroes. The people, however, also need leadership and support in the manifold complex things that make them human.

Unless I am otherwise persuaded, the young men and women who worked with Biko had more regard and care for the people than for political power. What the Black Peoples' Convention and its sister organisations did was to understand the immediate concerns of people. They then attempted to heal the wounds of apartheid and

rebuild the black nation. The fact that they called this Black Power was perhaps unfortunate but right for their time.

The Black Consciousness organisations of the 1970s and early 1980s worked in clinics, in theatre, in schools, in various developmental projects, often with rural communities.

The struggle was not simply for becoming fashionable, but by sweating it out with the people.

Building the total person. That is why they called it a conscious struggle - a struggle to do with the shift in consciousness about self.

The truth of this will emerge in what is being called the new South Africa. Unless blacks are strong about who they are and where they come from, they will not be able to integrate with other nations. There will be little multi-racialism when the dice is

so heavily loaded against black South Africans.

If we had followed Biko's example we would not have dead bodies on page one. The centre in black life would have held.

Dynamic

We would have reinforced our *ubuntu*; would have firmed out our extended families; we would have become an example to the nations of the world by devising a dynamic socialism (with the small "s") that many of us still believe is part of the African ethos.

I am afraid we will continue using gruesome pictures on page one of *Sowetan*. We will sometimes use them on our posters. This is because we often have to defend the actions of our people who have been brutalised by the evils of the past against those who are distinctly contemptuous of us.

Sowetan

Mon 12 Mar 1992



ANDRIES TREURNICHT



NELSON MANDELA



LUCAS MANGOPE

mon Sowetan 12 March 1992

Demand for federalism

SOUTH Africa may soon see the emergence of an alliance based on the demand for a federal or strong variant of regional government, according to an article in the latest issue of *Barometer* magazine.

"Indications are that such an informal alliance would initially include the Conservative Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

"But latent support for this type of government will swell the alliance's ranks to include eventually the leaders of most of the self-governing and independent states as well as the Democratic Party and the National Party."

The magazine believed the Government itself would initially adopt a neutral attitude towards such an alliance, primarily to

The launch of Codesa has seen the growth of alliances across the political spectrum, and between political parties inside and outside Codesa. This article focuses on the growing demand for a federal-type settlement.

maintain some manoeuvring space with the African National Congress.

In an interview with *Barometer*, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said it was becoming clear that there were strong political players on the South African scene who sympathised with his party's beliefs about self-determination, and who did not rule out an alliance.

"What is important from his statement is the fact that there appear to be numerous parties with common ground without formally engaging in talks to find mutual agreement, as was the case with the now defunct Patriotic Front," the magazine said.

Barometer had established that strong support for a federal type of government would be forthcoming from Venda, Gazankulu, Lebowa and QwaQwa.

"These states view Codesa as a forum to promote this aim and at this stage are not prepared to join any alliance, albeit one which is loosely structured."

The magazine said *New Nation* newspaper, which was editorially closely aligned with the ANC, in a recent issue warned that the liberation movement should be careful that the Government and its allies at Codesa

did not put on the table any constitutional issues except a few constitutional principles.

"This can indicate growing concern in ANC circles concerning this issue and may also explain Nelson Mandela's visit to Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana," the magazine said.

"The ANC has in the past viewed the reincorporation of self-governing and independent states into South Africa as a mere formality and this new dynamic in the political process may have caught them off guard.

"This natural upsurge in the broader question of self-determination is an important development which took the Government - who backed off on its initial demands for the protection of group rights - by surprise." - Sapa.

ANC calls for economic forum

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter

THE government is to be urged to enter into a national economic negotiating forum with trade unions and business to address the country's economic problems.

The call is to be made by the ANC, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African Communist Party at a "People's Budget" rally on the Grand Parade on Wednesday.

The meeting will be followed by a march to Parliament.

Other demands will be for a cut in defence spending, a halt to the secret funding of security forces and Inkatha and an end to spending on duplicate departments.

No stayaway call had been made to workers wishing to take part in the march, Cosatu's regional secretary Mr Allan Roberts said at a Press conference yesterday.

Cosatu would meet employer

organisations today to appeal to them to be "sympathetic" to workers, he said.

He said: "It's not a stayaway and we're not calling for one. We're asking workers to stop working at noon and to approach employers for time off.

"We expect pupils to go to school and to join the march at noon."

ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni said the rally and march had not been organised to detract from Tuesday's referendum.

Ramaphosa's city debut as public speaker

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa will make his Cape Town debut as a public speaker when he is expected to respond to the result of the referendum at a People's Budget rally on Wednesday.

Other ANC heavyweights due to attend next week's rally and a subsequent march to Parliament are regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani, Welfare Department head Mrs Winnie Mandela and Congress of South African Trade Union officials Mr Jay Naidoo and Mr John Gomo.

The ANC is expected to use the rally, likely to be held on the Grand Parade, to respond to the result of Tuesday's whites-only referendum.

16/12

Bishop supports 'church Codesa'

N/mercury 12/3/92

THE president of the South African Catholic Bishops Conference (SACBC), Bishop Wilfrid Napier, has pledged his support for KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthe's suggestion that there be a church Codesa.

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Mercury Reporter

widescale support."

Bishop Napier said the greatest practical obstacle to this was the lack of an assured source of income to fund the process.

He said although the Conference of Churches at Rustenburg might be regarded as a church Codesa, it was in fact a "once-off conference and not a process towards a well-defined goal".

"It sought and reached consensus on a very limited number of issues, leaving the crucial ones hanging," he said.

Bishop Napier said the greatest weaknesses of the Rustenburg meeting were "its lack of authority, its failure to set up a follow-up structure and its financial non-viability".

16/1/20

The Citizen 12/3/92

Every White's moment of truth — Worrall

EAST LONDON. — South Africans would be amazed at the overwhelmingly positive psychological response" a Yes vote would bring from the international community, the Democratic Party MP for Berea, Dr Denis Worrall, said in East London yesterday.

At a lunchtime referendum meeting, he said Tuesday's vote would be "every individual White South African's moment of truth".

It had become evident from canvassing in his own constituency and that of Mrs Carol Charlewood's of Umbilo, Durban, that the great major-

ity of voters realised the importance of their vote.

Despite his confidence in a Yes vote, Dr Worrall said he had detected some disturbing themes which reflected misinformation about the motivation for, and consequences of, the referendum.

Voters' unhappiness with the National Party Government and its record of incompetence was not the referendum issue.

A Yes vote did not reflect support for the NP, but rather for the reform negotiation process from which "we can move on to a new government which includes a greater range of talent drawn from the whole population".

The Citizen 12/3/92

Plans for interim govt not finalised — Coetsee

DEWETSDORP. — Proposals for an interim government were not finalised, Mr Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Justice and leader of the Free State National Party, said yesterday.

However, he said in reply to a questioner at a referendum meeting here, it would probably be introduced in phases, possibly first at Cabinet level.

There were 26 million people outside the gov-

ernment. A great deal of the economy was in their hands and one could not negotiate and at the same time break down.

Mr Coetsee said it was not possible to bind the government to a fixed time for an interim government, but there had to be sufficient time.

Another questioner in-

quired about the government's promise before the last election that attention would be given to the tax system, as he said that time was running out.

In his address to about 100 people, Mr Coetsee said that there were a number of reasons why there had to be a plan, through negotiation, in

the search for a constitution in which all South Africa's peoples could participate.

Once the Coloureds had been brought into the constitutional process after 1983 they had stopped boycotting schools and other institutions, no longer went on strike nor threw stones.

Mr Coetsee said that once the constitutional position of the Coloureds had been finalised, Mr P W Botha had given instructions for the position of Blacks to be investigated.

Legislation had been finalised, but had never been implemented because Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — leader of Inkatha — said that they could not take part and lacked credibility as long as other leaders were in exile or in jail. — Sapa.

The Citizen 12/3/92

SADF officer biased — CP

A SENIOR SA Defence Force officer had "subtly" denigrated support for the No vote in a briefing to SADF personnel about the referendum, CP defence spokesman Mr Koos van der Merwe alleged yesterday.

In a statement, he said members of the SADF in Voortrekkerhoogte had complained about a talk by Brig Gert Opperman on the referendum.

According to Mr Van der Merwe, Brig Opperman had tried to "subtly" denigrate support for the No vote.

"I have personally requested the Chief of the SADF, Gen Kat Liebenberg, to act against Brig Opperman and to also use his power to ensure that Defence Force officers do not abuse their positions for party political ends."

Following similar CP

allegations last week, the SADF stated that any eligible member of the SADF could vote in the referendum.

Attendance at political meetings was not restricted either, provided members were off duty and in civilian clothes, although they were not allowed to take an active part in party politics. — Sapa.

The Citizen 12/3/92

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

No apathy

STATE President De Klerk has warned against complacency in the referendum.

A big Yes-vote majority is by no means assured, although Finance Minister Barend du Plessis claims he is confident that there will be a 55 percent to 60 percent Yes vote.

While we still believe the Yes vote will win, the win may be less than Mr Du Plessis predicts.

In any case, the State President has called for a landslide victory and it will have to be that to prove totally convincing.

So, if we are to interpret Mr De Klerk's use of the word "complacency" correctly, people must not think that a Yes victory is in the bag.

They must not think, either, that there is going to be such a Yes majority that their vote doesn't count.

Each vote counts — and you cannot leave it to the next man to take part in the referendum while you ignore it.

Mr De Klerk could also warn against apathy. Too many people, particularly English-speakers, think that whichever way the vote goes, the outcome will be bad.

There is talk of civil war if the Conservative Party wins and civil war if the NP wins.

The African National Congress does not help matters by threatening that there will not be another White election if there is a No majority and the government resigns, presumably because it will use violence to stop the holding of an election.

ANC Executive Committee member, Mohammed Valli Moosa, put it this way yesterday: If the CP comes to power, "freedom lovers, Black and White, of the ANC and other organisations will launch an offensive against the new regime, and in a matter of a few months you will be talking to us".

NP claims that 26 million Blacks will rise up against the Whites if there is a No majority also do not help matters.

Besides being untrue — the 7 million Zulus, for instance, would not, nor would the Tswanas — there will be no general uprising.

But the allegation that there will be adds to the unfortunate atmosphere among some people of pending doom.

At the same time the AWB threatens to take up arms if the ANC takes over the government. And there is a suggestion, too, that the Right won't accept a Yes vote.

We don't think these fears are either substantial or should influence voters to stay away.

For one thing, if the ANC went back to the armed struggle it would be even more ineffective than it was, with its cadres in the country, instead of fighting from bases outside.

As for the AWB, we don't think it could mount a successful insurrection even if it tried.

The point simply is that you cannot let fear influence whether you vote or not.

On the contrary, if you are wise, you will decide that you must vote Yes to keep the negotiation process on track, and that the only way to avoid violence, any violence, is by ensuring that a peaceful settlement is reached now.

Remember one thing: Reform had to come, and it has to be taken to its logical conclusion, a non-racial democracy in which everyone has the same rights.

We accept there are dangers, we accept that the State President has an awesome responsibility to ensure there is a settlement in which we can all believe and which we all can accept, but it is better to face the challenge than return to the sterile, divisive and internationally reviled South Africa of the past.

By saying you won't vote, you are giving up your right and duty to contribute to the decision that confronts the Whites.

Think carefully about the options that face this country and make your choice.

One thing is certain: You cannot afford to abstain.

This is no time for apathy.

It is no time for complacency.

It is time to vote — and vote Yes.

The future of your country, your own future, is at stake.

The Citizen 12/3/92



A female member of the SAP's internal Stability Unit searches passengers' handbags at Mamlankunzi Station in Soweto for weapons yesterday in the wake of increasing train attacks through the country.

Police unit searches trains, finds weapons

Citizen Reporter

A NUMBER of traditional weapons, including two pangas, were confiscated yesterday during a search of two trains in Soweto by the SAP's Internal Stability Unit.

Police spokesman, Captain Joseph Ngobeni, said that information has been received that weapons were on the trains.

The unit, consisting of 180 men and women, armed with shotguns, R1 rifles and pistols, fined the Mamlankunzi Station platform in Orlando East, Soweto, at 5 pm.

Female members of

the unit, armed with pistols, boarded the trains and made thorough searches of handbags and packets and also frisked female passengers.

Apart from two pangas and a number of knives and knobkerries, no other weapons were found and no arrests were made, according to Capt Ngobeni.

He said it was the second big search carried out on trains at stations in Soweto, but smaller-scale searches were conducted regularly.

However, some of the passengers on the packed trains said that the searches should be done at different times.

"The fighting and violence begins only when the train starts moving," said Mr Phillip Marlou of Orlando, who said he had been on a train on which there had been an attack.

He said most of the attacks on trains occurred in the early morning, at about 5.30 am to 6 am and in the evenings from about 6 pm.

"I wish the police would deploy their men at those times," said Mr John Mbulawa, also of Orlando.

Both men work far away from home and both said they feared for their lives, as did a few others on the train.

The Citizen 12/3/92

27 killed in two days of unrest

By Cobus Oosthuizen and Sapa

CARNAGE in township violence and attacks on commuters in trains have claimed the lives of 27 people in the past two days.

During this period at least 40 people were injured. The escalating death toll in unrest incidents since the start of the year now stands at 450, according to information compiled from various sources.

Four more people were killed on trains in the Witwatersrand yesterday.

East Rand police liaison officer, Capt Ida van Zweek, said the bodies of four people were found at the Boksburg railway station at 7 am.

Three of the victims had apparently been thrown off a train and the fourth had been shot dead on the train which was travelling between Springs and Johannesburg.

Two people were killed and five wounded in outbreaks of violence in Alexandra, near Sandton.

Police reinforcements were called in, and according to a police spokesman, peace was restored by about 11 pm, but the area remained tense.

TO PAGE 2

27 die in 2 days of unrest

FROM PAGE 1

Two people were necklaced and another wounded in incidents in the township yesterday.

At 11.40 am police found the bodies of a man and a woman who had been necklaced, close to the Old Man's hostel on the corner of Fourth Avenue and Roosevelt Street.

Three burnt-out tyres were found near the bodies.

Shortly later a man was wounded in the chest and head when unknown gunmen opened fire at him near the woman's hostel on the corner of Sixth Avenue and Hofmeyer Street.

The situation remained tense during the day as rumours of impending attacks by IFP supporters were spreading throughout the township.

Police are monitoring the situation and have appealed to residents with

information about yesterday's and other previous attacks, as well as planned action, to contact the charge office at the Alexandra police station at (011) 786-0300 or 440-4874.

No incidents of violence were reported in Soweto yesterday.

A weekly repression report, issued by the Human Rights Commission (HRC), stated that political violence resulted in more than 200 deaths in the past three weeks.

They said that in the period from March 5 to March 11, 85 people had been killed and 241 injured.

This was the highest seven-day figure recorded this year.

"Only 11 days into March, the monthly figure already exceeds one third the monthly average of 215 deaths recorded last year," the report said.

Vigilante related actions claimed the highest number of lives. During the past week (ending March 11), with major eruption in Alexandra, vigilante actions accounted for at least 78 deaths and 238 injuries.

Of these, 51 people were killed and 220 in the PWV region.

Activity in Natal also increased with deaths rising from three, recorded the previous week, to 27 this week. At least 18 people were injured.

The statistics included seven train attacks in the PWV region which claimed 14 lives and left 21 people injured.

According to the report Security Force actions in the PWV, Northern Transvaal, Eastern Transvaal and Natal regions accounted for one death, three injuries and 54 arrests.

The latest spate of violence in Alexandra was sparked when gunmen opened fire on IFP mourners on Saturday.

The warring sides yesterday decided the IFP would bury its dead on Saturday, with the ANC funeral on Sunday.

Three Heidelberg schools were disrupted by political intimidation yesterday morning and sev-

eral people were arrested, police confirmed.

A commuter boycott of Reef trains was being contemplated to stem the death-roll, the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) said yesterday.

Facing growing criticism from both the ANC and Inkatha about its ability to contain the murdering, the police yesterday stressed they were doing their best under the circumstances.

Police work on trains was being constrained by a huge commuter load and by lack of co-operation from the public, said police spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman.

Soweto police spokesman Capt Joseph Ngobeni said police on Thursday evening seized two pangas after conducting body searches on commuters at Mlankazi station near Orlando.

Meanwhile, Lawyers for Human Rights have offered a R10 000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of violence perpetrators.

A delegation of the independent International Commission of Jurists would arrive in South Africa at the weekend to gain first-hand knowledge of the continuing carnage. LHR said.

The Star 12/3/92

Africa holding thumbs for a 'yes'

SOUTH AFRICA'S neighbouring states are hoping for a "yes" vote in Tuesday's referendum, because they have a lot to lose if the vote goes the other way.

Both in these countries and elsewhere in Africa a negative vote would, according to knowledgeable analysts, result in the immediate suspension of SA's reacceptance in the continent.

The National Party's reforms have been popular in neighbouring countries not only for moral reasons but because they have opened up desperately needed opportunities for trade and other exchanges. The general expectation is that a "no" vote would at least stall the reform process and threaten to squeeze off these opportunities.

Even before the reform process began, the southern African countries gave only token observance to economic sanctions on SA, for they could not afford the damage that full compliance with sanctions would do to their economies. They did, however, apply sporting, cultural and any other boycotts they felt they could afford.

While trade with South Africa continued and even expanded, the neighbouring states had to forego the economic and technical aid SA was beginning to offer.

Perhaps the biggest benefit of reform, as far as the neighbouring states are concerned, is the opportunity it offers

GERALD L'ANGE of The Star Africa Service reports.

for the formation of a regional trading bloc revolving around SA. Such a bloc is regarded as essential to help southern Africa emerge from its present economic doldrums and compete in a world whose politics as well as economics are increasingly determined by trade blocs.

Knowledgeable observers believe a negative vote would cause other countries which have been opening up to SA to suspend these moves. It would be seen as a slap in the face for black Africans, just as apartheid was. And it is expected that the militant struggle against white domination will be resumed, again drawing in neighbouring states.

Governments such as Angola, Botswana and Zambia which are about to open reciprocal trade or diplomatic offices would probably stop these proceedings, at least for the time being.

Possibly taking their cue from the ANC, neighbouring countries initially condemned the referendum as an unnecessary, racist exercise offering whites an opportunity to veto reform.

However, information from these countries suggests they have come to accept the inevitability of a white referendum and to hope the majority will vote positively in it.

No neighbouring government initially came out openly in support of a "yes" vote but several are understood to have privately expressed the hope that the vote will go that way.

Zambian Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga said a negative vote would be "an absolute tragedy for South Africa and the whole region".

"It would turn the clock many years back. A 'no' vote would certainly be a vote for armed conflict, and we think that in 1992 armed conflict is the last thing we would like to see in this region."

An analyst said southern African leaders "realise that reform is inevitable and cannot be stopped. They know that a negative vote would only delay the process, not stop it. But they are concerned about anything that might destabilise the region and they would see a negative vote in that light."

Like South Africans themselves, African governments are expected initially to adopt a wait-and-see attitude in the event of a negative vote, to see what effect it would have on Codesa and on the NP's ability to govern.

Until the domestic consequences of a negative vote became clear, they would probably suspend all but trade dealings with South Africa.

A "yes" vote, on the other hand, would be welcomed throughout Africa. □

THE Star 12/3/92

Will SA face a military coup?

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SCARCELY a day passes now without someone, somewhere, raising the question of whether a military coup is possible in South Africa. It is a subject of considerable interest in Britain, although the debate remains ill-informed and always inconclusive.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert touches briefly on the subject in a superb paper he delivered recently to the Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. He believes the security forces have become "fiercely partisan" as a result of their politicisation in the '80s, and warns that they will have "to become a source of impartial stability if a climate conducive to the process of negotiation is to be maintained".

What kind of institution is the SADF and what does it expect from the transition process? Someone who knows the mind of the military better than most is Professor Deon Fourie of the department of strategic studies at the University of South Africa. He volunteers some answers in a paper that appears in a collection

just published by the London-based Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism.

Professor Fourie makes some interesting points. One is that the South African Defence Force is unlike other African armies which, almost without exception, were based on colonial systems and are career forces. It differs, too, from Rhodesia's, which resisted black recruitment — the SADF has 162 officers who are not white, up to the rank of colonel.

The SADF, over the years, integrated first people of differing political persuasions, and then of different races. Although many of its members, including senior officers, opposed South Africa's participation in the two world wars, they nevertheless carried out their duties, and "the outstanding feature of the citizen army was that as an institution it succeeded largely in holding itself aloof from political issues". Even when F C Erasmus as Defence Minister in 1948 interfered with the armed forces, the Citizen Force "held itself above politics", and Mr Erasmus's two successors "largely re-

stored the conditions".

The point that the SADF has a non-party political tradition has been made by others. But what is the position today? Professor Fourie is reassuring. "Forty years later the SADF continues to be served evenhandedly by citizens of different political persuasions ... The spirit of unity among citizens in the service has remained ... Armed forces have been developed which, unlike forces in other Third World countries, have loyalties which, in the decades of their existence, have put them above coups."

Professor Fourie dismisses claims that the election of P W Botha as Prime Minister was a form of military domination or that the SADF imposed the State Security Council on the country.

"Perhaps the best evidence that there had been no military takeover of South Africa was the ease with which President de Klerk was able to dis-establish by administrative fiat the complex State Security System in October 1989", cut the defence budget severely, suspend a large number of

Armsecor projects, and retire 2 400 naval officers and men. The military withdrawal from Namibia, too, was concluded "without demur" from the SADF.

But Professor Fourie sounds cautionary words on the subject of South Africa's transition to democratic rule, a period which "will set very severe demands on the security forces" and introduce considerable tensions. He even goes so far as to say that "although there are no reasons to believe this to be probable, a mutiny or coup d'etat by a part of the police or of the Defence Force must be considered".

A perception that the country is drifting into chaos or that negotiations are going too far might drive some security force members to take steps to prevent any further change in the country. Professor Fourie remains confident, though that "given the highly developed discipline in the SADF" there is little chance of this happening.

But what might well be possible, says Professor Fourie, is that "in the light of the high levels of violent unrest current in South

Africa ... the security forces may be required to play an increasingly significant role as fears come to the surface and as factions struggle for power and territory". The need for strong security forces will not diminish.

Professor Fourie directs his comments mainly at the ANC, SACP and PAC, but he adds that "it goes without saying that there may be a violent reaction among whites seeing the apparent disappearance of the security and stability in the framework of a new constitution and political life".

Professor Fourie offers the view that "circumstances ... suggest that above all an army which is loyal, apolitical and with integrity will be required to guide and protect transition to a new constitution", and he notes here that in spite of a disinclination in Government circles to employ the army to control disturbances, "it has been seen as more satisfactory than the police at containing violence". (He gives detailed reasons for this perception.)

In Professor Fourie's opinion, it would be wise to continue the

present structure of the SADF, whereby no more than 9 percent of the force, including civilians and auxiliaries, are fulltime. "Quite apart from the relative cheapness of a partially national service and partially part-time citizen army, a non-professional armed force has greater prospects of preventing military and other forms of dictatorship, because it cannot simply be ordered to take power. A militia drawn from all South African communities should be even less of a threat because it would mean that whites would also be unable to organise coups."

Professor Fourie's paper was prepared last year. It would be interesting to receive an addendum from him now in which he examines more deeply the likely response of the security forces if they were asked to intervene in prolonged white-inspired unrest, or if there was a serious political challenge to Mr de Klerk. If, as Dr Slabbert believes, the security forces are now "fiercely partisan", on whose side will they come down when the chips are down? — Star Bureau, London. □

B. Day 12/3/92

Mayekiso tipped to lead new civics group

VETERAN trade unionist and Civics Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast) president Moses Mayekiso is most likely to head the new national federation of civic organisations to be launched this weekend.

The 14 regions will nominate an equal number of candidates for the executive committee of the new federation, to be called the Civics Association of SA (Casa).

National Interim Civics Committee general secretary Sithembiso Radebe said organisations including the ANC, PAC, SACP, Cosatu and Nactu

WILSON ZWANE

had been invited to Casa's launch at Uitenhage, in the Eastern Cape.

"We are also expecting 450 delegates from our regions and invitations to the launch have been issued to homeland leaders," Radebe said.

This week Radebe said Casa would throw its weight behind Cosatu's four-month programme of action.

Radebe said Cosatu's demand for a speedy establishment of an interim government was supported by the

civic organisations. "But unlike Cosatu, we are not setting a deadline yet, as the matter will be on the agenda at this weekend's launch of the national civics federation."

Also to be discussed at the launch was the role of township civic organisations in Codesa, the independence from political organisations, and the escalation of violence in the townships. "It should be made clear, however, that the focus of the federation will be on bread-and-butter issues such as development, housing, education and electricity."

B. Day 12/3/92

Seven killed in train attacks on the Reef

SEVEN people were killed and another seven injured in train attacks on the Witwatersrand yesterday.

Sapa reports two men and a woman were shot dead while travelling from Katlehong to Germiston last night.

Police spokesman Capt Ida van Zweek said the assailants and the motive were unknown.

No arrests had been made.

Yesterday morning, one person was killed and six people were injured in an attack on commuters on a train at Longdale Station.

The commuters chased a man — apparently one of the attackers — and beat and stabbed him to death.

One of the attackers was arrested by the police after he allegedly stabbed a man at the station.

In a separate incident police found the bodies of two men who had been shot at Langlaagte Station.

A 38-year-old Soweto man was stabbed in the back and seriously injured when he was attacked by a group of men on a train at Inhlanzani Station yesterday morning.

Capt Joseph Ngobeni said it was not known why he was attacked.

In Alexandra last night two people were also shot dead and three injured amid "gunfire all over the township".

Van Zweek said police reinforcements had been called in to deal with isolated incidents of gunfire.

By 10pm the situation had stabilised, but police were still in the area, she said.

DIRK HARTFORD reports a high-level ANC delegation, under the leadership of Nelson Mandela, met senior Witwatersrand police officers yesterday to discuss policing in Sharpeville on March 21 — the 32nd anniversary of the killing by police of 69 Sharpeville pass protesters.

According to the police, the SAP's Maj-Gen Gerrit Erasmus assured Mandela the police would do everything possible to protect citizens, including ANC supporters.

He said police would keep a low profile and would not delay any buses bringing ANC supporters to Sharpeville.

Erasmus said the police hoped the celebrations would take place peacefully.

The ANC could not be reached for comment.

B. Day 12/3/92

Police break up demonstration

Ciskei-ANC 'truce' off to a shaky start

EAST LONDON — One day after the ANC and Ciskei declared a "truce", the agreement was severely tested as Ciskei police teargassed ANC-supporting demonstrators.

The ANC launched its slightly amended campaign yesterday with placard demonstrations around Ciskei.

Sapa reports from Bisho the Ciskei Council of State confirmed Ciskei police used teargas to disperse about 300 demonstrators in Whittlesea after giving them 20 minutes' warning. It said they were brandishing placards "denigrating" and "degrading" the Ciskei government.

"It is regretted that the protesters acted prior to acquainting themselves with the results of the fruitful meeting between the Ciskei government, SA government and the ANC," the council said last night.

"The requests for the marches reached authorities after midday today, when the marches had already commenced."

At a media conference yesterday the ANC and a broad front of organisations officially launched — with one significant amendment — the controversial campaign for "peace and democracy" in Ciskei.

The "Popular Front for Peace and Democracy in Ciskei", consisting of 17 organisations, said it would push ahead with the

Own Correspondent

campaign, but that it had dropped plans to defy Ciskei security legislation.

This concession was made following Ciskei's undertaking to "review" Section 43 of its National Security Act which allows for the banning of public meetings.

ANC Border region secretary Lucille Meyer stopped short of describing the teargas incident as a breach of the Pretoria agreement, saying the ANC would have to investigate the incident.

But she said the ANC delegation had had the impression that all peaceful demonstrations would be allowed to go ahead with immediate effect, although the question of time frames had not been dismissed.

The ANC had undertaken to inform the Ciskei administration of where and when the protests would occur. She conceded this might have been done late, but because campaign details were finalised late.

The ANC would still be pressing for an interim administration, but whether there should be an interim administration in Ciskei before a transitional administration had been established in SA as a whole was still under discussion, she said.

At the media conference, the front maintained the decision to launch the campaign

□ To Page 2

Ciskei

was not an about-turn on the Pretoria agreement. It said Ciskei had recognised the right to free political activity in the homeland. The ANC said Ciskei had been made aware the campaign would continue.

Signatories to the campaign's declaration included the ANC Youth League, the SACP, Cosatu and the National Education Co-ordinating Committee.

Meanwhile, Ciskei military leader Brig Oupa Gqozo said last night Ciskei had

□ From Page 1

scored "a negotiating victory" in the Pretoria discussions, Sapa reports.

He expressed gratitude to his "allies" — KwaZulu, QwaQwa, Gazankulu and Bophuthatswana — who stood by Ciskei at Codesa "during its dark hour" and "denounced the ANC plot against Ciskei".

Gqozo said a milestone was the recognition by SA of the legitimacy of Ciskei and himself as Council of State leader — "truly a victory for negotiating policies".

Govt, NP and ANC intentions a puzzle to Zulus, says Buthelezi

THE NATAL MERCURY

12-3-92

Future KwaZulu status worry

ULUNDI—The people of KwaZulu just did not know what the ANC, the National Party and the Government were going to do with the region.

This was said in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly by the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi who was delivering his policy speech.

He said the SA Government was buying a lot of political time with its assertions that it did not want to pre-empt negotiations — but, he pointed out, parties did not pre-empt negotiations by stating their positions clearly.

As Chief Minister, he wanted to ask the State President whether he was prepared to state that there would be no change in the status of KwaZulu without the approval of the KwaZulu Government.

"Are we being excluded

By Patrick Leeman

from Codesa for any other reason than that our exclusion will make the annihilation of KwaZulu that much easier?" Dr Buthelezi asked.

According to Dr Buthelezi, the National Party's constitutional blueprint showed there was recognition of the need for regionalism.

There was, however, no commitment by the Government or the NP to participate in what needed to be done to bring like-minded partners together to work jointly for a common future.

"The SA Government and the NP do not stand boldly next to the IFP on matters where a deep-rooted South Africanism dictates that we have common cause," the KwaZulu Chief Minister said, adding: "Sometimes I do not know how to assess the SA Government and the NP."

IFP's 'problems' with ANC

Political Staff

ULUNDI—It was difficult to imagine a meeting at top level between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance at present.

This point was made in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday by the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Delivering his policy speech, Dr Buthelezi said he did not know where the IFP stood with the ANC.

"They talk about wanting to meet with us again," he said.

"We believe in meaningful talks. This has been our policy for decades.

"The problem at present is the fact that we have a problem on the one hand, in which they seem to have a finger in the pie and particularly with respect to the blocking of the King and the KwaZulu delegation at Codesa."

On the other hand, said Dr Buthelezi, the alliance was behind the request to open up the issue of the 200 youths who were trained in VIP protective services in the Goldstone Commission.

According to Dr Buthelezi, the levels of violence and the reluctance of the ANC to dismantle their military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, made it difficult to hold a high level meeting while members of the IFP were dying in droves every week.

"This is confusing to a lot of our members who are talking very openly about the ANC being on the warpath as far as the IFP is concerned," Dr Buthelezi said.

● Dr Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela, President of the ANC, met in Durban almost a year ago.

IFP 'dismay' over DP alienation

Political Staff

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, says leading members of the Inkatha Freedom Party share his dismay at the extent to which the Democratic Party is "alienating" itself from the IFP.

In his policy speech in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, Dr Buthelezi said that, of all the political parties in the country, there was perhaps a greater degree of consensus between the IFP and the DP than between any other two parties.

However, he criticised Dr Zach de Beer, leader of the DP, for making statements which were "totally disruptive" of normalised IFP/DP relations.

"I am thinking here of his astounding statement that, by definition, agreements between the NP and the ANC at Codesa amount to consensus," the KwaZulu Chief Minister said.

The Citizen

12/3/92

CP govt 'would talk to ANC' ~~X~~

CAPE TOWN. — A CP government would negotiate with the ANC, CP Free State leader Mr Cehill Pienaar said at a meeting peppered with repeated heckling in Sea Point yesterday.

Once in power after a

general election which would follow a No majority on March 17, the CP would also negotiate with the ANC if it renounced violence and shed its SA Communist Party leadership.

"The ANC is a group we have to take into account," said Mr Pienaar. The CP would

also invite people like Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope.

Regarding the ANC, he said: "We will wel-

TO PAGE 2

Talk to ANC

FROM PAGE 1

come them also at that negotiating table where co-operative self-determination is discussed."

The DP, in turn, would have disappeared by then. "You will have to vote for the NP. You will have completely become the useful idiots of the Broederbond." —

In one of several exchanges with hecklers who formed a sizeable part of the audience of about 100, Mr Pienaar said: "You support a government which has run the economy to the ground, but Black people are getting the sharp end of the stick."

"You have a nice time sitting in your cosy flats in Sea Point, being liberal, but what have

you done about it?"

The heckling proved the CP's belief that the March 17 battlelines were about a vote for an ANC government. Once the CP was in power, it would even oblige Sea Point with a Communist local authority, he said.

The chairman said the hecklers had rekindled old-style politics and he would in future invite CP supporters for lessons.

Mr Pienaar said a CP government would relegate Cosatu and trade unions to the role they were meant for — looking after the welfare of their members and staying out of politics.

Neither would the CP allow the Communists a free hand. — Sapa.

The Citizen 12/3/92

ANC pushes ahead with Ciskei bid ~~x~~

EAST LONDON. — The African National Congress and a broad front of allied organisations yesterday officially launched — with one significant amendment — the controversial campaign for "peace and democracy" in Ciskei.

They did so, although the Ciskei military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, had earlier claimed "a negotiation victory" in recent discussions in Pretoria at which the SA Government and the ANC had acknowledged Ciskei's legitimacy.

The launch of the "peace and democracy"

campaign followed Tuesday's "truce" in Pretoria between the ANC and the Ciskei Government which was seen as diffusing tensions over the call for an interim administration.

The "Popular Front for Peace and Democracy in Ciskei" — consisting of 17 organisations — last night said it would push ahead with the campaign, but had dropped plans to defy Ciskei security legislation.

This concession was made following Ciskei's undertaking to "review" Section 43 of its National Security Act which allows for the banning of public meetings.

However, a senior

ANC official conceded privately that an undercurrent of the campaign would be an attempt to win support with the Ciskei police force, army and civil service — seen by the ANC as areas of dissension within the homeland.

The Front maintained the decision to launch the campaign was not an about-turn on agreements at Pretoria and added Ciskei had recognised a right to free political activity.

Ciskei had been made aware that the campaign would continue as planned, the ANC assured.

Further, the campaign would continue even should Section 43 be scrapped and "a climate

for peaceful political activity be created tomorrow" as it was part of a national demand for an interim government and constituent assembly.

Border ANC media officer, Miss Marion Sparg, said no time frame had been determined for follow-ups to the Pretoria meeting nor for the scrapping of Section 43.

In turn, Ciskei had given no assurance the section would be put on ice until it was amended.

ANC Border chairman, Mr Silumko Sokupa, conceded past agreements between the Ciskei Government and the ANC had collapsed, but added: "We came out of that (Pretoria) meeting confident that this time it is going to work."

The first leg of the campaign kicked off yesterday with placard demonstrations around Ciskei. Despite the "truce" an alleged incident of police action against demonstrators was reported.

The ANC in Whitlsea claimed Ciskei police had teargassed a demonstration there, injuring four. The Ciskei Government confirmed the police action. — Sapa.