

Wednesday 7 October 1992

## Cancel march on Ulundi: Methodists

DURBAN. — The Methodist Church's national conference yesterday called on the African National Congress alliance to cancel its planned march on Ulundi and on KwaZulu authorities to allow free political activities.

The conference, meeting in Pinetown, said the march would lead to increased polarisation, violence, victimisation and suffering for innocent people without solving any problems.

In a resolution, the conference said it "affirms the legitimacy of this form of mass action and supports the demand for free political activity in KwaZulu and other homelands".

The resolution continued: "It nevertheless appeals to the alliance to cancel the march on Ulundi and appeals to the KwaZulu Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party to allow free political activity in

the homeland.

"It strongly encourages the opposing groups to address their differences in bilateral talks and by an immediate return to multilateral negotiations."

The conference, in another resolution, said that all parties should place the welfare of South Africa above their own party political interests and resume negotiations immediately.

An interim government of national unity should be established urgently "to deal with senseless political violence and to oversee the transition to democracy".

The interim government should prepare for a general election under international supervision before the end of 1993.

The homelands should be reincorporated into South Africa, the resolution said. — Sapa.



THE STAR 7-10-92

## Cancel Ulundi march, urges Church

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Methodist Church's national conference yesterday called on the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance to cancel the planned march on Ulundi.

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larisation, violence, victimisation and suffering for innocent people.

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# THE CITIZEN COMMENT

## Empty talk

ONE thing about ANC president Nelson Mandela — he never inquires too deeply into the human rights records of the leaders on whom he bestows his commendations and friendship.

Thus Yasser Arafat is embraceable, even though his Palestine Liberation Organisation was a leader of international terrorism.

Thus he can embrace Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, the Libyan leader, who is a backer of international terrorism.

His support for President Fidel Castro has also not endeared him to those Americans, including Cuban exiles, who consider the Cuban leader a Communist dictator.

This week Mr Mandela has been given a welcome in Beijing befitting a head of state, or at least a head-of-state-in-waiting.

But Mr Mandela was very careful to avoid upsetting his hosts, who backed the ANC in its armed struggle but whose human rights record is abysmal, the brutal crushing of the democracy movement in Tiananmen Square in 1989 being a case in point.

As is his wont, Mr Mandela stressed the importance of promoting democratic reforms and personal freedoms in South Africa.

He also stressed the importance of freedom of speech and ending racial discrimination, religious persecution and abuses of power by the police.

We have no doubt that Mr Mandela sincerely believes in the democratic vision he has of a new South Africa under ANC rule.

However, the South African Communist Party with which the ANC is allied (the third member of the alliance is Cosatu) is hardly the kind of organisation imbued with democratic ideals.

Mr Chris Hani, the SACP's secretary-general, played a leading role in organising the Bisho march and one of his top lieutenants, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, led the break through a security fence gap at the Bisho stadium that resulted in the massacre in which 29 people died.

Since more than half of the ANC's National Executive Committee are Communists, the SACP plays an inordinately powerful role in the affairs of the ANC.

Mr Mandela, on the other hand, is seemingly the epitome of a democrat — when he is not calling State President De Klerk names or threatening not to do this or that if his organisation's demands are not met.

But as we have suggested several times in recent months, he has become the captive of the SACP.

Indeed, Mr Hani seems to have his way when it comes to stirring things up and challenging the authority of Black leaders who do not support the ANC.

Mr Hani says the marches on Ulundi, the capital of KwaZulu, and Bophuthatswana are still on.

The presence of United Nations monitors and the National Peace Secretariat will help to ensure the marches will take place without violent incident, he says.

Since the leaders of the National Peace Secretariat were at Bisho, and could do no more than dive for cover when the soldiers opened fire, we have no faith in their ability to avert any bloodshed in Ulundi and Bophuthatswana.

As for the UN observers, we doubt whether they can do anything more than the UN monitors have been able to do in Yugoslavia. That means they won't be able to stop the violence.

All Mr Mandela's calls for democracy, personal freedom, freedom of speech and so on are for nought when people like Mr Hani do as they please.

We don't want mere words from Mr Mandela.

We want an end to mass action, to dangerous marches, to talking peace and waging war.

We want the ANC to accept the democratic process, to become a political party instead of remaining a liberation movement, and to stop blackmailing the government.

In other words, Mr Mandela will be believable only when his organisation jettisons the SACP, accepts the restraints of political parties, and helps to create the conditions of peace without which there can be no free and fair elections.



## Red Cross surprise visits

By Bronwyn Wilkinson  
Crime Reporter

Delegates from the International Committee of the Red Cross intend dropping in unannounced on police stations to visit detainees, taking the permission granted by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel to its fullest extent, ICRC spokesman Nic Sommers said yesterday.

According to Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze, the ICRC now has permission to visit any prisoner in any police station at any time.

Sommers said the organisation intended starting its visits as soon as possible.

In July, the ICRC was granted permission by the Department of Cor-

rectional Services to visit prisoners in prisons. It also has visitation rights in police cells and prisons in the independent and nominally independent homelands.

The only detainees the ICRC does not yet have permission to visit are those in police cells in Venda.

Sommers said he could not comment on conditions in prisons as ICRC findings were confidential and the reports were handed only to the authorities, with recommendations for improvements where necessary.

Although the ICRC would visit all prisoners, the organisation would concentrate on people held on unrest-related charges and in police cells in unrest areas. The visits would be on a

purely humanitarian basis, he said.

He said the ICRC would assess the conditions of detention and the treatment of prisoners. Its delegates would talk to prisoners in private.

Although the ICRC would liaise with the retired magistrates who are to be appointed by Kriel to monitor conditions in police detention, it would not make its findings available to them, Sommers said.

"The reports will go only to the authorities."

Human Rights Commission figures say 99 people have died in police custody this year.

● A criminal suspect, John Cele of R93 Umlazi, committed suicide at the Umlazi police station, south of Durban, yesterday, police reported.

## Troops go if routes are open

HARARE — President Robert Mugabe said yesterday a withdrawal of Zimbabwean troops from Mozambique was conditional on Mozambican rebels halting attacks on trade routes essential for his landlocked country.

He added: "We would be happy to withdraw but obviously we do expect that there won't be any further attacks."

● MAPUTO — Tens of thousands of Maputo residents greeted Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano yesterday when he returned home after signing a peace agreement with the Renamo rebels. — Sapa-Reuter.

## Agricultural bodies reduced

EAST LONDON — South African farmers could be operating under a single Department of Agriculture by November 1, Minister of Agriculture Dr Kraai van Niekerk said yesterday.

Speaking at the National Party's Cape congress, he said there were 14 departments of agriculture at present.

"We are busy moving

to one department of agriculture ... hopefully from November 1 we can begin operating as one department."

Van Niekerk warned that South Africans would feel the effects of drought for the next two, three or four years.

If it did not rain early this year, the carry-through effect would be even longer. — Sapa.

## A song for the president

EAST LONDON — President de Klerk's praises were sung — literally — by a choir at the NP Cape congress in East London yesterday.

Shortly before the president addressed the congress, the Ashton-Robertson NP Youth Choir sang a ditty.

"We love you FW 'cause you make our

dreams come true," ran the words.

"Come true with the love of God above In this new South Africa.

For three years now you led the way With reform and politics.

We won't forget our loyalty

Towards our president." — Sapa.

## FW slams ANC over mass action campaign

● From Page 1

threat to prohibit marches. "There are laws in South Africa that determine whether certain types of actions are acceptable or not. It is not the Government's political palate that determines what is acceptable," Macozoma said.

In his speech De Klerk implied that the ANC had not honoured its undertaking — given at the summit on violence — to review its programme of mass action.

"Everyone understood that the ANC would review its position.

"I regard their statements after the first executive committee meet-

ing as totally unsatisfactory ... I cannot accept that a party involved in the negotiation process can say 'I am marching to topple your government'. That's not democracy.

"It is time for the real leaders of the ANC to discipline their grassroots followers and regional and dissident radical voices in the top executive."

The Government's undertakings to prohibit dangerous weapons in public and fence hostels would have been taken even if talks had not been held with the ANC recently, he added.

The final responsibility for order lay with the

Government, which would not shirk its duty.

The options were to reintroduce a state of emergency, to ban people and to imprison them because of their political views.

"But we say 'no' to that option because it is not in the national interest. It is not a sign of weakness to talk to your opponents. We will continue with bilateral and multilateral negotiations. I give the assurance that it is not our intention to exclude people in bilateral talks but the intention is to get everyone back to the negotiating table.

"Agreements reached

with the ANC were in keeping with consensus reached at Codesa which the Inkatha Freedom Party shared."

● The ANC's western Cape region yesterday announced further protest action, including a march on Parliament to coincide with its opening on Monday. However, earlier plans to "barricade" Parliament were revised — speakers at the march would rather repeat the call for an interim government.

● Yesterday the Methodist Church of Southern Africa appealed to the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance to call off its proposed marches on Ulundi and Mmabatho.



# March to Parliament is modified by ANC

CAPE TOWN. — African National Congress secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and the South African Communist Party's Ronnie Kasrils will lead a mass march to Parliament on October 12, leaders of the tripartite alliance announced yesterday.

Supporters would symbolically surround Parliament precincts before staging a rally on Stalplein, which would be renamed Luthuli Square in honour of former ANC president and Nobel peace laureate Chief Albert Luthuli, they said.

Earlier plans by the ANC, SACP and Congress of SA Trade Unions alliance to blockade Parliament and address the session have been dropped, however.

ANC Western Cape secretary Tony Yengeni said that following consultations with the movement's national leadership, it had been decided to cancel some aspects of the protest. This was because of progress made at last month's summit between State President De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Mr Yengeni said the march was in protest against unilateral amendments to the constitution and other proposed legislation, including provisions for a blanket amnesty.

"The present Parliament has neither the legitimacy nor the moral right

to pass legislation that should by right be dealt with by an interim government or a properly-elected constituent assembly."

Mr Yengeni emphasised the protest would be peaceful and disciplined and that confrontation would not be sought at any stage. The ANC would do its best to ensure compliance with agreements regulating the march.

The protest would take place in accordance with guidelines laid down by the Goldstone Commission and National Peace Accord and would be monitored by the two United Nations observers

assigned to the Western Cape.

Referring to the presence of Mr Kasrils, SACP regional secretary Lizo Nkonki said he would be present not as an individual but as a member of the alliance leadership.

Although they have not called for a stayaway on October 12, alliance leaders expect between 20 000 and 25 000 people to participate in the noon march from the Grand Parade to Parliament via a route still to be finalised.

The Cape Town City Council has conditionally approved an extended return route via Adderley, Wale and Loop streets and Hans Strijdom Ave-

nue back to the Parade "to expose our marchers to other parts of the city", according to ANC regional assistant secretary Willie Hofmeyr.

He said no finality had yet been reached on gaining access to Stalplein, which is within Parliament precincts.

If marchers were refused entry, they would gather in Plein and Roeland streets for the rally, he said.

A plaque renaming Stalplein the Luthuli Square will be hung around the equestrian statue of Boer War general Louis Botha.

Recently released political prisoners Robert McBride, Mzondeleli Nondula and Mthetheli Mncube are expected to join the march.

The South African Democratic Teachers' Union will stage a separate march on Parliament on the same day to protest against the alleged unilateral restructuring in education. — Sapa.

## PAC-IFP meeting may see ANC summit: PAC

DURBAN. — The presidents of the Pan Africanist Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party are to meet in Ulundi to discuss political violence sweeping the country, PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said yesterday.

Mr Alexander hinted that tomorrow's meeting

could pave the way to a summit between the IFP and African National Congress leaderships.

Mr Alexander said the express purpose of the meeting, initiated by the PAC, would be to look at ending political intolerance and violence.

However, the PAC had

also written to ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa in an attempt to arrange a meeting between PAC leader Clarence Makwetu and ANC president Nelson Mandela to discuss the same issues.

From these two meetings, the PAC hoped to

present a programme aimed at ending violence and normalising the relationship between warring ANC and IFP factions.

"This could lead to more open political activity between especially those two organisations and the oppressed in general."

Questioned in a telephone interview on whether this could pave the way for a summit between the IFP and ANC leaders, Mr Alexander responded: "It could pave the way for a meeting although that's not our specific and stated intention".

Mr Alexander's remarks come in the wake of the ANC announcement on Monday night that its National Working Committee would favourably consider a meeting at presidential level with the IFP.



# Dr Andries Treurnicht examines what he believes is the root of the violence in SA

## Power struggle is the catalyst

**J**UST before the referendum I wrote in a newspaper article that "after a Yes vote on March 17, nothing could be as awesome as the resistance to Xhosa/ANC hegemony by the numerically superior Zulus who ... will never accept ANC/SACP rule".

Apart from everything else that has gone awry since the Yes vote was cast, the core problem — the jostling for power in a post-February 1990 South Africa — remains, and this struggle has now become the catalyst for the destructive conflict now enveloping South Africa. It is strange that FW de Klerk refuses to acknowledge this fact, and that a unitary state under an ANC government can never survive.

Even liberal whites are having second thoughts about an ANC takeover: the organisation has shown its true colours these past months and confidence in the NP's new South Africa has understandably taken a dive.

Our economy reflects this lack of faith in the future, despite brave words from our captains of commerce and industry who funded the Yes campaign.

An HSRC survey revealed that only a small percentage of whites are prepared to live under an ANC regime, yet the Government beseeches the ANC's presence at the negotiating table, and pays a heavy price for this in concessions.

Millions of blacks have borne the brunt of ANC coercion, and self-governing and independent states are the victims of the ANC's march to power. One can thus understand the inability of numerous experts to stop the violence consuming our country.

De Klerk talks of federalism as the new panacea for a shattered South Africa. Others talk of regionalism as a reluctant sop to the diversity of peoples in this part of the world. But federalism does not address the crux of the dilemma; nationalism and the instinctive

desire of peoples to be with their own.

Whether nationalism is seen as a problem or as a solution, it exists to such a degree that peoples throughout the world are prepared to die for their flag, their language, their culture, their nation. The conflagration in Eastern Europe is just one example of this conundrum.

Unless a future constitutional dispensation addresses the problems of ethnicity and self-determination, it is a waste of time and a recipe for discord. In a federal or regional South Africa, whites will still be unable to rule themselves. Although the proposed regions appear to be demarcated along ethnic national lines, whites will have nothing of their own.

The Conservative Party believes in economic interdependence and political independence, a system similar to the European Community where trade and aid are interchangeable. We cannot, however, subscribe to a policy where the central government has

the real power and where regional autonomy is only as autonomous as the central administration permits. This is not independence, and the growing unease in Europe about subsuming national political and monetary power to a central administration in Brussels is one reason why the Maastricht Treaty could be a "dead letter", as one British journalist put it.

Confederation or a commonwealth of independent sovereign states allows peoples to govern themselves while interacting with each other within the limits which each one of them has set.

In other words, a KwaZulu or a Bophuthathatswana government within a South African confederation maintains control over its own budget, its schools, its culture, its security forces. If it so desires, it may — in conjunction with other nations in the region — decide to allow matters such as transport systems, economic concerns or foreign affairs to be handled by a central structure which

would only function within the parameters allocated by the nation states within the confederation.

The fear of losing one's power base, of being swamped by another nation, of disappearing from the face of history is perhaps the most important reason why the governments of KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Qwa-Qwa have withdrawn from negotiations with the Government.

They see their sovereignty being taken away by virtue of the bilateral and prescriptive agreement recently signed by the ANC and the Government, and they have done the most natural thing in the world. They have retreated to their heartlands and have said they will defend their countries. The same sentiments are expressed by white patriots.

Add to this the relentless dishonesty displayed by the National Party over the past years (to their own voters as well as to other political forces) and we have a sure-fire recipe for conflict.

The Government's regular capitulation to every ANC demand has not gone unnoticed in Ulundi, Mmabatho and Bisho, and De Klerk's agreement with the ANC to allow a "democratically elected" constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution and serve as an interim parliament must have been the last straw for those who naively believed he would consult them about a future dispensation. What must be done now? Every effort must be made to stop the NP/ANC/SACP alliance in its tracks. The De Klerk administration has not only deceived its own supporters but it has deceived those who went to Codesa with the mistaken idea that there really would be round-table discussions about the future of this country.

An alternative forum must be created as a substitute to the failed Codesa, a forum for those who value their heritage and who respect the traditions of others. □

● Treurnicht is leader of the Conservative Party



# We cannot pretend that blame lies on one side only

JUDGING by the anger it has aroused in some quarters, Dr Anthea Jeffery's report, "Disinformation about Violence in South Africa", has struck home. In criticising it in The Star on September 22, Dennis Davis and Gilbert Marcus ignore Jeffery's explicit acknowledgement (on page 9 of her report) that Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) are not courts of law and that they may legitimately therefore contend that they are not bound by rules of evidence and procedure.

Her report goes on, however, to make the point that in a volatile political climate "these organisations have an overarching responsibility to be circumspect, to hear and report both sides to conflict and to guard against accepting at face value allegations that have not been tested in any way".

Amnesty, the ICJ, and the Human Rights Commission (HRC) may indeed not be commissions of

inquiry, but that does not absolve them of a general responsibility to tell as much of the whole truth as they possibly can.

The passage about the Cross-roads massacre which Davis and Marcus accuse Jeffery of omitting is in fact reproduced, virtually verbatim, on page 43 of her report.

The opinion surveys to which Davis and Marcus refer were not conducted by the Institute of Race Relations, as they suggest, but by a professional market research organisation commissioned by us to conduct the survey.

Jeffery points out that the HRC, Amnesty, and the ICJ are "fully justified in recording and criticising crimes committed by members of the IFP or the SAP". She then points out that all three reports ignore, inter alia:

- The ANC strategy of fostering "ungovernability" through mass action;
- The ANC's refusal to disband

Allister Sparks is in America. His column will resume in November.

Umkhonto we Sizwe or to surrender its secret arms caches;

- The ANC's refusal to desist from the establishment of township "self-defence units", contrary to the provisions of the National Peace Accord;

- The frequent incidence of attacks on members of the South African Police, which resulted in the deaths of more than 120 policemen in the first seven months of 1992; and

- The high number of IFP officials and members — now allegedly totalling over 1 000 — killed in recent years.

Davis and Marcus would have

us believe that our drawing attention to these omissions is a trivial quibble!

The Davis/Marcus article suggests that the Institute of Race Relations should formulate "constructive suggestions to curb abuse of power by the State". The institute's record in exposing abuses of power by the State over decades is of course second to none. Our annual surveys — the 56th edition of which is now in preparation — constitute a meticulous, factual and damning indictment of the apartheid system, unrivalled anywhere.

We have also put a great deal of energy into suggesting how abuses by the State can be stopped.

Last year we helped to promote the ideal of drawing up codes of conduct for the police (and for demonstrators).

We also published a 262-page report entitled "Riot Policing in Perspective", which Jeffery also wrote and which was submitted to

the multinational panel set up by the Goldstone Commission to advise on the lawful control of demonstrations in South Africa.

In presentations the institute is currently making about violence to a variety of audiences, we are urging specific steps to be taken with regard to the "riot" police, among them developing a specialised corps, removing the R-1 rifle from the police in crowd control, and making the Minister politically accountable for unlawful police behaviour.

However, we have also said that demonstrators need to play their part in reducing the potential for conflict by adhering to a code of conduct.

I have indeed pointed out on a number of occasions that apartheid policies are at the root of violence, but that is very different from saying that the Government (however appalling its track record) is responsible for all the current violence.

Only the wilfully blind will take the view that the abuse of power by the State, whether at Bisho or anywhere else, is the only cause of violence, or indeed any longer even the major one.

The physical war in South Africa's black communities is accompanied by a propaganda war waged through the media.

Far from being "largely irrelevant and unhelpful in addressing the current problem of violence", the institute is playing a vital role in focusing public attention on aspects of violence too long hidden beneath the disinformation smokescreen.

No problem can begin to be solved unless its causes are fully analysed and understood, not hidden beneath reports which pretend that violence emanates only from one side. □

● Kane-Berman is Executive Director of the South African Institute of Race Relations.

THE STAR 7-10-92



# Meeting is no threat to NP

## — Stoffel

By Vivian Warby

THE National Party last night said it did not view as a threat the meeting of homeland and Right-wing leaders in Johannesburg yesterday.

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, secretary-general of the party, said the NP would reserve its fighting ability for the real opposi-

tion, the ANC alliance.

It was the right of any party or group to get together to discuss common problems.

The NP had no problem with this. However, what was incomprehensible was how Inkatha and the Conservative Party could find common fundamental ground. The basic positions of the CP and the IFP were incom-

patible.

"One wonders if Inkatha would support the establishment of a White Volkstaat with all the discriminatory things it entails. One also wonders what the attitude of the CP would be toward Zulus who wanted to live there.

"If one takes the long

TO PAGE 2

## No threat: Stoffel

FROM PAGE 1

history of Inkatha and Chief (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi, there has been resistance to apartheid. On the other hand, the CP's history is one of trying to uphold apartheid. How

can these two be reconciled?"

Dr Van der Merwe said, however, he found one of the mini-summit's resolutions — to discuss certain aspects with the government — very encouraging.



# Bop general warns ANC against march

By Fred de Lange  
and Sapa

THE Chief of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force (BDF), Major-General Jack Turner, yesterday warned that

people could get hurt and even killed if the ANC insisted on continuing their plans to march on Mmabatho on Friday.

Speaking in Mmabatho

at a media day where the strength and battle readiness of the BDF was demonstrated, he said conflict had to occur with such a march.

TO PAGE 2

## Bop general's warning

FROM PAGE 1

"People will get hurt and people will get killed. There will be confrontation. That is for sure," Gen Turner said.

He said it was the stated aim of the ANC to destabilise Bophuthatswana and to overthrow its government.

"We will do whatever we have to do to prevent this country from being destabilised. We have the capability."

The BDF hoped the organisers of the march would come to their senses because mass action only caused problems and did not solve any.

"Without mass action there would not have been a Bisho. I do not know what these people (the ANC) have achieved. They have only caused a number of people to be killed," Gen Turner said.

He said the ANC has not yet formally informed the Bophuthatswana Government of plans to march, and "no one had applied for permission". He also doubted that permission would be given for such a march.

"Our duty is to protect the constitution of our country at all costs. We have the ability to do it, the means to do it and I can assure you that we will do it.



The Chief of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force, Major-General JACK TURNER.

Gen Turner stressed that the media day was not arranged as a "show of strength" to dissuade the ANC from marching on Mmabatho. He said the day had been arranged more than three months ago.

Bophuthatswana's warning to the ANC came at the same time as a warning by State President De Klerk that the South

African Government might stop the ANC from continuing its marches on Mmabatho and Ulundi.

Mr De Klerk said at the Cape congress of the National Party that the government might have to take this course.

The ANC, in reacting to Mr De Klerk's statement, was adamant that they would in fact go ahead with the marches.



# Summit setback for FW

FROM PAGE 1

conference repeatedly and vehemently denied they were forming an alliance, they were united in their opposition to unilateral agreements reached between the SA Government and the African National Congress to the exclusion of all other political players.

Dr Mangope said he objected strongly to the manner in which the agendas of certain organisations were being decided upon and implemented "behind closed doors".

This feeling was echoed by Brig Gqoza who said he had been utterly disappointed with the manner in which the South African Government had "slowly but surely been selling us out to the policies and demands of the ANC/SA Communist Party alliance".

The moving force behind yesterday's meeting, IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, slated President De Klerk for what he called the appeasement of the ANC, which would mean eventual ANC political dominance.

He said three of ANC's demands — on the issues of violence, hostels and

cultural weapons — included in the "Record of Understanding" reached between Mr De Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela on September 26, had been deliberately posed as an attack on the credibility and the integrity of the IFP.

President Mangope in his turn said he believed there was a real danger of a decision-making precedent developing under the guise of records of understanding.

"This would increasingly see decisions being taken and implemented by the South African Government and the ANC which exclude the input and agreement from the rest of the important players," he said.

Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers said the presence of so many political parties and organisations supporting the basic idea of self-determination accentuated the reality that enduring and lasting peace in South Africa was not possible without the co-operation of these parties that valued one or other form of self-determination.

The three homeland leaders also stressed their support for a federal sys-

tem of government in the new South Africa, with some form of guaranteed autonomy for each state.

The conference resolved to send a representative delegation to the SA Government to request that the government not proceed with the forthcoming special parliamentary session which is due to start on October 12 and which is expected to see the passing of legislation enabling the creation of an interim government.

The delegation would also call on the government to stop the implementation of the "Record of Understanding" reached between the government and the ANC.

Answering questions, Chief Buthelezi said the forum's suggested scrapping of Codesa did not mean they intended to go back to square one, as many of the agreements reached during Codesa sittings could be built upon.

Chief Buthelezi said the discussions had not been aimed against the ANC as such.

"You must remember this meeting did not scrap Codesa — that was done when the ANC sank Codesa."

Dr Mangope said the

meeting would not consider itself bound to any legislation passed during the forthcoming session of Parliament, should the government proceed to table and pass such legislation without consulting the delegates to yesterday's meeting.

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said yesterday was "quite historical", as it was the first time the CP had been exposed to discussions "of this nature and at such a level".

"The discussions were frank and incisive and we have covered a lot of common ground."

He said there were obviously terminological and cultural differences which could be discussed in a friendly and understanding manner, but the way had now been cleared for future discussions.

The deputy leader of the CP, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, expressed his delight at the way the discussions had been conducted.

"The solid front now being forged and the united consensus displayed by so many different parties simply cannot be ignored in future anymore."



## More light in dark places

**T**HE Government go-ahead for Red Cross visits to police stations is another overdue step towards opening up a previously closed society. Any moves which have the effect of clearing the way for investigation by reputable and objective agencies are moves in the right direction: so much that is shameful has happened in South Africa's police cells that only full disclosure will convince the public that the wrongs of the past are not being repeated.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel has given permission to the International Committee of the Red Cross to visit cells unannounced — this is a vital concession — and it seems that the Ministry's bureaucrats will not be allowed to be obstructive.

With some estimates of deaths in police custody this year nearing the 100 mark, such openness is essential. It is encouraging, too, that an ICRC spokesman has said the organisation intends to make the fullest possible use of the new leeway.

There is, however, a worrying aspect to the development: the ICRC is a humanitarian organisation, and not a political monitor. As a matter of operational principle, the Red Cross does not make its findings public, but forwards them only to the relevant authorities. It also does not enquire as to the reasons for a person's detention; nor does it ever call for the release of detainees. Its representatives have had access to prisons since July, but because of the ICRC's own code of conduct, we do not know what they found there.

Kriel's Ministry has still not announced the names of the retired magistrates who are supposed to be monitoring the condition of prisoners. Since pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman made his allegations in July of police brutality, 25 more people have died in custody. The Red Cross presence will help — at the very least by shining the light of international attention — but it is not a substitute for persistent probing, and public disclosure.



Mass action 'unacceptable'

THE STAR 7 OCTOBER 1992

# FW warns ANC over marches

## Political Staff

President de Klerk yesterday warned that the Government would stop any ANC marches which were "unlawful" or could be "expected to lead to violence".

In a strong attack on the ANC, De Klerk told delegates at the National Party Cape provincial congress that the organisation's continuing mass action was totally unacceptable — and he challenged the movement to "get its house in order".

## 'People will get killed'

By Helen Grange

The Bophuthatswana Defence Force (BDF) warned yesterday that there would be conflict — and "people will get killed" — if the ANC went ahead with its planned march on the homeland.

The ANC, which initially planned to march on the homeland on Friday, has postponed the march indefinitely. However, there are strong indications that a march is still on the agenda.

The BDF, at a media day to display its equipment and capability, emphasised that it would use aggression if

The aggressive speech prompted a sharp counter-attack from the ANC, and the cordial relations achieved at last month's Government/ANC summit appeared to be under threat.

"South Africa and all its people expect the ANC to become a political party operating peacefully," De Klerk said. "They must stop their nonsense. South Africans are sick and tired of their inflammatory speeches and their arrogance with regard to their intolerance in recognising the rights of others to express themselves."

"our country's sovereignty is threatened".

BDF chief Major General H S Turner said he hoped the planned mass action would not take place. "If it does, it will be very, very dangerous and there will be conflict for sure. People will get killed. There will be confrontation," he said.

The Bophuthatswana police would be deployed to protect citizens, but the BDF would act as a secondary force.

Nobody had applied for permission to the homeland authorities to march, he said.

He said it was time for the ANC leadership to discipline its members strongly.

"In the meantime you may rest assured that the Government will take firm steps on marches with an unlawful purpose or under circumstances which can be expected to lead to violence. Should they take place the Government is duty bound to prevent such marches."

It is thought that De Klerk was referring specifically to planned marches on Ulundi and Mmabatho.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma told The Star last night: "It is to be expected that Mr de Klerk should sound this bellicose and arrogant in the light of the rearguard action by the supporters of apartheid who met yesterday afternoon." (A reference to the Johannesburg meeting of homeland leaders and rightwingers.)

Macozoma said: "The sad thing about Mr de Klerk's outburst against the ANC is that it shows his weakness as a political leader. He is unable to stand the pressure of reactionary forces when they confront him about decisions that will help advance a settlement."

The ANC rejected the

● To Page 3 ■



# We cannot pretend that blame lies on one side only

JUDGING by the anger it has aroused in some quarters, Dr Anthea Jeffery's report, "Disinformation about Violence in South Africa", has struck home. In criticising it in The Star on September 22, Dennis Davis and Gilbert Marcus ignore Jeffery's explicit acknowledgement (on page 9 of her report) that Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) are not courts of law and that they may legitimately therefore contend that they are not bound by rules of evidence and procedure.

Her report goes on, however, to make the point that in a volatile political climate "these organisations have an overarching responsibility to be circumspect, to hear and report both sides to conflict and to guard against accepting at face value allegations that have not been tested in any way".

Amnesty, the ICJ, and the Human Rights Commission (HRC) may indeed not be commissions of

inquiry, but that does not absolve them of a general responsibility to tell as much of the whole truth as they possibly can.

The passage about the Crossroads massacre which Davis and Marcus accuse Jeffery of omitting is in fact reproduced, virtually verbatim, on page 43 of her report.

The opinion surveys to which Davis and Marcus refer were not conducted by the Institute of Race Relations, as they suggest, but by a professional market research organisation commissioned by us to conduct the survey.

Jeffery points out that the HRC, Amnesty, and the ICJ are "fully justified in recording and criticising crimes committed by members of the IFP or the SAP". She then points out that all three reports ignore, inter alia:

- The ANC strategy of fostering "ungovernability" through mass action;
- The ANC's refusal to disband

**Allister Sparks is in America. His column will resume in November.**

Umkhonto we Sizwe or to surrender its secret arms caches;

- The ANC's refusal to desist from the establishment of township "self-defence units", contrary to the provisions of the National Peace Accord;

- The frequent incidence of attacks on members of the South African Police, which resulted in the deaths of more than 120 policemen in the first seven months of 1992; and

- The high number of IFP officials and members — now allegedly totalling over 1 000 — killed in recent years.

Davis and Marcus would have

us believe that our drawing attention to these omissions is a trivial quibble!

The Davis/Marcus article suggests that the Institute of Race Relations should formulate "constructive suggestions to curb abuse of power by the State". The institute's record in exposing abuses of power by the State over decades is of course second to none. Our annual surveys — the 56th edition of which is now in preparation — constitute a meticulous, factual and damning indictment of the apartheid system, unrivalled anywhere.

We have also put a great deal of energy into suggesting how abuses by the State can be stopped.

Last year we helped to promote the ideal of drawing up codes of conduct for the police (and for demonstrators).

We also published a 262-page report entitled "Riot Policing in Perspective", which Jeffery also wrote and which was submitted to

the multinational panel set up by the Goldstone Commission to advise on the lawful control of demonstrations in South Africa.

In presentations the institute is currently making about violence to a variety of audiences, we are urging specific steps to be taken with regard to the "riot" police, among them developing a specialised corps, removing the R-1 rifle from the police in crowd control, and making the Minister politically accountable for unlawful police behaviour.

However, we have also said that demonstrators need to play their part in reducing the potential for conflict by adhering to a code of conduct.

I have indeed pointed out on a number of occasions that apartheid policies are at the root of violence, but that is very different from saying that the Government (however appalling its track record) is responsible for all the current violence.

Only the wilfully blind will take the view that the abuse of power by the State, whether at Bisho or anywhere else, is the only cause of violence, or indeed any longer even the major one.

The physical war in South Africa's black communities is accompanied by a propaganda war waged through the media.

Far from being "largely irrelevant and unhelpful in addressing the current problem of violence", the institute is playing a vital role in focusing public attention on aspects of violence too long hidden beneath the disinformation smokescreen.

No problem can begin to be solved unless its causes are fully analysed and understood, not hidden beneath reports which pretend that violence emanates only from one side. □

● Kane-Berman is Executive Director of the South African Institute of Race Relations.

The STAR 7-10-92



## WORLD NEWS

# Buthelezi warns of secession bid

By ROSS DUNN,  
Johannesburg, Tuesday

The president of South Africa's Zulu-based Inkatha movement, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, today warned that he may have to consider secession if constitutional negotiations fail.

At a provincial congress of his ruling National Party, President F.W. de Klerk today lashed the African National Congress and hinted at action to halt ANC marches due later this month.

"They must stop their nonsense and their underground activities. The ANC must get its house in order," Mr De Klerk said in East London.

Chief Buthelezi issued his warning at a meeting in Johannesburg of black homeland leaders and white right-wing political groups called to protest against the development of a new constitution which did not reflect their interests.

The leaders' meeting was part of a growing campaign by minority groups against a recent agreement signed by the country's two main political players, the Government and ANC.

The meeting was called by Chief Buthelezi, who is also chief minister of the black homeland of KwaZulu, following his decision to withdraw from constitutional negotiations in protest at the

recent record of understanding signed by the Government and the ANC.

In a fiery opening speech, Chief Buthelezi said there was no guarantee that negotiations would succeed. "The closer we come to the realisation that negotiations just cannot succeed, the closer we all will come to the realisation that we will have to start drawing up contingent plans in the event of failure," he said.

"The ultimate extremity of political action for me will be secession and a possible confederation of regions which somehow remain intact after the catastrophe of the failure of negotiations."

He emphasised that he prayed negotiations would not fail but claimed the process had been poisoned by the ANC and the Government making bilateral decisions.

He denied he would push for a separate state on the basis of Zulu nationalism, emphasising that he had not yet given up the quest for a true multi-party democracy in South Africa.

"I will not fight for the kind of separatism which rests on racist constitutional cornerstones," he said. "There must be equality for all before the law, and before the Constitution as an absolute prerequisite for the protection of group rights."

He was joined by a delegation from the whites-only Conservative Party including its leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, and two other homeland leaders, Bophuthatswana's president, Mr Lucas Mangope, and Ciskei's military leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, whose troops massacred at least 28 ANC demonstrators during a protest march on his territory last month.

Inkatha's general-secretary, Dr Frank Mdlalose, said the meeting was not aimed at forging an alliance but exploring obstacles to constitutional negotiations.

Much of his speech amounted to a scathing attack on the ANC, but he also hit out strongly at President F.W. de Klerk, accusing him of actually siding with his rivals in the bloody clashes in the townships.

Chief Buthelezi said he was particularly angered by Mr De Klerk's decision to bow to ANC demands to ban the carrying of dangerous weapons including those carried by Zulus, and to fence off hostels controlled by Inkatha.

"President De Klerk knew that I was vehemently opposed to the fencing of hostels and treating hostel dwellers like enemies of the people," Chief Buthelezi said.

"By agreeing to this, President De Klerk actually became a par-



Great warrior: On the Great Wall of China, Mr Nelson Mandela chats to a man dressed as an ancient Chinese warrior. Mr Mandela met top officials on his first official visit.

ticipant in the ANC war against the Inkatha Freedom Party, and KwaZulu."

Brigadier Gqozo said the neo-Nazi paramilitary Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB) had promised to provide his Government with military support if the ANC again entered his territory.

He said the agreement was reached during a meeting with the AWB leader, Mr Eugene Terreblanche, in Johannesburg.

In his East London speech designed to appease restless white National Party members, Mr De Klerk said it was time for the ANC to become a political party and play by the same rules as its rivals.

He was interrupted repeatedly by loud applause as he accused the ANC of intolerance and condemned its plans to march on the capitals of KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana.

"Marches that could result in

violence should not take place. The Government is duty bound to prevent such marches," he said.

Mr De Klerk said the Government would not resort to emergency rule.

In Cape Town, an ANC spokesman said the movement had decided to tone down a street protest on Monday to mark the start of a special 10-day session of Parliament. He said this was part of an ANC review of mass action.

— with agencies



## Govt 'won't allow' demise of Afrikaans

EAST LONDON. — The government would not allow what had happened to Afrikaans in Namibia to happen in South Africa as well, the Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly, Mr Piet Marais, said yesterday.

He told the National Party's Cape Congress in East London the gov-

ernment intended to retain Afrikaans as an official language.

The government, however, realised how sensitive the language issue was and how it could push up the political temperature. Its attitude was that language policy should not be a bone of contention.

English and Afrikaans should be re-

tained as official languages and the status of other languages such as Zulu, Sesotho and Tswana should expand of its own accord.

He had no fears for the future of Afrikaans.

"How can a language disappear if more than six million people use it as their mother tongue and 18 million understand it?" — Sapa.

## No promises for ANC from China

BEIJING. — Nelson Mandela ended his first official visit to Beijing yesterday with firm assurances of Chinese friendship, but no promises that China would avoid establishing links with the South African Government.

The African National Congress president, speaking at a news conference after talks with Chinese leaders, said Beijing had repeated its support for the ANC in

its long struggle against apartheid.

ANC officials admitted, however, that Beijing had not made any concrete commitment to hold off on diplomatic links with Pretoria until the ANC's demand for new, interim government representing the country's Black majority is met.

"The Chinese Government has indicated that it supports that position," Pallo Jordan, spokesman for Mr Man-

dela's delegation, told the news conference.

"But what the intentions of the Chinese Government are, I cannot tell you."

Political analysts say Beijing has been edging toward broader links with South Africa and may be considering opening formal diplomatic ties.

The two countries late last year agreed to swap their first unofficial representative offices. — Sapa-Reuter.

## Stop implementation of pact — Buthelezi

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Reporter

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that he and other leaders would ask President FW de Klerk to stop the implementation of the Record of Understanding signed by De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela two weeks ago.

The agreement, signed on September 26, paved the way for the release of political prisoners, the banning of all dangerous weapons and the fencing in of hostels.

Buthelezi said a meeting would be urgently sought with De Klerk to convey the

leaders' concerns about the agreement.

Buthelezi made his statement after a "Conference for Concerned South Africans" at the Indaba Hotel outside Johannesburg, attended by, among others, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and co-conveners Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope.

Buthelezi said organisations at yesterday's meeting would not be bound by any agreements to which they were not party.

The meeting endorsed Buthelezi's calls for the immediate disbanding of the ANC's Umkhonto weSizwe.



# Buthelezi reasons unjustified, Meyer tells congress

EAST LONDON. — Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's reasons for pulling out of negotiations were unjustified, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

Mr Meyer also called on the African National Congress to finally commit itself to ending the armed struggle and to disbanding Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), and said he believed multi-party talks might resume before the

end of the year.

Addressing the National Party's Cape Congress in East London, Mr Meyer said he thought Chief Buthelezi's recent pronouncements were unjustified.

He could give details of how the President and Cabinet Ministers had kept Inkatha leaders informed of developments in the government's bilateral meetings with the ANC.

One had to accept, however, that Inkatha was an independent party with its own political agenda.

Just as the government had undertaken to get the ANC back to the negotiating table, it would continue to do the same

with Inkatha and other parties.

Mr Meyer said it was now time for the ANC to show its worth.

The movement had to return to multi-party negotiations, as there were no further excuses for it not to resume full talks.

In addition the ANC should review the programme of mass action and its use as a threat in negotiations, Mr Meyer said.

In the current climate of violence in South Africa mass action, as proposed with the march on Ulundi, was more likely to inspire violence, than the carrying of dangerous weapons.

The ANC should contribute to fighting viol-

ence in South Africa, and the congress should also commit itself finally to ending the armed struggle; this included the dissolution of MK.

Mr Meyer said the reform process was still on course.

He feared much of the criticism of the "Record of Understanding" agreed to at the ANC/government talks on September 26, were based on misconceptions or total ignorance.

He gave an assurance that nothing in the Record had not already been agreed on in Codesa structures.

The aim of the last week's talks with the ANC had been precisely to get confirmation of what had already been agreed.

Mr Meyer further said the government intended organising a public conference, hopefully before the end of the year, to further the concept of regionalism or federalism.

It would invite representatives of all political parties, universities and various institutions. — Sapa.

## Illegal drivers upset by ID book law: Dept

MOTORISTS should be thankful at being compelled to carry their identity documents because they would now be able to establish in good time whether or not they have valid licences, the Department of Transport said yesterday.

that a large percentage of road users did not have their documents in order.

The problem had existed for years, but had been highlighted now as a result of the compulsory carrying of drivers licences.

"Persons who have been affected by this, should be thankful as they will now be able to establish in good time whether or not they have valid li-

cences."

The compulsory carrying of licences was widely supported by law abiding citizens, the department claimed, and appealed to the public to assist in solving teething problems which may be encountered.

The department said it was convinced the measure, which brought South Africa in line with overseas countries, would promote road safety. — Sapa.



# Isinqumo seKwaZulu ngemashi yasoLundi ehlongozwa yi-ANC

OLUNDI. - UMkhandlu oShayumthetho kuHulumeni waKwaZulu ngesonto eledlule ulibeke ngesihloko elokuthi uzothatha izinyathelo zomthetho ezizokwenza isiqiniseko sokuthi ngeke ize ibekhona imashi yasoLundi ehlongozwa yi-African National Congress (ANC).

Ikhokhasi yoMkhandlu inqume ukuthi iyayenyanya inhloso elokhu iphindaphindwa yi-ANC yokuthi izomasha iye oLundi.

Ikhokhasi ithe ayikaze yenqabe ukuba kwenziwe imibhikisho esemthethweni oLundi, nesityake yabakhona emalokishini amaningi aKwaZulu.

Iqhubeke yathi kuyinto engacabangeki ukuthi lemashi yasoLundi elandela eyaseBisho, okwakuyoketulwa ngayo uBrigadier Gqozo, inga-

thathwa ngokuthi inokuthula, isemthethweni nokuthi ingumbhikisho wentando yeningi.

Ibuye yanxusa iKhomishani kaMnuz. Justice Goldstone ukuba icabangisise ngezindlela okufanele zilandelwe uma kunemibhikisho nokuba leKhomishani ikwemukele ukuthi ukhukhulelangogo wemibhikisho ebanodlame futhi elandelwa wukufa kwabantu ngeke nanini yathathwa ngokuthi isemthethweni nokuthi ngeyentando yeningi.



South Africans are 'sick and tired of ANC's inflammatory speeches'

# Nats applaud De Klerk's tough stance

EAST LONDON: President F.W. de Klerk yesterday dispelled National Party fears that he was softening on the ANC with one of his most vigorous attacks yet on the Government's chief negotiating partner.

But he also sent a strong signal to the NP not to expect a return to the *kragdadigheid* of the past and re-affirmed his commitment to peaceful negotiations.

And, in one of his most public clashes with a National Party mouthpiece, he dismissed as "sharp and unfair" the suggestions in a political column in *Die Burger* that the NP leadership lacked strength and inspiration and was too willing to concede to ANC demands.

"Nothing, in any agreement we have reached," he countered, "contains any concession with regard to principles for which we stand."

But negotiations would continue because it was the only possible route and the Government had the principal responsibility to ensure negotiations were sustained.

President De Klerk — whose tough speech was matched by a second broadside from Consti-

## Daily News Correspondent

tutional Development Minister and key negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer — earned several rounds of applause from delegates at the Cape congress of the NP with a salvo of criticisms of the ANC.

The ANC's apparent refusal to review mass action was "totally unsatisfactory," he said.

"South Africa and all its people expect the ANC, now, to become a political party operating peacefully. They must stop their nonsense.

"We expect them to stop underground activities. There is no room for underground organisations continuing to cultivate violence.

"South Africans are sick and tired of their inflammatory speeches and arrogance with regard to intolerance of the rights of others.

"We cannot accept that any party involved in the negotiation process can say, against a co-signatory of the peace accord: 'I am marching on you to topple you.'"

He said it was time the ANC leadership disciplined its members — and "radical voices in their own top executive.

"We say the ANC must get its house in order. They must rectify these militating approaches against the peace accord, and against the (Record of Understanding) agreement of September 26."

Mr de Klerk said he had called for a meeting of all signatories of the peace accord, but that, in the meantime, the Government would halt any ANC marches that were expected to lead to violence.

"If they take place, we are duty-bound to prevent such marches."

He told delegates not to be afraid of ANC "propaganda and threats".

"They want us to be afraid in the hope that we will make mistakes," he said.

He assured the congress that the NP "will never accept a simply unitary domination model" for South Africa.

"We do not contemplate handing over all power to the ANC, or to any other party. We also do not contemplate retaining all the power, as we have it at the moment."

But the NP "is prepared to transfer power to a transitional government representing all South Africans, and one that is democratically elected."

## ANC defiant on protest marches

PRETORIA: THE African National Congress said today it would defy any form of opposition and go ahead with protest marches planned for Mmabatho and Ulundi.

Reacting to President F.W. de Klerk's warnings that central

## Daily News Correspondent

Government would stop marches which were seen to be unlawful and with the potential for violence, the ANC's Mr Saki Macozoma said it was not for the Government to determine

what was acceptable or not.

Mr Macozoma said although dates had not yet been finalised, the marches on Mmabatho and Ulundi were "certainly" going ahead as planned. The dates were expected to be announced during the course of the week.



# BUSINESS DAY, WED. DAY 7 OCTOBER 1992

## Homeland leaders want Codesa scrapped

TIM COHEN

HOMELAND leaders and right-wingers who met yesterday resolved to call for the scrapping of Codesa, the special session of Parliament and the government-ANC Record of Understanding.

The Conference for Concerned South Africans brought together parties disgruntled by government's bilateral agreements with the ANC.

They included Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei military leader Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope; as well as the CP, Afrikaner Volksunie and the Afrikaner Freedom Foundation representatives.

The conference decided to support Buthelezi's demands that the ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) be disbanded before negotiations could proceed.

And it called for a multiparty conference to examine both the negotiating and peace processes.

It resolved that a delegation from the forum be sent to government to convey concern about aspects of proposed constitutional legislation.

The delegation would request government not to proceed with the scheduled special session of Parliament and ask that the Record of Understanding be "stopped".

The grouping also resolved to try to increase its life and size, by establishing a steering committee to approach "like-minded" parties and arranging a further conference.

Buthelezi told a news conference the special session of Parliament would again represent exclusive, unacceptable decision-making.

"The conference discussed at length ways and means of overcoming the polarisation and frustration caused by bilateral agreements between the SA government and the ANC," he said.

There had been total agreement among

□ To Page 2

## Homeland leaders

□ From Page 1

delegates that without the immediate disbanding of MK, the surrender of its arms caches and the cessation of recruitment and training for military purposes, negotiations could not continue, he said.

Earlier, Gqozo elicited applause from about 30 delegates by describing the Record of Understanding as a "recipe for war".

"Our dignity has been trampled on by miscalculating fools who believe that they can get away with these injustices, but they cannot," Gqozo said.

Mangope said if government and the ANC persisted in the practice which led to their agreement, "we will have nothing further to do with so-called negotiations".

Buthelezi said the new multiparty conference should establish a structure that would ensure that no-one could back out of the talks.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht said he supported the homeland leaders' rejection of the Record of Understanding, while Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers said he supported a multiparty conference of review.

Leaders of the groups denied they were forming an alliance or pact.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that the PAC announced yesterday that a delegation led by president Clarence Makwetu would travel to Ulundi tomorrow for talks with Buthelezi.

Publicity and information director Waters Toboti said the PAC was embarking on an initiative to get the patriotic front going again. It would include Inkatha and other black leaders in an attempt to stop the violence.

Makwetu had also written a letter to ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and would meet ANC president Nelson Mandela when he returned from his trip abroad. Toboti said once violence had been stopped, a united front could force the necessary changes in SA. He said the PAC intended to try to get the ANC and Inkatha to meet.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said it was possible that the ANC would meet Inkatha formally at presidential level but there would have to be a period of thorough preparatory talks, much like the bilaterals with government.

● Picture: Page 3  
● Comment: Page 10



# BUSINESS DAY, WED.DAY 7 OCTOBER 1992

## FW threatens to prevent ANC marches

Political Staff

EAST LONDON — President F W de Klerk yesterday put himself on a collision course with the ANC by threatening to stop its marches on Ulundi and Mmabatho.

In a tough keynote address to the NP Cape congress, De Klerk said government was "duty bound" to prevent marches which could result in violence.

Responding to mounting unease and criticism of his leadership style from party ranks, De Klerk moved sharply to reassure the party faithful by launching a blistering attack on the ANC.

In particular he lashed out at the ANC's revised position on mass action, dismissing it as "totally unsatisfactory" and warning that it should "stop the nonsense" — as well as its underground activities.

The time had arrived for the real leaders of the ANC to stand up and discipline their regional leadership and "dissident radical elements".

De Klerk said it was "completely unacceptable" that parties involved in negotiations could threaten to topple from power those around the table.

South Africans could "rest assured" that government would take firm steps against actions that could lead to violence.

Sapa reports the ANC last night reacted angrily to De Klerk's attack.

The organisation said laws and conventions determined whether certain types of actions were acceptable or not. "It is not the government's political palate that determines what is acceptable and what is not. The ANC observes both the law and those conventions of its own volition, not because of threats from Mr De Klerk."

It said phase four of its protest campaign would be reviewed now there had been movement on talks between itself and government.

• See Page 5



**BUSINESS DAY, WED.DAY 7 OCTOBER 1992**

**ANC expectations**

NELSON Mandela should meet police generals and tell them what the ANC expected of police, instead of criticising them from a distance, says Idasa director Van Zyl Slabbert. **Page 4**



BUSINESS DAY, WED. DAY 7 OCTOBER 1992

# TPA pleads for input on hostel fencing plans

THE Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) yesterday made an impassioned plea to all relevant parties to consult it about government's plan to fence off hostels identified as unrest flashpoints.

Transvaal MEC for physical planning and development John Mavuso said in a statement yesterday the TPA's "comprehensive consultation process" was seriously hampered by a lack of co-operation.

Sebokeng hostel residents failed to show up for a meeting called to discuss the plan on Monday night, he said. Their absence was apparently sparked by pamphlets — written on ANC letterheads — urging residents not to attend.

"When the question of the absence of the hostel residents was raised, the ANC said it represented them."

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said he was not aware that his organisation's letterheads had been used to print the pamphlets.

Mavuso said: "It seems, at this stage, that all the parties do not regard the purpose of the government's

WILSON ZWANE

hostel strategy as important."

No comment could be obtained from the Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association yesterday.

It could not be established yesterday when the TPA would begin fencing seven of the 24 Transvaal hostels identified as unrest flashpoints.

Geoff Wilkens, TPA chief director of physical planning and development for the Witwatersrand, said the implementation date for the plan depended on when an agreement with all relevant parties was reached. The plan included measures such as random searches and tight access control to prevent bearing arms.

Sapa reports President FW de Klerk told Cape NP congress delegates in East London yesterday these steps would have been taken even if talks had not been held with the ANC recently.

Government was not taking sides. "It simply must be done to stop violence and prevent further killings." He alleged that ANC-controlled hostels were also involved in violence.

In terms of an agreement between government and the ANC, the hostels should be fenced off by November 15.

Police reported yesterday that a man was killed and another wounded on Monday when gunmen dressed in camouflage entered a house in Umhlangeni, near Durban, and opened fire.

The killing follows a series of incidents in Natal in which the attackers have worn security force uniforms.

Arson was reported at Sharpeville and Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle.

STEPHANE BOTHMA reports that a policeman on a foot patrol in the Sandton suburb of Marlboro was shot dead yesterday afternoon.

The killing brings the total of policemen shot this year to 177.

The assistant constable was on a crime prevention patrol with a colleague when they were confronted by two unidentified men armed with revolvers, police said.

Shots were fired and the constable collapsed. The attackers fled, taking the wounded constable's service pistol. The second policeman escaped unharmed. The wounded constable died soon after he arrived at Johannesburg Hospital.



# BUSINESS DAY, WED.DAY 7 OCTOBER 1992

## Kriel accused of 'whitewash job'

LAW and Order Minister Hernus Kriel was deliberately ignoring advice from a recently established police board and "whitewashing" problems facing the police, Cosatu official Jayendra Naidoo told the Idasa conference.

RAY HARTLEY

Naidoo, who represents the ANC alliance on the national peace secretariat, told the conference on policing Kriel had "totally sidelined" the board, which is made up of equal num-

bers of police and civilian representatives.

The 22-man board was established to advise on strategy and met for the first time in May this year.

"The way that Kriel has dealt with the police board to date is a disgrace. He seems comfortable whitewashing his problems," said Naidoo.

The national peace secretariat needed to play a greater role in policing, including decisions about which officers were stationed in unrest areas.

He said fundamental changes were needed to enhance community participation in policing.

Police accountability to communities needed to be established in the period before an interim government, to minimise the conflict involved in changing police once a new government had been established, he said.

Promotion, discipline and training, which could be called the police force's "carrot, stick and advice", needed to be changed.



# BUSINESS DAY, WED.DAY 7 OCTOBER 1992

## Talk to police, Mandela is told

ANC president Nelson Mandela should meet police generals and tell them directly what his organisation expected of police, instead of simply criticising them from a great distance, says Idasa director Van Zyl Slabbert.

Addressing an Idasa conference on policing in Vanderbijlpark yesterday, Slabbert said a new negotiating forum dealing with the role of the security forces and stability during the transition to democracy was urgently needed.

Slabbert said a future political accord would depend on "transitional stability" in the public service, including the police.

He warned political leaders that the public service could disintegrate, with grave consequences, if it was left without a sense of purpose while national negotiations were going on.

The public service had been "meticulously and systematically" built up to pursue the goals of apartheid.

Now it was facing a crisis of legitimacy, he said.

Slabbert said he had always regarded Codesa as an inappropriate forum for negotiations because it had created the illusion that politicians could negotiate transition on their own.

He added that efforts by Finance Minister Derek Keys and Cosatu to establish an economic forum and the recently established housing forum, were places where "the most important bargaining is taking place".

"I think it is unreasonable to ex-

RAY HARTLEY

pect the police to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps.

"Like most of us, they were singularly unprepared for change," Slabbert said.

"Only five or six years ago it was seen as part of the training of police and soldiers that they had to eliminate the enemy," he said, adding that the same was true of the liberation movements.

Police consultant Kobus Neethling, who has addressed more than 15 000 policemen on ways of improving their creativity, said police needed new skills if changes in their values were to be effective.

He said police and community visions of SA needed to be aligned to truly address the accountability of the force.

Neethling said the majority of policemen he had spoken to wanted to continue with policing and had a "positive awareness" of their role.

Police needed to be caring, emotionally involved, vulnerable, empathetic, humanistic and intuitive to succeed in their work, he said.

Eastern Cape Council of Churches chairman Mcebisi Xundu said community organisations had shown they appreciated law and order by using marshals to control their protest marches.

He said chiefs and headmen needed to be elected by their communities to create confidence and increase the accountability of their policing activities in the rural areas.



BUSINESS DAY, WED. DAY 7 OCTOBER 1992

## 'Buthelezi's protests are not justified'

EAST LONDON — Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi's reasons for pulling out of negotiations were unjustified, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

Meyer also called on the ANC to finally commit itself to ending the armed struggle and to disbanding Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). He said multiparty talks might resume before the end of the year.

Addressing the NP's Cape congress in East London, Meyer said Buthelezi's recent pronouncements were unjustified.

He could give details of how President F.W. de Klerk and Cabinet Ministers had kept Inkatha leaders informed of developments in government's bilateral meetings with the ANC.

One had to accept, however, that Inkatha was an independent party with its own political agenda.

Just as government had undertaken to get the ANC back to the negotiating table, it would continue to do the same with Inkatha and other parties.

Meyer said it was now time for the ANC to show its worth.

The organisation had to return to multiparty negotiations, as there were no further excuses for it not to resume full talks.

He said the ANC should review the pro-

gramme of mass action and its use as a threat in negotiations.

In the current climate of violence, mass action, as in the proposed march on Ulundi, was more likely to inspire violence than the carrying of dangerous weapons.

The ANC should contribute to fighting violence and commit itself finally to ending the armed struggle — including the dissolution of MK.

Meyer said the reform process was still on course.

He feared much of the criticism of the Record of Understanding agreed to between government and the ANC at talks on September 26, were based on misconceptions or total ignorance.

He gave an assurance that nothing in the record had not already been agreed on in Codesa structures.

The aim of the last weeks' talks with the ANC had been precisely to get confirmation of what had already been agreed.

Meyer said government intended organising a public conference, hopefully before the end of the year, to further the concept of regionalism or federalism.

It would invite representatives of all political parties, universities and various institutions. — Sapa



# BUSINESS DAY, WED.DAY 7 OCTOBER 1992

10

BUSINESS DAY, Wednesday, October 7 1992

## COMMENT

### The new right

IN the not too distant past, the leaders of South Africa's white right warned of the dangers of desegregating the country's hotels. The thin end of the wedge, a step towards the horrors of racial integration, they called it. Yesterday they and a selection of black homeland leaders — who would have been unlawful guests at the hotel where they met if the right had had its way — decided they shared a sufficient coincidence of political interests to establish a new power bloc. We live in a strange world.

Equally strange is the probability that the NP and the ANC — effectively at war with each other since May — will now be forced to act together to head off the potential crisis that this meeting of minds could spark.

Despite the obvious ironies, though, the development is not an irrational one from the perspective of the parties involved. The likes of Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Oupa Gqozo, Lucas Mangope, Andries Treurnicht and Carel Boshoff represent small to tiny constituencies, with Inkatha the largest of these minority groups. They therefore share an interest in winning agreement on a new confederal-type constitution which would offer them the possibility of retaining power in their own fiefdoms.

Of course, this budding alliance is heading for major difficulties. While the existing homelands enjoy defined geographical identities, the

idea of a homeland where racially conscious whites can enjoy self-determination is a dream, unless its protagonists are willing to accept a small, desolate part of the north-western Cape.

That, at least, is the more generous view of the new bloc's agenda and prospects. A more cynical interpretation would have it that the participants' main interest is in delaying, for as long as possible, South Africa's transition. That, after all, is the most certain way (for the white right) of keeping in place the present constitution and hence keeping blacks out of the central legislature. And a lengthy delay would also extend the lifespan of homeland administrations whose leaders might have no hope of winning a free and fair election in their regions.

Nevertheless, at this stage the resumption of multilateral negotiations is a priority, and if parts of the right wing can be drawn in, so much the better. A conference to review the failings of Codesa, as initially suggested by Buthelezi, need not be a waste of time if it is also used to plan for the next phase of negotiations.

The establishment of this new power bloc doubtless gives the minority groups which comprise it additional bargaining muscle. But the message from both the government and the international community must be firm — they should not be allowed to use that muscle to scupper or unnecessarily delay the entire negotiating process. Their newly found power base has its limits.



# THE STAR, WEDNESDAY 7 OCTOBER 1992

## FW's warning to ANC

● From Page 1

poses or under circumstances which can be expected to lead to violence. Should they take place, the Government is duty-bound to prevent such marches."

Macozoma told The Star last night: "It is to be expected that Mr de Klerk should sound this bellicose in the light of the rearguard action by the supporters of apartheid who met yesterday afternoon." (the meeting of homeland leaders and rightwingers).

"The sad thing about Mr de Klerk's outburst against the ANC is that it shows his weakness as a political leader. He is unable to stand the pressure of reactionary

forces when they confront him about decisions that will help advance a settlement."

The ANC rejected the threat to prohibit marches. "There are laws and conventions in South Africa that determine whether certain types of actions are acceptable or not."

In his speech De Klerk said the Government's undertakings to prohibit dangerous weapons in public and fence hostels would have been taken even if talks had not been held with the ANC recently. The final responsibility for order lay with the Government. The options were to reintroduce a state of emergency, to ban people and to imprison them.

"But we say 'no' to that option because it is not in the national interest. It is not a sign of weakness to talk to your opponents ... I give the assurance that it is not our intention to exclude people in bilateral talks but to get everyone back to the negotiating table."

"Our responsibility as Government made it essential that we also get the ANC back to negotiations."

● The ANC's western Cape region yesterday announced further protest action, including a march on Parliament.

● The Methodist Church of Southern Africa has appealed to the ANC alliance to call off its proposed marches on Ulundi and Mmabatho.



**THE STAR, WEDNESDAY 7 OCTOBER 1992**

## **Move to tax pension premiums**

By Sven Lunsche

The Government is considering proposals that could result in individuals paying tax on their pension fund contributions for the first time.

The Jacobs report on financial services, which was released today, recommends that only two-thirds of individuals' contributions to pension funds should be tax deductible and not the full amount as is the case at present.

At the same time 20 per cent of pension fund contributions by companies could attract tax.

The report also recommends the scrapping of the "Sixth Schedule" for life insurers, which would allow the groups to offer products with no element of life cover and reduce the term on policies to five years.

● Report — Page 12



**THE CITIZEN, WED.DAY 7 OCTOBER 1992****McBride:  
Viewers  
want him  
in jail****Citizen Reporter**

AN M-Net phone-in poll on whether "Maggoo Bomber", Robert McBride, should have been released from prison, resulted in an overwhelming 3 972 "No" votes, as opposed to 81 "Yes" votes.

Subscribers were asked to record their vote telephonically during Sunday's Carte Blanche programme and according to an M-Net spokesman, Mr Bernie Thixton, the poll-line system was continuously jammed for over 40 minutes.

Carte Blanche producer, Mr Pieter Cilliers, said they were planning to run the poll-lines on a trial basis during October.

"If they continue to be as successful as our first attempt on Sunday evening, I think we're onto another winning recipe for Carte Blanche," he said.



## Cancel march on Ulundi: Methodists

DURBAN — The Methodist Church's national conference yesterday called on the African National Congress alliance to cancel its planned march on Ulundi and on KwaZulu authorities to allow free political activities.

The conference, meeting in Pinetown, said the march would lead to increased polarisation, violence, victimisation and suffering for innocent people without solving any problems.

In a resolution, the conference said it "affirms the legitimacy of this form of mass action and supports the demand for free political activity in KwaZulu and other homelands".

The resolution continued: "It nevertheless appeals to the alliance to cancel the march on Ulundi and appeals to the KwaZulu Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party to allow free political activity in

the homeland.

"It strongly encourages the opposing groups to address their differences in bilateral talks and by an immediate return to multilateral negotiations."

The conference, in another resolution, said that all parties should place the welfare of South Africa above their own party political interests and resume negotiations immediately.

An interim government of national unity should be established urgently "to deal with senseless political violence and to oversee the transition to democracy".

The interim government should prepare for a general election under international supervision before the end of 1993.

The homelands should be reincorporated into South Africa, the resolution said. — Sapa



## 29 in court after shooting at Kengeshe

Citizen Reporter

TWENTY-NINE people were arrested and have appeared in court in Richmond, Natal, in connection with the massacre of 11 people at the Kengeshe township on September 26.

According to the police, a quantity of weapons has also been seized in the investigation.

Among the weapons recovered are two AK-47 rifles with two magazines and 20 rounds of ammunition, one Browning shotgun with 13 cartridges, a

.22 revolver, a Makarov pistol, a 7.65 mm pistol, two F1 handgrenades, and four home-made rifles.

According to the police those arrested are believed to be supporters of the ANC, but none of them were prominent or known card-carrying members of the organisation.

After the incident, both the ANC and the IFP blamed each other for the deaths. The IFP claims its entire local leadership was wiped out in the attack.

The first arrest arising

out of the incident took place last Friday, and the rest followed over the weekend and on Monday night.

The suspects have been remanded in custody until October 16.

An IFP spokesman yesterday welcomed the early breakthrough in the investigation. — Sapa



## 14 killed in Natal unrest in two days

DURBAN. — At least 14 people died in unrest in Natal over the past two days, police reported yesterday.

Spokesman Captain Hamilton Ngidi said he had received reports of at least four deaths in "faction" fighting near Dududu, outside Umkomaas, on Natal's South Coast on Sunday.

In other incidents on Sunday, the SAP reported the necklacing of a woman in Bruntville, Mooi River, while one person had been shot dead in Umbumbulu.

The body of an unidentified person with gunshot wounds was also found in KwaMakhutha,

Amanzimtoti, on Sunday.

On Monday, the KwaZulu Police reported the discovery of two bodies, one a 16-year-old youth, in a minibus at the Folweni sports grounds, south of Durban.

KZP spokesman Colonel Moses Khanyile also reported an attack on three policemen yesterday.

A KZP Special Constable was killed while two others were seriously injured when they were attacked in KwaMashu while performing guard duties.

In Umlazi, four people were killed in separate incidents on Monday. — Sapa.



## PAC-IFP meeting may see ANC summit: PAC

DURBAN. — The presidents of the Pan Africanist Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party are to meet in Ulundi to discuss political violence sweeping the country, PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said yesterday.

Mr Alexander hinted that tomorrow's meeting

could pave the way to a summit between the IFP and African National Congress leaderships.

Mr Alexander said the express purpose of the meeting, initiated by the PAC, would be to look at ending political intolerance and violence.

However, the PAC had

also written to ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa in an attempt to arrange a meeting between PAC leader Clarence Makwetu and ANC president Nelson Mandela to discuss the same issues.

From these two meetings, the PAC hoped to

present a programme aimed at ending violence and normalising the relationship between warring ANC and IFP factions.

"This could lead to more open political activity between especially those two organisations and the oppressed in general."

Questioned in a telephone interview on whether this could pave the way for a summit between the IFP and ANC leaders, Mr Alexander responded: "It could pave the way for a meeting although that's not our specific and stated intention".

Mr Alexander's remarks come in the wake of the ANC announcement on Monday night that its National Working Committee would favourably consider a meeting at presidential level with the IFP.



## THE CITIZEN, WED.DAY 7 OCTOBER 1992

# SA sick of arrogance of ANC — FW

EAST LONDON. — South Africa was sick and tired of the African National Congress' inflammatory speeches, its arrogance and its intolerance in recognising the rights of others, State President De Klerk said yesterday.

"They must stop their nonsense and stop their underground activities. There is no room for underground activities in South Africa."

Mr De Klerk, speaking at the Cape National Party congress in East London, noted the ANC had

TO PAGE 2

## Sick of ANC arrogance

FROM PAGE 1

created expectations after the September 26 talks when it gave a public undertaking that it would examine its programme of mass action.

"We can play with words but everyone understood that the ANC would review its position.

"I regard their statements after the first executive committee meeting as totally unsatisfactory. South Africa expects the ANC to become a political party and operate peacefully.

"I cannot accept a party involved in the negotiation process can say 'I am marching to topple your government'. That's not

democracy.

"It is time for the real leaders of the ANC to discipline their grassroots followers and regional and dissident radical voices in the top executive.

"The ANC must get its house in order."

The government would take firm steps against marches which were expected to lead to violence, as this was the government's duty, Mr De Klerk said.

The decision to sign documents releasing political prisoners was one of the most difficult in his career, Mr De Klerk said.

"I understand that the release of criminals is upsetting to the broader community. I must still

sign the documents and must say it is one of the most difficult decisions in my career, on whether it should be done.

"Can we ever reach reconciliation as long as we are divided into various camps and agitate about people sitting in prison for acts they committed in a time of conflict which was compared by many to a state of war?"

He said agreement could either be reached on releasing all prisoners with political motives, or those who disagreed with the government could be kept in prison while the National Party remained in power.

The second option would not work. However difficult it was to re-

lease murderers according to specific norms laid down, it was the best of both options.

"We have to make sure that it is done on the basis of political motives and no matter how wrong the deeds, there must be a procedure of identification to ascertain who to release."

He said it was unfortunate that a mistake or two had been made with recent releases. The matter was, however, being investigated and "we have learnt from this mistake".

"These decisions to clean the slate were an essential step in the best interests of long-term stability and I ask for understanding of this."

— Sapa.



# THE CITIZEN, WED.DAY 7 OCTOBER 1992

## Angry ANC lashes FW

THE African National Congress reacted angrily last night to statements by President De Klerk that the country was sick and tired of the ANC's inflammatory statements, its arrogance and its intolerance of the

TO PAGE 2

## ANC lashes FW

FROM PAGE 1

rights of others.

Addressing the National Party's Cape Congress in East London earlier in the day, Mr De Klerk said he could not accept that a party to the negotiations process could issue threats to march and topple his government.

The government would take firm steps against marches which were expected to lead to violence, because this was the government's duty, the State President added.

But in an angry reaction last night, the ANC

rejected warnings by Mr De Klerk, saying there were laws and conventions that determined whether certain types of actions were acceptable or not.

"It is not the government's political palate that determines what is acceptable and what is not. The ANC observes both the law and those conventions of its own volition, not because of threats from Mr De Klerk."

Referring to a speech by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, also at the Cape Congress, that the ANC should return to multi-party negotiations, review mass action and finally commit itself to dissolve its military wing, the ANC said it had already indicated its willingness to return to multi-party talks, but that at this stage bilateral talks were the best way to advance negotiations.

"The forum in which multilateral talks can

take place needs, itself, to be negotiated," the ANC statement added.

On mass action, the organisation said phase four of its protest campaign would be reviewed, now that there had been movement on talks between itself and the government.

"(With regard) to ending the armed struggle and disbanding MK, consider the climate in which this twaddle is shouted by seemingly reasonable men from political platforms."

"A recent police report puts the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging at 16 000 armed men, the KwaZulu Police are running amok in Natal, the Ciskei Defence Force is on a murderous streak in the Border area, the SADF and its covert operations is still being used against anti-apartheid activists and civilians, and the SAP is still a private army of the Nationalist Party and the Broederbond," the ANC said. — Sapa.



# Summit setback for FW

FROM PAGE 1

conference repeatedly and vehemently denied they were forming an alliance, they were united in their opposition to unilateral agreements reached between the SA Government and the African National Congress to the exclusion of all other political players.

Dr Mangope said he objected strongly to the manner in which the agendas of certain organisations were being decided upon and implemented "behind closed doors".

This feeling was echoed by Brig Gqoza who said he had been utterly disappointed with the manner in which the South African Government had "slowly but surely been selling us out to the policies and demands of the ANC/SA Communist Party alliance".

The moving force behind yesterday's meeting, IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, slated President De Klerk for what he called the appeasement of the ANC, which would mean eventual ANC political dominance.

He said three of ANC's demands — on the issues of violence, hostels and

cultural weapons — included in the "Record of Understanding" reached between Mr De Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela on September 26, had been deliberately posed as an attack on the credibility and the integrity of the IFP.

President Mangope in his turn said he believed there was a real danger of a decision-making precedent developing under the guise of records of understanding.

"This would increasingly see decisions being taken and implemented by the South African Government and the ANC which exclude the input and agreement from the rest of the important players," he said.

Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers said the presence of so many political parties and organisations supporting the basic idea of self-determination accentuated the reality that enduring and lasting peace in South Africa was not possible without the co-operation of these parties that valued one or other form of self-determination.

The three homeland leaders also stressed their support for a federal sys-

tem of government in the new South Africa, with some form of guaranteed autonomy for each state.

The conference resolved to send a representative delegation to the SA Government to request that the government not proceed with the forthcoming special parliamentary session which is due to start on October 12 and which is expected to see the passing of legislation enabling the creation of an interim government.

The delegation would also call on the government to stop the implementation of the "Record of Understanding" reached between the government and the ANC.

Answering questions, Chief Buthelezi said the forum's suggested scrapping of Codesa did not mean they intended to go back to square one, as many of the agreements reached during Codesa sittings could be built upon.

Chief Buthelezi said the discussions had not been aimed against the ANC as such.

"You must remember this meeting did not scrap Codesa — that was done when the ANC sank Codesa."

Dr Mangope said the

meeting would not consider itself bound to any legislation passed during the forthcoming session of Parliament, should the government proceed to table and pass such legislation without consulting the delegates to yesterday's meeting.

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said yesterday was "quite historical", as it was the first time the CP had been exposed to discussions "of this nature and at such a level".

"The discussions were frank and incisive and we have covered a lot of common ground."

He said there were obviously terminological and cultural differences which could be discussed in a friendly and understanding manner, but the way had now been cleared for future discussions.

The deputy leader of the CP, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, expressed his delight at the way the discussions had been conducted.

"The solid front now being forged and the united consensus displayed by so many different parties simply cannot be ignored in future anymore."



# MINI-SUMMIT SETBACK FOR FW

Call to  
scrap  
Codesa

By Sapa and  
Hugo Hagen  
PRESIDENT De  
Klerk's latest attempts  
at breaking the political  
deadlock preventing a  
return to Codesa yesterday  
suffered a serious setback  
with formidable opposition  
thrown up by three  
homeland leaders backed  
by the Right-wing  
Conservative Par-

ty and the Afrikaner  
Volksunie.  
Yesterday's one-day  
mini-summit called by the  
troika of KwaZulu Chief  
Minister and Inkatha  
Freedom Party leader  
Mangosuthu Buthelezi,  
Bophuthatswana's Presi-  
dent Lucas Mangope, and  
Ciskei military leader  
Oupa Gqozo, unanimously  
called for the total  
scrapping of the Codesa  
negotiations and the cre-

ation of a new political  
negotiations forum.

The conference was  
also attended by observers  
from Gazankulu, the  
South African Chamber  
of Business, the Chamber  
of Mines, the National  
Peace Secretariat and sev-  
eral independent facilita-  
tors.

Although the three  
homeland leaders at the

TO PAGE 2



# Meeting is no threat to NP

## — Stoffel

By Vivian Warby

THE National Party last night said it did not view as a threat the meeting of homeland and Right-wing leaders in Johannesburg yesterday.

Dr Stoffel van der Merve, secretary-general of the party, said the NP would reserve its fighting ability for the real opposition, the ANC alliance.

It was the right of any party or group to get together to discuss common problems.

The NP had no problem with this. However, what was incomprehensible was how Inkatha and the Conservative Party could find common fundamental ground. The basic positions of the CP and the IFP were incom-

patible.

"One wonders if Inkatha would support the establishment of a White Volkstaat with all the discriminatory things it entails. One also wonders what the attitude of the CP would be toward Zulus who wanted to live there.

"If one takes the long

**TO PAGE 2**

## No threat: Stoffel

### FROM PAGE 1

history of Inkatha and Chief (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi, there has been resistance to apartheid. On the other hand, the CP's history is one of trying to uphold apartheid. How

can these two be reconciled?"

Dr Van der Merve said, however, he found one of the mini-summit's resolutions — to discuss certain aspects with the government — very encouraging.



## Upgrading of hostels being hampered: MEC

NEGOTIATIONS on upgrading hostels in the PWV region are being hampered by some of those involved, Mr John Mavuso, Transvaal Provincial Administration MEC for Physical Planning and Development, said yesterday.

Mr Mavuso was commenting in a statement

after the collapse of Monday's meeting in Sebokeng when hostel-dwellers were advised by pamphlets bearing the African National Congress logo not to attend.

The meeting was called by the town council to discuss upgrading and/or conversion of hostels, and the safety of inmates and residents.

"This is contrary to the agreed strategy that upgrading and/or conversion must be the result of consensus through negotiations between hostel-dwellers, residents and other interested parties," Mr Mavuso said.

He said another meeting would be called at a later date. — Sapa.



## No promises for ANC from China

BEIJING. — Nelson Mandela ended his first official visit to Beijing yesterday with firm assurances of Chinese friendship, but no promises that China would avoid establishing links with the South African Government.

The African National Congress president, speaking at a news conference after talks with Chinese leaders, said Beijing had repeated its support for the ANC in

its long struggle against apartheid.

ANC officials admitted, however, that Beijing had not made any concrete commitment to hold off on diplomatic links with Pretoria until the ANC's demand for new, interim government representing the country's Black majority is met.

"The Chinese Government has indicated that it supports that position," Pallo Jordan, spokesman for Mr Man-

dela's delegation, told the news conference.

"But what the intentions of the Chinese Government are, I cannot tell you."

Political analysts say Beijing has been edging toward broader links with South Africa and may be considering opening formal diplomatic ties.

The two countries late last year agreed to swap their first unofficial representative offices. — Sapa-Reuter.